

# IROQUOIS WARS II

Extracts from  
THE JESUIT RELATIONS  
from 1650 to 1675

*Edited by* CLAUDIO R. SALVUCCI  
*and* ANTHONY P. SCHIAVO, JR.

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# **IROQUOIS WARS II**

**Extracts from the *Jesuit Relations***

**Claudio R. Salvucci and  
Anthony P. Schiavo, Jr., eds.**

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## **Introduction**

While various Western European powers were vying for control over the coasts and rivers of North America during the middle 1600s, a sweeping series of events was unfolding beyond the reach of their settlements, within the wild and unfamiliar interior of the continent. A native confederacy was turning the full force of their arms toward their native neighbors, driving their enemies before them in a series of campaigns unlike any known before or since.

The Iroquois Wars are named for a group of closely related tribes, the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca, who lived in what is now Upstate New York. According to the traditions of the Iroquois themselves, well supported by our oldest documentary evidence, sometime prior to 1600 they elected to end their debilitating conflicts with each other and unite to forge what would famously become known as the “Iroquois Confederacy,” the “Five Nations” or the “League of the Iroquois,” which played such an important part in American history. At the beginning of the 1600s, however, the Iroquois were but one of many tribal groupings inhabiting the Eastern Woodlands, and not even a particularly numerous or influential one at that. Their later predominance would be made, not inherited, and would come about thanks to the stunning conquests they made of their neighbors in the middle 1600s.

The Iroquois Wars have long been an area of interest for specialists, but are often treated as something of a sidenote in general histories. This is partly because aside from some detailed accounts of selected battles, much of the campaigning and fighting took place absent literate observers and must be pieced together from fragmentary mentions in old documents. Few of its participants recorded their memories, or had the attentive ear of someone who would, and thus it is doubtful we will ever know the full extent of the wars.

Nevertheless, understanding these intertribal conflicts is particularly important today in helping correct the caricature of the early colonial period as a simplistic racial conflict between land-hungry colonists and ever-defending/ever-defeated natives. Its most intense Indian wars fought by the Dutch, English and French did not progress beyond localized aggressions near the settlements; yet the Iroquois Wars involved dozens of tribes in sweeping, far-ranging campaigns that forever redrew the map of native North America.

## **Sources**

The single most important source on the Iroquois Wars is an extensive collection of documents known as the *Jesuit Relations*, reports compiled by Jesuit missionaries among the Indians of New France and then submitted to their superiors and published from 1632-1673. Popular in their own day for their adventure-filled stories and high literary value, the *Relations* are today respected by scholars for their wealth of information about Native American



life of the 1600s. The original *Relations* are now quite rare, and in their original languages of French, Latin and Italian they are not as accessible for an English-speaking audience. Thankfully, however, an excellent 72-volume translation was published from 1896 to 1901 under the editorship of Reuben Gold Thwaites. The Thwaites edition remains to this day the authoritative edition in English, not least for its copious notes, indexes, and the inclusion of many supporting documents which were never published in the original series.

The background events and initial conflicts of the Iroquois Wars have already been dealt with in Volume I, which drew from volumes 1–36 of the Thwaites edition as well as other early French sources, closing with the fall of the Hurons and Petun in 1649. For this second volume, the editors have gone through volumes 36–59 of the Thwaites edition and excerpted all the passages dealing with the period from the attacks on the Neutrals in 1650 to the fall of the Susquehannocks in 1675.

Without a doubt, there are other very valuable sources for the period of 1650–1675 besides the *Relations*. Other French writers are well worth consulting to balance the overwhelmingly clerical viewpoint we get from the Jesuits—one largely absent the commercial motivations of the fur and whisky traders, the discerning eyes for military strategy and tactics of Champlain, or the explorer's wanderlust of La Salle. From the forts of New Netherland the Dutch had extensive and early trade dealings with the Mohawks, Mahicans and Delawares before the English took over their colony in 1664. To both colonial administrations we owe eminently valuable contemporary legal documents where issues of warfare, alliances, and grievances with the several colonies are discussed. Collections of archival documents from the colonies of New York, Pennsylvania and Maryland contain copious references to the Iroquois and show a very important side of their official diplomacy. Writers from the colony of New Sweden on the Lower Delaware were more distant, but nevertheless provide useful information about the early Susquehannock as well as valuable tidbits about the little-known Erie.

Yet it would be entirely too glib to conclude from this array of source material that a series of extracts from the writings of errant missionary priests would tell only a small part of the story. Critics of the *Relations* can certainly point to passages that sit uncomfortably with modern anthropologists, and to say that the missionaries had a vested interest in the conflict is only stating the obvious. But it is quite another thing to argue that their fundamental trustworthiness was impaired by “images of bloodthirsty savages” (Richter 1983) and “bitter racial antipathies” (Snyderman 1948), imputing to them a racism that neither their pastoral vocation nor their theological doctrines allowed them. After all, the native allies of the Jesuits were just as free with imprecations against Iroquois perfidiousness, and this common perspective ought to be held up against the oft-phrased cliché that history is always written by the victors. In any case, even strong condemnations cannot be at all compared with the intensely violent reprisals between native enemies, who nevertheless remain

strangely insulated from charges of ethnic bias. Most importantly, no one has been able to translate vague criticism of the Jesuit texts to proof of gross inaccuracy. Critics have done little more than chip at the *Relations*' importance by insisting that analysts "transcend the hegemonic bias of the documents" with "Indian historical narratives," as well as "comparative data" and "models from anthropology" (Schröder 1999). The weakness of this position is evident, because the best native historical narratives are precisely the ones that Jesuits recorded: irreplaceable eyewitness testimony from the participants themselves that can in no way be subordinated to later traditions no matter how "unbiased" the recorder. And the use of anthropological models, while useful to a point, too easily encourages manipulating the primary sources to fit pet theories rather than letting the historical evidence suggest a conclusion on its own.

Therefore, when all is said and done, there remains absolutely no reason to reverse the judgment Thwaites himself made a century ago:

"The authors of the journals which formed the basis of the *Relations* were for the most part men of trained intellect, acute observers, and practised in the art of keeping records...These first students of the North American Indian were not only amply fitted for their undertaking, but none have since had better opportunity for its prosecution....The Jesuits performed a great service to mankind in publishing their annals, which are, for historian, geographer, and ethnologist, among our first and best authorities." (JR 1:38)

More than the Dutch or Swedish traders, and unlike the English magistrates or even the French habitants, the Jesuits spent the entire war living in native villages among both attacked and attackers, refugees and pursuers, captives and captors. They watched wampum traded, war councils being convened, war-parties forming and returning, and captives being tortured, adopted and freed. They empathized with their hosts' outbreaks of fear, vengeance, suspicion and joy. On occasion they even experienced the full wrath of the enemy at their gates, and it is vivid scenes like the sacks of Taenhatentaronon and Etharita which most stand out in the historical memory. Even quite aside from the extensive factual information they provide, there is more humanity in the Jesuit accounts, and a fuller sense of how people actually lived through these dramatic times, than the formal political disputes and treaty speeches we get in official records, important though these certainly are. It is also essential to note that a disproportionate number of tribes which were attacked in the Iroquois Wars are known only (or best) through French missionaries, such as the Montagnais, Algonquins, Nipissings, Hurons, Neutrals, Petun, Eries, Ottawas, Mascoutens, Illinois, Miamis, Menominees, Potawatomis, Chippewas and Ojibwas.

So while a series of extracts from the *Relations* cannot by any means stand as a full accounting of the Iroquois Wars or even a complete view of the French perspective thereof, it serves excellently to narrate the basic story, which the other sources can then elucidate, supplement, and correct.

## **Character of the Wars**

A researcher trying to get an overall picture of the Iroquois Wars faces a challenge in that a number of competing and contradictory analyses have been offered. Allen Trelease astutely observed forty years ago that “Iroquois historiography constitutes an interesting study in itself” (Trelease 1962). The wars have been alternatively analyzed as wars of brute conquest, economically-driven attempts to secure control of the fur trade, or mourning wars which aimed to assuage grief and replenish Iroquoian society. It is not our intention here to contribute anything new to the ongoing debate, only to discuss some current theories in light of the *Relations* themselves, which are happily consistent in the way they characterize these important events.

The first point worthy of notice is that hostilities were not universally unrelenting from 1650–1675. There were many peace overtures back and forth during this time and some regions experienced relative calm while furious fighting was taking place elsewhere. Yet for most of the tribes in the French orbit, even during peacetime there remained a fear of Iroquois militarism and a deep skepticism of their true intentions. And when the armies of the Five Nations were not turned upon the French and their allies, they easily found other outlets. While the targets varied from year to year, in Iroquoia itself there was a state of war all throughout this time.

This “state of war” had something of a dual nature, comprised of frequent privately-mounted skirmishes and occasional large pitched battles. The skirmishes have been aptly characterized as “blood-feuds”: highly personalized, emotionally-charged cycles of vengeance, where it was victims’ friends and relatives—not the leaders of tribes and sometimes over their objections—who would assemble warriors behind them and start off in retaliation. At the same time, both Iroquois and their opponents also clearly had the ability to put hundreds, even well over a thousand warriors on the field, mounting massive concentrated assaults against enemy armies and fortifications. Such large-scale expeditions are part of a long tradition in the Northeast which coexisted with smaller, hastily-organized skirmishes (Schiavo & Salvucci 2003:11–13).

The blood-feud character of the Iroquois wars was amply understood by 19th century scholars and by the authors of the *Relations* themselves. But these historians have been criticized as “romantics” whose desire for a good story clouded their analysis (Hunt 1940). Keener (1999) has defined this ideological divide as a contrast between “traditionalists” who believed the Iroquois were inherently more warlike than their neighbors, and “revisionists” of more recent times, who believe that the wars were waged mostly, if not wholly, for economic reasons.

Francis Parkman, undoubtedly the most famous of the “traditionalist” historians, had an unconcealed antipathy towards the Jesuits’ theology, but magnanimously recognized their virtues and relied on their testimony quite heavily. Unfortunately he had a less magnanimous estimation of the Indians them-

selves, whom he called “hopelessly unchanging in respect to individual and social development” (Parkman 1983:3), a racialism which is a striking departure from the missionaries themselves, and one which now draws understandable criticism (Schröder 1999). Parkman’s racial theorizing aside, one critic has acknowledged the “brilliance” of his account (Hunt 1940:187), though nevertheless believing the *Relations* offered the historian a “lurid background of fire, blood, and villainy.” To whatever extent this is true, neither Parkman nor the Jesuits he drew from had much choice in their subject matter. The facts themselves are lurid, and if anything Parkman’s descriptions are cursory and attenuated compared to the original sources in all their gruesome detail.

“Revisionist” historians, beginning with Charles McIlwain (1915) and most fully elaborated by George T. Hunt, have played down the bloodthirsty conquerors’ motivation as a cause for the conflicts, ascribing them instead to socio-economic causes such as the beaver trade and territorial rights:

“It is quite likely that if the white trade had become a social and economic necessity to them, their position had life and death as alternatives. That position would have permitted neither compromise nor inactivity, and would explain why their wars were the first truly national intertribal wars on the continent, there being now for the first time a truly national motive” (Hunt 1940, p. 11).

Because Hunt’s treatment is one of the most well-known to date, and because he grants the Iroquois a milder, less racially sensitive motivation than “knavery and cruelty” (Hunt 1940:7), his notion of trade-motivated warfare has remained common in non-specialist treatments, exemplified in the conflict’s now frequent renaming as the “Beaver Wars.” Specialists, however, tend to reject Hunt’s thesis vigorously and point out that the evidence as documented in the *Relations* simply cannot support it (Brandao 1997).

When any reason for war was stated directly, it was almost invariably vengeance (JR 40:97, 42:175, 44:149, 44:185, 47:139, 53:39). The Iroquois themselves ascribed their greatness to conquest (JR 42:195), rather than trading or material wealth, and it was a successful parties’ return “loaded with glory and with captives” (JR 48:77)—not arms or pelts—that occasioned the most animated response from the populace (JR 54:21; 54:73). Captives could be specifically sacrificed to deceased relatives (JR 48:169), in the belief that the souls of those killed would not rest unless they were avenged (JR 44:85, 47:221). Tortures could be meted out in direct retribution for war casualties, and in one case was prolonged to match the suffering of the man whom a captive was adopted to replace (JR 53:253). Terrorism was another motive for torture: the Susquehannock once tortured Iroquois ambassadors within the sight of their army to depress morale and serve as a prelude to further carnage (JR 48:77).

To be sure, there is reference to the French killing some Oneida to procure beaver-skins (JR 53:241), and the Iroquois plundering skins of a travel-

ing party (JR 38:193). Notwithstanding a passage from 1654 that claims that the beaver populations in conquered areas were going largely untouched (40:211), Trigger also mentions evidence that the Iroquois hunted in territory abandoned by their enemies (Trigger 1978:353). Even so, nowhere in the *Relations* is the desire for beaver skins implicated as a cause for war, and peace councils repeatedly emphasized the necessity of quieting feelings of revenge rather than solving any grievances related to the fur trade (JR 40:157, 42:49, 44:107, 44:185, 45:81, 47:69).

For some scholars this lack of strong evidence for trade-motivated warfare as well as the overwhelming attention placed on procuring captives, has suggested another kind of conflict entirely: the “mourning war.” As defined by Daniel Richter, the mourning war was part of a socially-sanctioned grieving process in Iroquois society, where friends and relatives would attempt to console someone’s grief over a deceased loved one by taking captives and bringing them home to the villages. There the mourner could either “select a prisoner for adoption in the place of the deceased or they could vent their rage in rituals of torture and execution” (Richter 1983). This explanation corresponds well with the accounts in the *Relations*, where we see strangely dissonant combinations of affectionate adoption and brutal torture, both clearly oriented toward making satisfaction for the dead (JR 42:191).

The incident that precipitated the invasion of the Erie homeland in 1654 serves as a classic example of what a high priority satiating vengeance had in Northern Iroquoian society, regardless of how fatal it might be (and in this instance was) to the welfare of the nation. While the Erie were at war with the Seneca and to all appearances holding their own, a high-ranking Onondaga (perhaps Annenraes) was taken prisoner. He impressed his captors, was spared from execution and given to an Erie woman who was absent from the village. Upon her return:

“She, however, began to weep, and declared that she would never dry her tears until her brother’s death was avenged. The Elders showed her the gravity of the situation, which was likely to involve them in a new war; but she would not yield. Finally, they were compelled to give up the wretched man to her, to do with him as she pleased.” (42:175)

Not every facet of Iroquois warfare however, is well explained by the “mourning-wars” model oriented around taking captives. Richter has explained bouts of mass-killing as the “crumbling” of the mourning-war complex in the 1670s, which “degenerated into chaotic violence and sheer murderous rage.” He cites an example in 1682 when the Iroquois attacked the Illinois; they took about 700 captives, killed over 600 enemies “on the spot” and burned many along the way home. Richter concludes from this event that “it is clear that something had gone horribly wrong in the practice of the mourning-war.” (JR 62:71, Richter 1983).

Scholars have pointed out however that such mass slaughters were not a

late development (Brandao 1997:46). In the Erie war of 1654 the Iroquois reported “such carnage among the women and children, that blood was knee-deep in certain places” (JR 42:175). During the sack of an Abenaki town the Mohawk “burned the women and children, and all whom the sword had spared, only one old man meeting with mercy” (JR 47:139). Such massacres can be traced as far back as the “Toudamans” killing 200 Stadaconans during a siege in 1533 (Schiavo & Salvucci 2003:12).

Probably it is best to view the mourning-war model as generally accurate in explaining the social underpinnings behind Iroquois warfare, but this model cannot be applied to all the hostilities indiscriminately. Nor can we afford to discount emotions of hatred and vengeance in goading the Iroquois to actions that may well have overrode embedded traditions or economic advantages. Thus we are compelled to take seriously the traditionalist notion of cruelty as a motivating factor—not, as with Parkman, with any sense of racial determinism that the Iroquois were bound to act cruel because they were Iroquois, but rather because they were prey to human vices, and their society had institutionalized an outlet for one particular vice to such an extraordinary degree.

In summation, whatever the psychological underpinnings of the Iroquois Wars, they are best understood squarely within a context of centuries-old intertribal warfare. In his review of Iroquoian prehistory and archaeology Tuck makes clear that the cycles of intense aggression attested to in the *Relations* are not a sociological aberration of the colonial historic period, but can be traced well back into pre-colonial times:

“The warfare-torture-sacrifice-cannibalism complex seems intimately bound up with the development of Northeastern horticultural peoples. Although its origins are obscure, its presence is well attested to before the fourteenth century; and the fear of reprisals in this never-ending pattern of blood revenge was probably a major factor in the formation of large villages, tribal units, and ultimately the several historic confederacies” (Tuck 1978:330–331).

Trigger also refers to the “age-old patterns of blood-feud” inherent in prisoner torture, and goes on to notice similarities with the archaeological cultures of the Southeast and some possible distant link to Mesoamerica (Trigger 1978:803).

In such an emotionally-charged environment, antagonism between combatants would be continually aggravated and new offenses would beget new offensives. War threatened to spiral out of control until the destruction or exhaustion of the parties—a fact that greatly encouraged the development of the characteristically elaborate condolence and peace rituals. Indeed tradition held that the Iroquois League was formed under exactly such circumstances (Tooker 1978:418).

By the time the French arrived in the Northeast, the native nations seem to have viewed these mutual recriminations as an unquestioned fact of life. This state of affairs was grossly intolerable to the French, but despite shock

and stern condemnations early on, the ingrained cycle of torture continued over their objections and proved immensely difficult to eradicate (Schiavo and Salvucci 2003:17-20). Those natives who adopted Christianity showed less propensity to take part or dispensed with torture altogether (JR 48:99).

We have mentioned that elements of adoption were ironically present even when a prisoner was tortured to death, and it remains to discuss what true adoption actually meant. It did not mean that a captive was made permanently and fully “part of the family”—for most adoptees it was in actuality a form of slavery. Though it did not prevent adopted captives from reaching positions of authority in Iroquois society, they never lost their slave status (Starna and Watkins 1991). One key passage describes three classes of captives among the Iroquois (JR 43:293). The best-treated consisted of those willingly strengthening their ties with marriage and/or headship of a family; these led a “tolerably easy life”, not forced into labor but regarded as sub-citizens. The second class consisted of those adopted into a household but given forced labor as well. The last class, “consisting chiefly of young women or girls, who...have not yet found a husband” had an extremely tenuous existence; their inability to establish kinship ties made them subject to sexual assaults and/or murder. Even so, however, after initial capture and adoption there was generally little physical coercion, even characterized by one observer as the “gentle conduct of the Iroquois toward their captives” (Starna and Watkins 1991). The coercive element was implicit—captives knew that recaptured escapees were tortured to death “without hope or mercy” (JR 46:35, 50:55). Finally, under threat of imminent Iroquois attack, whole tribes sometimes negotiated to surrender and be adopted *en masse*. One settlement composed of such tribes was the Huron town Gandougararé among the Seneca (JR 54:81, 57:27).

### ***Strategy and Tactics***

The total fighting strength of the Iroquois fluctuated surprisingly little throughout these years (Tooker 1978:421), because to offset casualties large numbers of captives were naturalized and willing to join in campaigns (JR 45:97, 45:109, 46:85). The total number of warriors in the Confederacy remained around 2,000 (Hunt 1940:66) roughly distributed as follows: Mohawk 400, Oneida 120, Onondaga 300, Cayuga 300, Seneca 1,000. Around 1661 the number of pureblood Iroquois was estimated at 1,200 or 60%, though foreigners were said nevertheless to be the “largest and best part” of the Iroquois (JR 45:203). War parties were typically made up of small numbers of men, from 5-25 (Keener 1999). Even larger armies are often described as groups of smaller bands (JR 50:37, 52:123, 54:73, 54:117), these bands being capable of breaking from the main fighting force and attacking targets on their own.

Women’s participation in the wars was prominent, although not in combat roles (Snyderman 1948). The fate of prisoners often rested on their deci-

sion alone (JR 42:175), and they were clearly involved in the torture of captives (JR 5:27, 5:45), but a much more important role is also described for the esteemed matrons known as *Oiander* who held councils: “the Elders decide no important affair without their advice” (JR 54:281). In the more strictly military sphere, there were 24 Loup women accompanying the expedition which attacked Caughnawaga, at least one of whom had a nursing child, and inside the town Mohawk women made bullets and armed themselves in case the wall was breached (JR 53:137). The Loup women were not combatants and may have been captive slaves, as in 1641 when some Kichesipirini women “were used to carry provisions for Iroquois war parties that had set out for the St. Lawrence, a task not performed by ‘free’ Iroquois women” (Starna and Watkins 1991). On the other hand, two Oneida wives accompanied their husbands on raids around Montreal, again in non-combat roles (JR 41:43).

Snyderman (1948:78) offers one of the most thorough recaps of Iroquois arms and armaments, but strangely denies that the Iroquois had any technical superiority over their enemies—an advantage they clearly had over the interior tribes, at the very least. Keener (1999) takes the opposite view that it was the Iroquois’ technological advantages which made them so incredibly effective at besieging and sacking native fortified towns, particularly those built according to traditional (i.e. non-European) designs.

The most prominent advantage possessed by the Iroquois was European trade goods such as guns and iron tomahawks. Beginning around 1640, Dutch traders provided the Iroquois with arquebuses (Trigger 1978:354; JR 40:157). In addition to the traditional war-club (JR 40:97), iron tomahawks were militarily useful not only in hand combat (JR 36:131, 37:145, 40:97, 41:213, 42:175, 43:263), but also as a siege weapon; they were far more effective than the traditional stone tomahawk at chopping through palisaded walls. Tribes in the interior that had no intercourse with Europeans were still using stone weapons (JR 44:49), and without guns and iron weapons were at a tremendous military and psychological disadvantage. There is no mention of the Iroquois using artillery. Cannons were however, used defensively by their enemies the Susquehannocks (JR 48:77).

Body armor of wood or reeds, including shields and helmets, is well documented among native tribes during the early 1600s, and was effective against the bone- or stone-tipped weapons of the time. But among the tribes trading with Europeans by 1650–1675, this traditional armor had already been rendered obsolete by bullets and metal-tipped arrows which penetrated them easily. Personal armor was thus abandoned completely and “since forest warfare depended to a great extent on mobility, no effort was made to substitute metal armor plate” (Snyderman 1948:75). Yet as the wars progressed the Iroquois managed to overcome this “armor gap” at least in siege warfare. The Erie were “astonished” when the Iroquois used canoes as shields and ladders to scale the palisades, which contributed to a general panic and the collapse of the Erie defense (JR 42:175, 45:203). From then on the Iroquois implemented similarly



effective assaults behind protective seige armor, and in one instance when haste compelled them to besiege a Mahican fort in the old-fashioned unprotected way the results were disastrous (JR 49:137). A similar use of canoes is not documented anywhere else, but there are mentions of mantlets, a thick one-person shield made of 2-3 logs (JR 45:241, 46:205, cf. also 53:137), and larger counter-palisades which protected several men at once (JR 45:203; see also Keener 1999 for diagrams). Quickly made, strong, and easily disposable, mantlets and counter-palisades offered critical defense during sieges without sacrificing mobility, and were an ingeniously adaptive response to the obsolescence of traditional armor years before.

But even mantlets and counter-palisades were little advantage against European-style forts with bastions. Projecting out from the corners of fortifications, bastions allowed defenders to fire along the walls directly into the unprotected sides of enemy besiegers. In later years, some tribes such as the Mohawks and Susquehannocks began to adopt bastions into their own fortifications. The Iroquois clearly appreciated their strategic advantages (JR 49:137, 50:127) and were most unwilling to assault bastioned forts directly (JR 48:77).

Much more common than the often costly direct assault, was the surprise ambush of parties traveling on foot and canoe, particularly at well-selected locations which put the travelers at a considerable disadvantage (JR 38:45, 46:205, 49:243, 51:185, 53:137). The rear-guard or some other smaller unit would often be attacked so that the whole force was not engaged at once (JR 41:43, 43:99). In foreign territory temporary forts were erected amazingly quickly, to serve both as staging areas and emergency defenses (JR 36:177, 40:97, 42:175, 42:225, 48:279, 49:243, 56:183). Champlain tells of one built by the Montagnais in less than four hours (JR 12:169).

The ubiquitous canoe was regularly employed in war (JR 40:157, 43:199), its primary military use as a troop transport (JR 36:131, 37:107, 38:189), but also to defend waterways (JR 43:99). Canoes held a maximum of 10-11 people (JR 55:109), and were built in different styles, two of the principal ones being the "Algonquin" and the "Iroquois" (JR 44:173). The former a lighter birchbark canoe in the classic shape well-known today (JR 12:181, Day and Trigger 1978:796; Erickson 1978:128), while the Iroquois canoe was a heavier, less trustworthy craft made of elm bark (Fenton 1978:303, 309). The French settlers also used the canoe, recognizing its speed and maneuverability compared to their own shallop, a small shallow-water boat with one or more sails, which was not able to go beyond the rapids at Montreal (JR 43:129, 45:195). "Naval" skirmishes on rivers and lakes are well attested. On July 2, 1652, 13 Iroquois canoes traded fire with a French shallop before it quit the engagement, leaving the Iroquois in control of the middle of the river (JR 37:107, 38:45). On August 7, 80 Allies in 2 shallops and some canoes are attacked by 11 canoes of Iroquois with a few casualties on both sides (JR 37:11). In August of 1653, a reconnoitering "well-manned" shallop discovers

39 Iroquois canoes, fires on them and the Iroquois return fire from the river bank. Trying to drive the shallow to shore, the Iroquois flank it with canoes—but retreat after cannon open fire (JR 38:189, 40:97). In other accounts, the Algonquins stave off a canoe ambush in the river (JR 40:97), and the Susquehannock take to canoes to chase down and destroy a Cayuga war party (JR 56:51).

On the military use of chemical agents there is not much information. The Erie are said to have used poisoned arrows (JR 41:43), and poisoning of springs and rivers is an art said to be “understood perfectly” by an Algonquian-speaking tribe of the west, probably the Shawnee (JR 47:139). It is not clear however, how reliable such claims are, and scholars have been wary of them (Snyderman 1948, Tooker 1978).

## **Campaign Synopses 1650–1675**

The causes and underpinnings of the wars to 1650 have been described in the introduction to *Iroquois Wars I*. In the present work it remains to give summary overviews of the conflict from the point of view of the regions and their resident peoples that were attacked after that date.

### ***Iroquoians to the West (Neutrals, Atrakwae, Erie)***

In late autumn 1650 a force of 1,500 Iroquois sacked a village of the Neutrals; however, the Neutrals counterattacked with the assistance of Tahontaenrat Hurons and captured or killed 200 Iroquois (JR 36:117). That winter the Iroquois promptly set out to retaliate with 1,200 men and sacked another village to the “complete ruin and desolation of the Neutral nation.” The rest of the tribe abandoned the other villages and scattered toward the west and south (JR 36:177, 38:179), reportedly near the Fox nation toward Lake Erie. It was learned in a later *Relation* that Senecas had accomplished the Neutrals’ overthrow with the Mohawks’ help (JR 38:45). Yet after their dispersal, sometime before March 1652, the Neutral tribes were said to have concluded an alliance with the Susquehannock and defeated and threatened the Seneca to such an extent that Seneca women had to seek refuge with the Cayuga, suggesting a threatened attack (JR 37:95). This may have been a temporary reversal of fortune, but it is possible that this last mention refers to a group that had not yet been dispersed from the country, the Atrakwae.

The Atrakwae have been varyingly classified as either a subdivision of the Neutral or the Susquehannock (Pendergast 1991:59–62; Jennings 1978:367), but their separate history in the *Relations* suggest they were independent (JR 45:203). They possibly—the reference is vague—turned away an attack in the winter of 1651–1652 (JR 37:99). Nevertheless, their town was finally taken in a great battle with high casualties sometime before July 1652 (JR 37:107). This event happened after the Neutrals’ “total ruin” in early 1651,

and yet both the Atrakwae and the Neutral are said to have soundly beaten the Iroquois in the winter of 1652; these could well have been the same victory.

The Erie conflict began first with the Seneca, when a member of that nation was murdered and the Seneca in turn massacred an entire Erie delegation. War broke out and the Erie, estimated at 2,000-4,000 warriors (JR 41:43, 42:111, 42:175), even burned a Seneca town. Fortunes turned in spring of 1654 when the Onondaga were drawn in. Erie skirmishers captured “a man of rank”—apparently the captain Annenraes—and burned him, which precipitated a massive retaliation and the leaguings together of four of the Upper Iroquois nations (JR 42:175). The league invaded the Erie homeland with 1,200 men, and apparently 600 additional warriors from the other nations (JR 41:43). They sacked villages including Rigué (JR 42:73, 42:187) and chased the many Erie who had abandoned their villages to a hastily-built fort five days away. Several assaults on this fort failed, but the Iroquois finally overcome the defenses, massacre the fugitives and those still in the fort. Later, 300 Erie escapees are able to regroup and counterattack, but are defeated. Though debilitated from this point on, the Erie were still able to take the fight to the Iroquois: taking captives only a day’s travel from Onondaga in September (JR 41:107, 42:49); the Onondaga thus planned a new campaign against them next Spring (JR 42:121). At that time the Erie had apparently fled farther south or west, for in February 1656 three skirmishers bring back two Erie captives and scalps taken from far-away lands with an unfamiliar language (JR 42:191, 43:263).

An account looking back from 1661 implies that 700 Mohawks had attacked an Erie fort (JR 45:203). This may refer to the Iroquois invasion of 1654, but the Mohawks are nowhere mentioned as participants; it possibly describes a different, later campaign. By 1680, 600 Erie are living “near Virginia” (JR 62:71), and this band can almost certainly be identified with the 600-700 “Richahecrians” and “Rickohockans” described in Virginia records, who descended the Appalachians sometime before 1656 (Hoffman 1964). Continuing hostilities against the Erie after the 1654 invasion may have been directed at this relocated group.

### *Algonquians to the Northeast (Montagnais, Attikameg, Cree)*

The Northern campaigns started out as raids rather than all-out assaults and they are remarkable for their reach even at the earliest stages of the war. In 1651 the Iroquois raided the Attikameg and had penetrated as far as Lake Kisakami (JR 37:41, 37:69). In 1652 the attacks against the Attikameg grew intense (JR 37:99, 37:203, 38:45), and the route to the north up the St. Maurice River became very dangerous (JR 37:99, 37:125, 38:45, 45:233).

The Iroquois reached Tadoussac for the first time around 1658 (JR 37:73, 44:185) and from that time began northward excursions into Montagnais country up the Saguenay river, across Lake St. John and over the Laurentide

mountains. Three nations were “overthrown” by them somewhere above Lake St. John around 1658 or 1659 (JR 45:233). In a “new undertaking” they attacked the Squirrel Nation in the summer of 1661, and by winter they appeared for the first time at the gathering place of Necouba, driving the nearby tribes to Hudson Bay (JR 46:289, 47:139). “All the lands of the North” which were hitherto unknown to the Iroquois were now “infested” with them as they pushed towards Hudson Bay and took captives in its vicinity (JR 46:251, 47:139, 51:211).

Another wave of attacks along this same route occurred in 1665, when some bands ascended the Saguenay and attacked the Piagouagami and Mistassini. One of these bands was probably also involved in multiple raids on a Lake Nemiscau settlement near Hudson Bay (JR 56:183), and a 1671 reference to the Porcupine Nation being “extremely reduced” by the wars indicates they too were targeted in this campaign or the previous one (JR 56:155). A raid on Lake St. John occurred three years later in 1674, with the Picouagami intending to retaliate “in great numbers” the following Spring (JR 59:39).

### *Algonquians to the Northwest (Nipissing, Ottawa, Ojibwa)*

The term “Ottawa” in the French sources not only referred to what we know know as the Ottawa proper, but was sometimes used as a catch-all for any of the “Upper” Algonquians to the north of the Great Lakes (Feest and Feest 1978:772). Since the French did not always make distinctions between individual tribes and sub-tribes, it is easiest to treat them all together.

Aggressions are recorded in Spring of 1651 on Algonquins fishing around Lake Nipissing (JR 36:177), and the Upper Algonquins joined a coalition against the Iroquois (JR 38:179), but the latter’s main energy at this time was directed toward the Iroquoians to their west. Then in October 1655, 60 Oneida were discovered en route to war with the “Neds Percés” or Amikwa, raising protests by the French (JR 42:75, 42:85). Later, Mohawks were also found to be raiding them (JR 43:129). In August 1656 a large convoy of “Ottawa” came to the St. Lawrence to trade but was ambushed by 120 Mohawks (JR 42:225).

Casualties suffered by the Iroquois on raids such as these became the pretext for a massive 1200-man invasion of the Ottawa country in December 1657 (JR 44:185). The result of this invasion is unknown, but the residents came out of it intact and a few years later the Iroquois were back to an ambushing pattern. In July 1661, and again in Spring 1662 the Mohawk and Oneida were once again north of the Lakes fighting the Amikwa/Ottawa, but a band of 100 was destroyed by the Saulteaux (JR 47:69, 48:75). In Summer of 1665 some Nipissing on a trading expedition to Three Rivers had several minor skirmishes with the Iroquois along the route (JR 49:243); later that Fall the Iroquois capture a Nipissing trading party near the Petite Nation Algonquins (JR 49:173). An Upper Algonquin town is sacked in 1669, but this

was not a planned invasion; the Iroquois were out hunting and took advantage of its being undefended (JR 53:39). In councils at Quebec, despite Garacontié's efforts at peace, tensions again mount between the nations (JR 53:39, 53:245). Then after the Amikwa defeated a small Iroquois war party skirmishing to the south (JR 53:245, 54:115), the Seneca and Cayuga sent a 600-man war party into Ottawa country in February 1670 (JR 53:255). Nevertheless, subsequent peace overtures from the Iroquois allow the Ottawa to move back to their ancestral homeland (JR 55:99, 55:133, 55:139, 55:159, 57:21, 57:23).

### *Eastern Algonquians (Abenaki, Sokoki, Mahican/"Loup")*

With the exception of the formidable Mahican and to a lesser extent the Abenaki, the Iroquois did not engage in long or intense fighting with the Eastern Algonquians along the seaboard. When they did not use more specific terms the French sometimes called them "Loups", most often referring specifically to the Mahican. It may have occasionally included the poorly-known central New England tribes such as the Nipmuck and Pocumtuck as well as other Eastern Algonquians (Brasser 1978:211; Goddard 1978a:71–72).

On November 18 1650, Father Gabriel Druillettes and the Abenaki ask the Sokoki to join in an alliance with the French; by April of next year the Sokokis, Pocumtuck, Penacook and Mahicans have agreed to help eliminate the Iroquois and expect the assistance of "Noutchihiuct" allies along the Hudson—probably the Wappingers (JR 36:83). However these plans never came to fruition (Day 1978:150, Brasser 1978:203). The Sokokis were at war with the Mohawks in 1652 (JR 37:95) and far from having established an alliance, were also simultaneously at war with the Algonquins (JR 37:117). The Algonquins almost widened the conflagration when they captured and almost burned some Abenaki in November 1652, but in council Noel Tekouerimat persuaded the Algonquin elders not to kill these captives. He instead used them to secure a peace with the Abenaki and to bargain for some Algonquin captives held by the Sokoki (JR 40:195). At Quebec in 1653, some Etchemin were found in a war party of Micmacs and Montagnais going to fight the Iroquois (JR 38:179).

A more significant Iroquois military action came in 1662. The Abenaki along the Kennebec River (one source says these were Etchemin) were sent emissaries from the Mohawks in 1662 who expected "a sort of tribute" from them, but when the ambassadors were slain, the Mohawks retaliated with 200 men, capturing a village while the men inside were drunk and slaughtering the inhabitants. The Mohawks determined to remain in this country for two years to exact vengeance (JR 47:139, 47:279, cf. 49:149). In 1664 the Iroquois were waging "vigorous war" against the Mahicans and Abenakis. A false rumor in Sept. 1665 suggests contemporary hostilities with the Sokoki (JR 49:167), and later it is said that captive Sokokis, Mahicans and "Loups" have been naturalized among the Iroquois (JR 58:75).

The Mahican, having already been defeated in a war against the Iroquois in the 1620s (Schiavo & Salvucci 2003), were one of the only tribes allied with them at the beginning of the war (JR 38:197, 41:43, 41:109). This may have been a tributary arrangement, or in some sort of more equal alliance, perhaps a “sharing by the Mohawk in the wampum harvest of their Mahican allies” (Brasser 1978:203). It is hard to know what to make of a 1656 comment that the Mohawks are at war with the Mahican because of “bad conduct” (JR 43:179), since the Mohawk are still speaking of the alliance in 1658 (JR 44:117); it may refer to some minor incident that was soon patched up. At any rate, by the 1660s the Mohawks and Mahican are again at war (JR 47:69, 49:149). In 1664, 600 Iroquois fail in an attempt to assault a Mahican town by surprise. Nevertheless, the Mahicans are forced to retreat into the fort, which they successfully hold, though with many casualties on both sides (JR 49:137). The war continued through the second half of the decade (JR 50:215, 51:83, 51:179, 52:147, 52:123). In 1669 the Mahican ambushed the Mohawks outside their own village, then later in the year and with the help of some New England allies, they sent an army of 300 to attack Caughnawaga, but retreated before reinforcements arrived (JR 53:137). In revenge, 400 Iroquois of the 4 Lower Nations invaded the lower Hudson and assaulted, but failed to take, a fort of the Mahican’s allies near Manhattan (JR 53:155, Brasser 1978:204). Hostilities continued into the next year (JR 53:255), but the Dutch were keen to make peace between the Mahican and Iroquois (JR 55:59, 56:41) which was finally achieved in 1675 (Brasser 1978:204).

The August 1669 embassy of a “certain nation of the Loups who are at peace with the Iroquois” may have been the Delawares (JR 53:243; Goddard 1978:222–223); they were not the Mahicans, who were then at war with the Iroquois and would have very bizarrely timed an embassy within days of a planned attack on Caughnawaga. In 1650, the much-feared “Nouchihuict” south of the Mahicans were willing to participate in a planned attack on the Iroquois (JR 36:83), and when the Iroquois retaliated for the Mahican attack on Caughnawaga, they attacked a “Loup” fort near Manhattan whose residents evidently participated (JR 53:155; Brasser 1978:204). These both refer most probably to Minsi Delaware tribes, perhaps the Wappingers.

A tribe called the “Porcelain makers”, mentioned only once as the targets of a Mohawks and Oneida expedition in February 1666 (JR 50:127) refers to one of the Algonquian-speaking coastal people on or around Long Island who were most noted for making wampum: the Minsi Delawares, Quiripi, Mohegan, Narragansett, Shinnecock.

### *Algonquians to the West (“Ontouagannha”, Mascouten, Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo, Potawatomi, Shawnee)*

“Ontouagannha” was an Iroquois term meaning “those who cannot speak”, and was used by them to refer to the Algonquian-speaking tribes to

their west (Hunter 1978:589-590). As with the term “Ottawa” for the Upper Algonquins, specific tribes are sometimes hard to distinguish under this umbrella name so it will be convenient to address them all together.

The destruction of the Erie had already cleared the way for Iroquois raids to the west. In 1653 the Potawatomi were concerned enough about Iroquois attacks to be the main partner in a regional coalition (JR 38:179). The first certain mention of fighting having taken place is in 1657 in Le Jeune’s *Relation*, which recaps by saying that “not long ago” the Iroquois brought war to nations “who speak the Algonquin language,” have no knowledge of Europeans and still use stone tools (JR 43:263, 44:49). We can more accurately fix Le Jeune’s vague time frame to before February 1656 when the Iroquois first brought back captives taken from “some people of another language,” an apparent translation of “Ontouagannha” (JR 42:191).

In the ensuing years all of the Algonquian peoples originally native to the Michigan Lower Peninsula—Potawatomi, Mascouten, Sauk, Fox, and Kickapoo—fled west to escape attack (JR 55:183, Stone and Chaput 1978:602). We cannot be certain of the details in sequence or timing, but by 1658 Wisconsin already contains refugees and on September 25 of that year Garakontie informs a council at Montreal “that two hundred of my nephews are going to war against the nation of Fire” (JR 44:115). In July of 1659, the same campaign is recalled in past tense by the French Governor: “I wipe away thy tears for the loss of thy people who were killed last winter, in the war against The nation of fire And other nations” (JR 45:101).

By the mid-1660s the Algonquian tribes of the Michigan area were taking up residence in the vicinity of Green Bay (JR 55:183). The Potawatomi were residing on the Door Peninsula to the west of the bay, the Mascoutens, Sauk, Fox and Kickapoo along the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers. Even here they would not be safe, for in addition to brand new attacks by Siouans (JR 54:229), the Iroquois continued pursuing them west of Lake Michigan. In March of that year six Fox cabins were routed near the foot of Lake Michigan (JR 54:219, 54:223). The Mascoutens were being “eaten” by the Iroquois (JR 54:229), and 20-30 Potawatomis were carried off in another raid (JR 54:263). The Menominee, living to the northwest of Green Bay, are thought to have been spared direct attack because of their more distant location (Spindler 1978:719). However, Allouez who visited them on the Menominee River in 1670 said they were “almost exterminated in the wars”, though naming no specific enemy (JR 54:235).

The Shawnee are the likeliest referents in a 1662 excerpt about the “Ontouagannha” who live along a beautiful river towards the west (JR 47:139 ff.). This passage contains an Iroquois perspective on the origin of that campaign: eight or nine years previous, thus around 1653-54, some Onondaga were killed by the Ontouagannha; the appeasement of the murdered was said to have begun “last winter”, 1661-1662. The eight years in between is unusually long, but the time frame loosely matches the early raids on the “Ontouagannha” who were probably Central Algonquians.

Five Iroquois skirmished with the Ontouagannha during the summer of 1669 and took two prisoners (JR 53:245; 54:115), and at the beginning of September several bands of Iroquois amounting to a war party of about 500 marched out against them (JR 54:117). In council Garakontie notifies the Governor in July of 1670 (?) that the Iroquois are not harming the Ottawa but only the Ontouagannha with whom the French are not allied (JR 53:39), and when Marquette travels past the mouth of the Ohio in 1673, he states that the Iroquois travel long distances to wage war against the Shawnee (JR 59:145). By 1683 the Iroquois war has compelled the Shawnee and Miami to abandon their homelands (JR 62:209). Charlevoix, writing several decades later, says that the Iroquois successfully concluded war with the Shawnee in 1672, leaving the latter “almost entirely exterminated” (Charlevoix 1744 (2):244). However he also dates the fall of the Susquehannock in the same year, which is at odds with contemporary statements in the *Relations* (see section on the Susquehannocks below).

There is evidence of attacks on other Ohio Valley nations within this time frame, but we have no sure confirmation in the *Relations*, aside from possible oblique references to raids in countries with unfamiliar languages (54:105—quote not included here, 58:75). The Mosopelea, possibly a Siouan tribe, are named in a letter of 1681 as a tribe west of Lake Erie conquered by the Iroquois, which was said by La Salle to have happened before the Marquette-Joliet expedition set out on May 17, 1673 (Hanna 1911:97–98). The Akansea (Arkansas) and Osage, both Dhegiha Siouans, were asserted by Father Anastasius Douay in 1688 to have lived within the Ohio river system until driven out by the Iroquois (Swanton 1943). Since the Akansea were already settled near the Arkansas river when Marquette and Joliet first visited them in July of 1673, they were displaced before this date. The Franquelin map of 1684 lists the villages of the Mosopelea, Casa, Antouaronons and Oniassontke on the Ohio as “destroyed”—presumably by the Iroquois. The name Casa does not occur anywhere else; it may be a form of Accansa or Akansea. Old maps place the Antouaronons in various locations around Lake Erie but their identity is uncertain. The Oniassontke or Honniasont may have been still in place in 1668 when some Senecas at Montreal told La Salle of their firsthand knowledge of the Ohio River (Hunter 1978:588); if so, the displacement of these tribes can reasonably be placed within the time frame 1668–1673.

The Sioux and their relative peoples come into the *Relations* mainly as an enemy on the western flank of the Algonquian tribes in the Great Lakes and Mississippi area, though we do have two references to Iroquois attacks on Siouan tribes: the Poulak (JR 45:237) and the Ox Nation (JR 47:139).

### *The Susquehannocks*

The Susquehannocks had a long-standing enmity with the Iroquois, and in 1650 they were allies of the Neutrals (JR 37:95). The Mohawks sent a war party into their country in the winter of 1651–2 (JR 37:95) whose outcome was



apparently described as the failed attack against the “Atrakwaeronnons or Andastoeronnons” (JR 37:99). The Mohawks maintained hostilities with the Susquehannock through the mid-1650s, and once in 1653 the Seneca were also named as participants (JR 38:189, 43:179). After the Dutch conquered New Sweden in 1655, however, the Mohawks lost interest in the conflict (Jennings 1978:365).

In 1661 the Upper Iroquois were drawn into a “new war” with the Susquehannocks. The Senecas were being ambushed by them on their way to trade with the Dutch, and several Cayugas were also killed near the Susquehannocks’ settlement (JR 47:69). These events precipitated an invasion of the Susquehanna country in 1663 by an army of 800 Seneca, Cayuga and Onondaga. Upon arrival, however, they found a village well-fortified and armed with cannon; attempts to take it by trickery fail as 25 Iroquois are captured and tortured, and the army disbands under threat of a retaliatory invasion (JR 48:77). From this time, the war goes very badly for the overextended Iroquois (JR 49:137, 49:149), reaching a low point in 1666 when the French destroy the Mohawk villages just after an army of Onondaga is defeated by the Susquehannocks (JR 50:203). Though more Susquehannock captives are taken in the next few years (JR 52:161, 52:167, 52:173, 53:253, 54:21), the Iroquois remain fearfully nervous about their southern enemy (JR 52:147, 52:155, 52:175), and in 1669 it is said that most of the warriors of Onondaga have perished at their hands (JR 54:111). Apparently spent, the Iroquois content themselves with skirmishes and raids with limited success (JR 53:243, 53:247, 54:21). In Autumn of 1669 the Susquehannocks send a peace delegation to Onondaga, a hint of their own compromised condition. The Iroquois are said to be relieved at this overture, yet they choose to continue the war and murder the delegate (JR 54:75). The last known significant action of the war occurs in May of 1672, when two war parties—20 Senecas and 40 Cayugas—are consecutively routed by 60 Susquehannock teenagers (JR 56:55). The Susquehannocks are now estimated to have 300 warriors, less than half of the 700 they had in 1663 (Md. Arch. 1:472) and a substantial drop from the 1300 warriors in one village reported in 1647 (JR 33:129).

Charlevoix dated the end of the Susquehannock war at 1672 (Charlevoix 1744 (2):244), but this does not square well with the continuing hostilities described in the *Relations* (JR 57:23, 57:169, 58:255). Then somewhat surprisingly in 1675 we are told the Susquehannock have been “utterly defeated” by the Senecas, who are now looking for wars elsewhere (JR 59:251; 60:173). Most historians have quite naturally assumed that the Iroquois at last succeeded in completely defeating their rivals in an undocumented assault sometime in 1675 (Parkman 1963:548). But this assumption has been undermined by important evidence from a non-French source, the Maryland Archives (Jennings 1968), where we learn that a Susquehannock delegation appeared in Maryland on February 19, 1674 asking “what part of the Province should be allotted for them to live upon.” The legislature and governor granted them the

right to settle at the Falls of the Potomac where they moved soon after, only to become embroiled in a war with Maryland and Virginia (Md. Arch. 2:428-430). Maryland's offer provides a good explanation for how a dispirited and spent Iroquois confederacy could have so suddenly overthrown this well-armed rival, only to come out as strong as ever and ready for new wars. It also explains why there was such unusual silence about what should have been a tremendous triumph: whatever happened to the Susquehannock, it does not seem to have taxed Iroquois arms as much as previous engagements would suggest.

It is, however, difficult to explain the Iroquois conquest of the Susquehannock as a myth concocted by New York officials in 1683 (Jennings 1968) to justify their territorial claims to the Susquehanna Valley, since the Jesuits made clear statements beginning in 1675-1676 that all refer to the tribes' destruction at Iroquois hands (JR 59:251; 60:173; 62:157). The Andaste are enumerated in a 1681 letter of La Salle to the Abbé Bernou as one of the tribes that the Iroquois "overthrew in a few years" (Hanna 1911:97). Tachanoontia, an Onondaga delegate at the treaty of Lancaster in 1744, confidently argued before Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania Commissioners that "all the world knows we conquered the several nations living on Sasquahanna, Cohongoronta, and on the back of the Great Mountains in Virginia" (Hanna 1911:120). The Iroquois always looked on the Susquehannock relocation as a conquest, a perspective that they passed on to the French, and since Iroquois pressure was likely responsible—much as it certainly had been for the Hurons, Petun and Neutral 25 years before—they were perhaps not altogether wrong.

Finally, a 1662 comment about the Iroquois pushing their wars to a warm region 200 leagues to the south "near the Virginia coast" (JR 47:139) should not be assumed to refer to the Conoy, Tutelo, Powhatans or other southerly tribes. Following the common usage of the day, the Susquehannock at the head of Chesapeake Bay were probably meant (JR 45:203, 45:241). The Maryland and Virginia tribes were only attacked after 1675 when the removal of the Susquehannock gave the Iroquois free access to the lands of the south.

### *The French Invasions*

After the French left their short-lived settlement at Onondaga in 1658, the calls for French aid against the Iroquois resume in earnest. Huron and Algonquin leaders honoring the newly-arrived Bishop Laval both laid out unequivocally that the Iroquois had to be disposed of before the Faith could progress in New France (JR 45:41), sentiments echoing those of the Jesuits themselves (JR 45:73). Lalemant's *Relation* of 1661, on the other hand, pleads with issues of far greater concern to the crown: the danger that the colony faced from an Iroquois attack, and the glory of St. Louis and the Crusading kingdom of the Franks (JR 45:195). Lalemant argues that the colonies have

hitherto been hampered by a citizen militia that knew farming rather than fighting, and promises an easy victory with the right tools.

When the right tools were finally sent to Canada in the form of the Carignan-Salieres regiment, it was in a context of French military reorganization and the creation of a standing army, spearheaded by Louis François le Tellier the Marquis de Louvois who served as Louis XIV's minister of war from 1662 to 1691.

Now organized around a body of trained military men in their ranks, the colonists had enough confidence to mount three separate invasions of the Mohawk country in 1666. The first, de Courcelles' in January, got off to an inauspicious start when many of the men had to be sent home with frostbite. Through lack of a guide it went wide of its mark and landed near the Dutch settlements; aside from firing a few cabins, this expedition achieved nothing. The second was a very hastily organized expedition of 300 men led by Captain Sorel in direct retaliation for Mohawk raids on Lake Champlain; this was recalled 20 leagues from its target when the Mohawks returned captives and offered satisfaction for the raids. The third and most successful invasion was that of de Tracy with 1,400 men. There were no serious battles because the Mohawks had taken flight, but four villages were put to the torch and the food supply was destroyed. After a few subsequent skirmishes the army returned home (JR 50:127). Although de Tracy's was in no sense a decisive victory, the action was gratefully received by the colonists and compelled the Mohawks to finally join the Upper Iroquois in a general peace with the French.

## **Using this volume**

### ***About the Extracts***

Several classes of quotations have been extracted from the *Jesuit Relations* to compile this volume: 1.) passages which make reference to any sort of warfare or combat between the Iroquois and their allies and any other nation; 2.) passages dealing with discussions of the military situation, war readiness, rumors of war, or forging of peace taking place within Iroquoia, Huronia, or among the Algonquin or Montagnais tribes; 3.) passages which detail the treatment of captives taken in battle; 4.) passages which discuss traditional war rituals among the various tribes; 5.) passages containing efforts to secure military help from other nations such as the Dutch; and 6.) passages dealing with how certain outside factors such as famine, disease, intrigue, and religion affected the war readiness, solidarity, and morale of various tribes and confederacies.

All of the extracts are arranged in the rough chronological order in which they appear in the Thwaites edition. A chronological scheme was chosen to allow the reader to better understand the sequence of events which can often

be confusing given multiple writers of the *Relations* and their tendency to jump back and forth between missions, locations, and anecdotes. To assist the reader in this regard, a detailed chronology of events has been provided in the appendices. Wherever possible, the editors have added supplemental notations for context—these are given in square brackets [\*] to differentiate them from internal notations made by translators and editors. Italic type and text appearing in Latin in the original has been retained. The often idiosyncratic spellings particularly of place-names (e.g. Kebek for Quebec), and the non-standard use of capital and lower case letters within sentences are consistent with the time period and have been left as they appear in the Thwaites edition.

The variation with regard to the names of the various tribes and nations has been a continual headache for scholars, let alone the general reader. Wherever possible, the editors have tried to clarify tribal identifications which may be less familiar. To further assist, a thorough synonymy has been provided in the appendices.

Throughout this volume, those extracts originating from the Thwaites edition of the *Jesuit Relations* are identified by the letters “JR.” Such citations will also contain volume and page number (e.g., JR 5:245). Note that the page number always refers to the page on which the extract begins.

In the body of the text, the extracts are arranged beneath a heading indicating their original source:

<i>author</i>	<i>year</i>	<i>title of the original source</i>
<b>Father Pierre Biard. 1616. Relation of New France, of its lands, nature of the country, and of its inhabitants.</b>		

To further avoid confusion, each individual extract begins with a line identifying the source, a beginning page number for the extract, and a short summary supplied by the editors. For example:

<i>Source</i>				<i>Extract text</i>
	<i>Volume #</i>	<i>Starting Page #</i>	<i>Summary</i>	
<b>JR, 28:93 [*A Huron convert is killed by the Iroquois.]</b>				

A young man—a Catechumen, who could not obtain Baptism from us because we did not see clearly enough into his Faith—resolved to go to war with some Christians....I know not what pressed this young Neophyte so strongly; but, for over seventy days, he kept asking for Baptism from the oldest of our Christians, with such fervor in his requests that finally he was promised that he should be baptized on the Sunday....

In a few of the passages, it is well to keep in mind that the English versions here are all translations from originals in French, Latin and Italian. If the meaning of a particular passage seems unclear, the editors have attempted to make it as easy as possible for the researcher to refer back to the original source, all of which are readily available in their original language at Early Canadiana Online (<http://www.canadiana.org/>), and other similar locations on the internet.

It might seem in some extracts that more was here preserved than strictly pertained to military matters. Wherever possible, the editors have removed extended sections that are not relevant to the subject at hand. When these removals occur within a particular extract, they are always marked with an ellipsis (...). In many cases, the editors have chosen to retain some extraneous material that may aid in understanding the context of the extract.

To further aid the comprehension of this mass of material, the editors have included several maps covering the period 1650-1675. Brief biographies of some of the principal individuals appearing in this volume are also included in the appendices.

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## Section One

### **“Complete Ruin and Desolation”**

#### **Destruction of the Western Iroquoians and Attacks on the Attikamegs**

**1650–1654**

*The period immediately following the destruction of the Huron and Petun in 1649 was characterized by similar all-out assaults on the Iroquoian-speaking tribes around Lake Erie: the Neutral in 1650, the Atrakwae in 1652, and the Erie in 1654. Despite initial resistance, all three of these tribes were eventually overthrown with large invasion forces which burned villages and sent their populations fleeing towards the west. During this time, the Iroquois apparently also suffered a setback against the Susquehannocks.*

*Another important campaign of this period involved deep incursions into the Attikamegue country from the St. Maurice River in 1651 and 1652. A number of battles occurred along the St. Lawrence, and Three Rivers itself was surrounded and besieged for an eight day period in August 1653 before the allies were granted a respite by the Iroquois' preoccupation with the Erie war.*

#### **Letter of Father Hierosme Lallemant to Reverend Father Claude de Lingendes, Provincial of the Society of Jesus in the Province of France.**

*JR, 36:55* [*\*Missionary to be sent to Attikamegues unless Iroquois prevent it.*]

The Attikamegues, or “white Fish,” a Northern nation of considerable importance, do not cease to urge us to visit them in their own country,—a favor which, for lack of men, could not be granted them in the past. Now that we have enough of these, we shall not fail to go thither in the early Spring, if the Hiroquois do not bar the way.

#### **Letter of the Reverend Mother Superior [Marie de St. Bonaventure] of the Hospital of Mercy at Kebec, in New France, to Monsieur N., a Citizen of Paris. September 29, 1650.**

*JR, 36:59* [*\*Huron refugees and casualties.*]

Each year has its own cross; and this last has the heaviest, in the ruin of

the country of the Hurons by the Hiroquois, who have laid it waste by fire, massacred most of its people, and compelled the remainder to take to flight, and to disperse themselves in all directions....Here are four hundred of these poor Christian Hurons taking refuge in Kebec, and cabined near the gate of our Hospital, to which they come every day for holy Mass....Our little ward for sick people is full of poor French soldiers, wounded in battle with the Hiroquois. One, in particular, has eleven dangerous wounds from arquebus shots; and I think that, with all these, he will recover, by God's aid.

**Letter of Father Gabriel Druillettes to John Winthrop, Esquire. 1651.**

*JR, 36:79* [*\*Plea for New England's military help against the Mohawks.*]

Wherefore suffer that I implore by letter your Protection—in which, after God, I consider that nearly all my hopes rest—in favor of the cause of the Lord Jesus Christ,—in other words, of the defense of the Christians against the Moaghs. These not only have long harassed the Christian Cannadians near Kebec, and most cruelly torture them by slow fire, out of hatred of the Christian Faith, but they even intend by a general massacre to destroy my akenebek Catechumens dwelling on the banks of the Kenebec River, because they have been for many years allied to the Cannadian Christians. It is chiefly for this reason that our Most Illustrious Governor of Kebec commanded me to offer you in his name the most ample Commercial advantages, and considerable compensation for the expenses of the war, in order to obtain from new England some Auxiliary troops for the defense of the Christian Cannadians (which he has already begun against the Moaghs), and which through his affection for the Christian Savages he wishes to promote, at the same time and by the same undertaking, in favor of the Akenebek Catechumens, their allies, who are Inhabitants of New England and the special clients of Plymouth Colony.

He therefore hopes that, in the same manner as your Colony of Kenetigouk subdued the ferocity of the naraganses, in favor of its dependents who live on the Pecot River,—that is to say, the Mohighens—so likewise the Colony of Plymouth will undertake to wage war, with the consent of the Assembly called that of the Commissioners, against the Moaghs,—the most cruel enemies of their Akenebek dependents, as well as of their allies, namely, the Cannadian Christians near Kebec.

This twofold Commission of mine,—to wit, in the name of Monsieur the Governor of New France, at Kebec; and separately in the name of the Savages, both the Christians and the Akenebek Catechumens,—after having been summarized, and translated into the English Tongue from my barbarous Latinity, will be joined to my present letter, I think, by a man who is an excellent friend of mine, and to whom, with that object, I gave a copy to be sent to you. For this reason, I add nothing further; but I implore you to display your kindness toward the Barbarians, and your signal Compassion toward the Poor of the Lord Jesus; not to disdain, in your General Assembly,—which, I hear, is usu-

ally held in the month of June in Hartford,—to expose the whole matter at length; to urge it upon your Magistrates; and, finally, to recommend a favorable settlement of the whole affair to the two personages who are called the commissioners of your Colony, when they go to the place where the Assembly of the Commissioners is to be held.

**Father Gabriel Dreuillette. [1651]. Narrative of the Journey made in behalf of the Mission of the Abnaquiois, and of information obtained in New England, and of the disposition of the Magistrates of that Commonwealth in regard to aid against the Iroquois.**

*JR, 36:83* [*\*Druillettes' visit to the New England colonies.*]

I left Quebec for this Mission on the first day of September [\*1650], by order of my Superior,—and with a passport and leave of absence from Monsieur d'Aillebousts, lieutenant-general of the King, and governor on all the river Saint Lawrence,—accompanied by Noel Negabamat, Captain of Scillery; also charged with credentials enabling me to speak on behalf of the said Sieur to the governors' and magistrates of that country.

I arrived at Narantsouat, which is the settlement of the Abnaquiois Savages farthest up the river of Kenebec,—fifteen or sixteen leagues from the highest settlement of the English on that river, which is sixteen leagues distant from its mouth.

I arrived on Michaelmas eve at this highest settlement of the English—which, alike by the English and Savages, is called Coussinoc; and on the following day, the festival of him whom we took for patron and guide on our journey, Noel and I conversed with the Agent of that settlement, accompanied by the Abnaquiois, to whom we had spoken on the way. Noel, speaking with his present of a bundle of Beaver skins, said to him: "Monsieur the Governor of the river Saint Lawrence, through the father who is here, speaks to those of your nation; and I, as an ally, join my word to his, not to speak to thee alone, but rather to tell thee to embark my word,"—that is to say, "my present,"—"in order to convey it to the governor of Plimout." The Agent informed them that he would do with reference to the governor and the magistrates all that could be expected from a good friend; whereupon Noel and the Abnaquiois requested that I go with him, in order to present in person the Sieur governor's letters,—to explain his intentions, according to the letter of credentials that he had; and to convey the message of the Christians of Scillery, and of the Catechumens of the Kenebec river. The Agent, named John Winslau, a merchant and a citizen of the Plimouth colony, who has a very kindly disposition, as we shall relate hereinafter, answered: "I love and respect the patriarch," "this is the name they use on this river, and on all the coast of Acadia, in speaking of me; "I will lodge him at my house, and will treat him as my own brother; for I know very well the good that he does among you, and the life which he there leads." This he said because he has a special zeal for the Conversion of the

Savages, as also has his brother Edward Winslow,—agent for this New England before the parliament of old England,—who is trying to institute a brotherhood to train and instruct the Savages, just as is practiced with the poor by the charity of London. Other details are in the letters which I wrote both to the Sieur governor at Quebecq, and to my Superior, on the fifteenth of November.

I left Coussinoc by land, with that agent, since the frigate which was to convey us had had some occasion to delay, in order to await the Savages, and not be surprised by the ice; we were therefore obliged to go ten leagues, to embark by sea at Maremiten, which the Savages call Natsouac. That road was difficult, especially to the Agent, who is already growing old, and who assured me that he would never have undertaken it if he had not given his word to Noel.

On the twenty-fifth, we set sail; and on the way we found at Temeriscau some English fishermen, some of whom complained to the Agent because he was conducting a Frenchman along that coast, who was a spy to serve the french, who were likely to ravage their settlements.

Contrary winds prevented us from reaching Kepane, which forms the Cape of the great bay of Boston, until the fifth of December; for the same reason, we were compelled to go partly by land and partly by boat, in order to cross over the great bay to Charleston; we there crossed the river which separates it from Boston, where we arrived on the eighth. The principal men of Charleston, knowing that I came on behalf of the Sieur governor, went ahead to give notice to Major-General Gebin, so that he might be present at my entrance into his abode. His agent, John Winslow,—whom I shall henceforth call my *pereira*, on account of the friendliness which he ever showed me,—having made his report to Sieur Gebin regarding the occasion of my journey, he received me as a veritable ambassador on the part of the Sieur governor. He also gave me a key to an apartment in his house, where I could with complete liberty offer my prayer, and perform my religious exercises; and begged me to take no other lodgings while I should sojourn at Boston.

The next day, the eighth, Sieur Gebin, accompanied by [*blank space*], conducted me [*blank space*] from boston to a village named Rogsbray, where at that time was Sieur Dudley, Governor of Boston, to whom I presented my credentials on the part of the Sieur governor,—which, having opened, he commanded an interpreter to translate from french into english.

He was told that this man came to speak on behalf of Nouel and the Christians of Scillery, as also of the Abnaquiois Catechumens, who had made me their ambassador to him. He then appointed a day to hear me,—on the following Tuesday, the thirteenth of December,—giving orders that the magistrates should be notified to betake themselves to Boston on that day.

On the thirteenth, the Sieur Governor of Boston and the Magistrates invited me to dine, and, at the close, gave me audience. Besides the Magistrates and the Secretary, there was present a man deputed by the people, whom they call a “representative.”

I made a special entreaty on behalf of the Abnaquiois who had been killed

by the Iroquois,—this is in the letter written to father Lejeune, in the eighth clause,—after which I was told to withdraw. Later, I was invited to supper, after which they gave me the answer which is in the other letter, in the clause before mentioned.

In regard to the character which I assumed of ambassador for my Catechumens of the Kenebec, they told me that Boston took no interest therein, and that I must address myself to Plimouth.

I left boston on the twenty-first of that month, December, for plimouth, where I arrived on the morrow, with my [*blank space*] who lodged me with one of the five farmers of Koussinoc, named padis. The governor of the place, named John Brentford, received me with courtesy, and appointed me an audience for the next day; and he invited me to a dinner of fish, which he prepared on my account, knowing that it was Friday. I found considerable favor in this settlement, for the farmers—and among others the captain, Thomas Willets—spoke to the governor in advocacy of my negotiation; and afterward we had discussions, which are contained in the letter, in the [*blank space*] clause.

24th. I left on the twenty-fourth, and returned to boston by land, in company with the son and the nephew of my [*blank space*], who paid for me during the journey. I arrived at Rosqbray, where the minister, named Master heliot, who was teaching some savages, received me at his house, because night was overtaking me; he treated me with respect and kindness, and begged me to spend the winter with him.

The next day, the twenty-ninth, I arrived at boston, and proceeded to the Sieur major-general guebin's.

On the thirtieth of the said month, I spoke to Sieur Ebens, one of the magistrates, who assured me that he was very glad that the governor of Plimout was willing to grant aid against the Iroquois. He said that it was very reasonable to succor one's Christian brethren, even if of another religion,—and especially against a pagan persecutor of the Christians. He presented to me the answer of the Sieur governor of boston and of the magistrates, to those of monsieur the governor.

On the last of the said month, I returned to Rosquebray to ask permission from Sieur Dudley, the Governor, that safe-conduct might be inserted in the letter for the passage of the french who might wish to go through boston against the Iroquois; and, grasping my hand, he said to me: "Assure Monsieur your governor that we wish to be his good friends and servants, whatever war there may be between the crowns. I am very glad that the governor of plimout is willing to further the assistance that you desire against the Iroquois: I will aid him with all my power."

On the first of January, I wrote a franked letter to father Le Jeune,—by an english ship which was to sail on the eighth day of the same month,—concerning the whole state of affairs; monsieur Guebins wrote to Monsieur de Latour, and addressed the whole to [*blank space*] to Sieur Rosee. I begged father Lejeune to send an answer, both to boston and to Monsieur our gover-

nor, by the fishermen of gaspey,—the tenor of which is in the letter, in the [*blank space*] article.

I wrote also to Sieur Edward Winslow, at the request of Monsieur his brother, begging him to write in favor of our business to the Magistrates of New England.

Some time after, I wrote to Sieur Wintrop,—son of the late Sieur Wintrop, the former governor of boston,—who is one of the principal Magistrates of the colony of Kenetigout, a very good friend, as is said, of the French and Savages.

On the third of the same month, I spoke to Sieur gebin, who told me that he would do what he could in favor of aid against the Iroquois, but that he believed that the people of Boston would not take any part therein; that, nevertheless, he believed that there would be means to humble the Iroquois. Perhaps he directs his purpose to a new discovery which he has begun, toward new Sweden.

On the fifth, Sieur Guebin conducted me to the harbor, and very particularly commended me to Thomas Yau, master of a bark which was sailing for Kenebec.

On the ninth of the same month, the bad weather detained us at Morbletz, where there are many persons; the minister, named William Walter, received me with great kindness. In his company I went to Salem, to converse with Sieur Indicott, who speaks and understands french well; he is a good friend to our nation, and desirous that his children should continue in this friendship. Seeing that I had no money, he paid my expenses, and had me eat with the Magistrates, who during eight days gave audience to every one. I left with him, in the form of a letter, a power of attorney which he asked from me, in order to act efficiently during the general Court of boston, which was to be held on the thirteenth of May. He assured me that he would do his utmost to obtain consent from the colony of Boston, which served as a standard for the others,—telling me that the governor of Plimout had good reason for seeking to obtain that from the colonies. At my departure, he told me that he had carefully read what I had left in writing on behalf of Monsieur our governor, and of my Catechumens, and that he perfectly understood it; that he would despatch a man to carry me a letter at Kennebec; and that he would tell me, as soon as he could, what he should have done in this matter, and obtained from the Magistrates....

On the twenty-fifth, at Peskatigwet, Thomas Yau, master of the bark which conveyed me back to Kenebec, of his own free impulse asks me for a simple certificate of the peace and friendly understanding between New France and New England,—that he might proceed to isle percee, about the month of April or May, with thirty tons of indian corn, besides other commodities.

On the seventh of February, at Tameriskau, where the fishermen show me much friendliness; they were the very ones who had accounted me a spy, on my way to Boston.

On the eighth of February, I depart for the river of Kenebec, where I continue my interrupted mission. All the English who are on this river received me with many demonstrations of friendship.

On the thirteenth of April, Monsieur John Winslau, my true [blank space], arrived from plimout and boston at Koussinoc. He assures me that all the Magistrates and the two Commissioners of plimout have given their word, and resolved that the other colonies should be urged to join them against the Iroquois in favor of the Abnaquiois, who are under the protection of this colony of Pleymount,—which has the proprietorship of Koussinoc, and for its rights of lordship takes the sixth part of what accrues from the trade. He said, moreover, that Monsieur brentford, the governor,—who is one of the five merchants, or farmers, who furnish everything necessary for the trade,—had already despatched, by the twentieth of March, Captain Master Thomas Wilhet,—who is greatly attached to the Abnaquiois, with whom he has been acquainted at Koussinoc for several years,—with letters presented in behalf of aid against the Iroquois. He carries these to the governors of Harfort, or Kenetigout, which is on the river of the Sokouckiois, fifty leagues from pley-mout; and of Nieufhaven, or Kwinopiers, which is ten leagues from Harfort; and even to the governor of Manate, in order to prevent him from further trading arms to the Iroquois, and to urge upon him that he shall not only not oppose those who would attack the Iroquois, but even aid the English in this project, by virtue of the union upon which, some years ago, he entered with New England.

This Captain has orders to be present at Nieufhaven or Kwinopeia, in order to solicit the Commissioners, or deputies, of the four colonies, who are to assemble there.

He also told me that the common rumor in boston, where he had been ten or fifteen days, was, that Monsieur Indicot would be governor of that colony at the first general court, which was to be held about the seventeenth of May.

The same, and the letters of some private citizens of boston, affirm that the general sentiment of the citizens of boston is, that, if the republic will not resolve upon this aid against the Iroquois by public authority, private volunteers are ready for that expedition, upon the mere permission of that request,—just as, by favor of Monsieur Guebins in behalf of Monsieur latour, some troops went against the late Monsieur daunay.

On the twenty-fourth of April, the Sokouckiois arrives, bringing a message on the part of four villages,—to wit, of the Sokouckiois, of the Pagamptagwe, of the Penagouc, and of the Mahingans, situated on the river of manate; he answers the propositions that I had made to him by word of mouth, last autumn, the eighteenth of November. (The Abnaquiois, joining me, had made a present to the Sokouckiois, of fifteen collars, and ten or twelve porcelain bracelets, which might be valued at seven or eight bundles of Beaver skins,—in order to say to them: “Do what Onontio and tekwirimaeth tell you.”) He said that those four villages, having held a Council during three



months of the past winter, had resolved to take the risks against the Iroquois with Onontio and Noel, whether the English did or did not undertake the war against the Iroquois; and, when the Iroquois shall be exterminated, they will oppose every other nation whatsoever that may wish to make war toward Quebecq. 2nd. He adds that several other nations, which are allied to these, will accompany them to war,—especially, one called Noutchihiuict, very numerous and dreaded by the Iroquois. It is situated between the Mahingans and Manathe.

He offers to Nouel Takwirimath either now to wipe away the blood of the Algonquins and of the Sokouckiois who have killed one another inadvertently, or for lack of recognizing one another; or, else, to wait until after the death of the Iroquois, in order to give each other the satisfaction which they are accustomed to render mutually in such a case.

#### *Reflection Upon the Hope Inspired by the Savages*

It is certain that all the Nations of Savages which are in New England hate the Iroquois, and fear lest, after the Hurons and the Algonquains, he will exterminate them. Indeed, he has broken the heads of many of their men, finding them hunting Beaver, without making any satisfaction.

Moreover, it is certain that the Sokouckiois have been closely allied to the Algonquains, and are very glad to deliver themselves from the annual tribute of porcelain which the Iroquois exact,—nay, even, to revenge themselves for the death of many of their fellow-countrymen, killed by the Iroquois. Besides that, they hope for the beaver hunt about quebecq, after the destruction of the Iroquois.

Finally, it is certain that the single nation of Noutchihout, which has arms, is enough, at the very least, to divert the Iroquois so well that they shall not have leisure to do us any notable harm.

#### *Reflections Touching What May be Hoped from New England against the Iroquois*

1st. I suppose it a thing perfectly assured that the English of the four united colonies—to wit, Boston, Pleymeouth, Kenetigout, and Kwinopeia—are very well equipped for exterminating the savage nations; they have exterminated two of them, *usque ad mingentem ad parietem*. They are so strong in point of numbers that, in the single colony of Boston, four thousand men can be put in the field. They number, in these four colonies, at least forty thousand souls; and besides, the route by which they can reach the Iroquois is very short and very easy.

2nd. I suppose that the special article of their union, which reads that, without the consent of the Commissioners or of the deputies of these four colonies, no one of these colonies can undertake any offensive war, would therefore require that those deputies assemble to deliberate in that matter; and that three colonies consent to this aid, so that the majority of votes may carry the question.

Now that supposes, I think, that we have fairly good prospects of this aid by means of the English, because we have a moral certainty that, of four colonies, three are for consenting.

2nd. The governor of Plymouth, with all his magistrates, not only consents, but urges this affair in favor of the Abnaquiois, who are under the protection of the Plymouth Colony.

The whole Colony has a very considerable interest therein, because by the right of Proprietorship it takes, each year, the sixth part of all that accrues from the trade on this river of Quinebec.

And, in particular, the governor himself, with four others of the most important citizens,—who are, as it were, farmers of this trade,—would lose much, by losing all prospect of the trade of Kennebec and of Kebec, by means of the Abnaquiois,—which will soon inevitably happen if the Iroquois continues to kill it, and to hunt to death those Abnaquiois, as he has been doing for some years.

The governor has a strong precedent for obtaining this aid, all the colonies having waged war in favor of a savage nation which is on the river of Pecot, named Morchigander; because the Colony of Kenetigwet, having the said nation under its protection, asked the three other colonies to undertake this war.

See the matter more at length in the copy of the letter written to the Reverend Father le Jeune in the [*blank space*] article.

As to what this governor has answered and has done, add that every one affirms that this governor's authority is all-powerful.

2nd. The vice-governor of Boston, Monsieur Indicott, who very probably is now governor, has given his word that he would do his utmost in order to have all the Magistrates of Boston consent thereto, and unite with the governor of Plymouth. All the magistrates of Boston write that they will strongly recommend the matter to the deputies.

The interest which Boston has therein is the hope of a good trade with Quebec,—especially as that which it has with Virginia, and with the islands of Barbade and Saint Christoph, is on the point of being broken off by the war which the parliamentarians are agitating, in order to destroy the authority of the governors who still hold for the king of England.

This interest has caused the merchants of Boston to say, in advance, that, if the commonwealth should hesitate to send troops thither, the volunteers would be satisfied with a simple permission for such an expedition.

3rd. The principal magistrate of the colony of Kenetigout, named Monsieur Wintrop,—son of the late Monsieur Wintrop, who first wrote to Quebec in behalf of trade,—is very friendly to the French, and will probably do what he can in behalf of this aid, in consequence of the letter which I have written to him, begging him to complete what his father began.

As for the governor of Kwinopeia, since every one declares that he is exceedingly reasonable, there are indications that, if he does not promote this

affair, at the very least he will not hinder it,—especially since Boston and Pleymouth, which are the two most important colonies, and a sort of standard for the others, urge him on. Besides all that, I have written, with Monsieur John Winslau, to Monsieur Edward Winslau,—the agent in England for the affairs of these four Colonies,—in order that he write a word in favor of the Christians and the Savage Catechumens, whom he tenderly loves. A word from him is all-powerful upon the mind of the deputies of these four Colonies. Finally, what I have represented on the part of Monsieur the governor of Quebecq, and in behalf of the Savage Christians, seems to be so urgent that they will hardly be able to excuse themselves unless they decide upon this aid.

I have placed before you the whole matter at length. At least, this favorable disposition of these three Colonies is enough to make us hope for a permission in behalf of the volunteers who shall be willing to deal the blow; or, at the very least, favorable letters for the province of Mariland, wholly composed of English Catholics, who are quite near the Iroquois.

### **Journal of the Jesuit Fathers, in the year 1651.**

**JR, 36:115** [*\*Hurons unjustly accused of murdering a Frenchman.*]

March. 2. We receive news by three Hurons—Ateaskwentiondi, Andaskwaent, and Andaono'ti—that a frenchman was lying dead, toward the River of Jaques Cartier. They reported having found him frozen, without any wound,—save in one hand, which the foxes or other animals had eaten. These Hurons offered to return thither with some soldiers of the *flying camp*. They had covered the body with branches of fir; they found it with one cheek injured, and the skin torn off, also wounded in the nose. The soldiers circulated the report that he had been killed by the Hurons; but without reason,—for there appeared no mortal blow, or any stroke of a hatchet or knife, or any wound by firearms, etc.

**JR, 36:117** [*\*Iroquois expeditions against the Neutral; skirmishes around the St. Lawrence.*]

[\*April] 22. The large boat from Three Rivers arrives, with the sailors who had wintered there. We receive letters from Montreal, which say that 40 Iroquois had appeared there on the 1st day of March, but had been discovered; that, after a number of shots fired on both sides, they had said that last autumn an army of 1500 Iroquois, who had gone to the neutral Nation, had swept away a village there; that the people of the Neutral Nation having fallen upon them, under the guidance of the Tahonta,enrat, 200 of the enemies had been captured or killed; and that, this winter, another army of 1200 had returned thither, to avenge that loss.

26. A shallop arrived from Three Rivers, which had started thence the day before, with six soldiers of the *flying camp*, who bring news: 1st, that on the previous day a Huron, named Onda,aiondiont,—escaped from a band of

eleven Iroquois, whom he had left toward la Poterie,—had given warning that this band of Iroquois was coming to deal its blow here at Quebec; 2nd, that 4 *ondassa,anens*, led by a Huron named N. Aontenawi, were prowling about somewhere to make their attack.

3rd, that above Montreal there were 300 Iroquois, in various bands.

4th, that Atendera and 7 other Hurons had been captured, toward the end of the summer, in the little island opposite Ahwendo,e—of whom the said Onda,aiondiont was one.

5th, that the band of Andotitak, Thawenda, and others, who had gone up with Father Bressany, had all been defeated and taken captive, 12 leagues from Ahwendo,e.

6th, that 7 Iroquois had killed three Hurons of the band of ohenhen, who went back to the Hurons last autumn; but that, this ohenhen having withstood the enemy, the latter had taken flight.

7th, that only 600 Iroquois had dealt their blow to the neutral Nation; *de quo supra*.

8, that Tehan'doutasen had returned thither,—he the hundredth,—this summer, to require an account of the affront which had been offered them, etc.

27th. About seven o'clock in the evening, Nicolas Pinel and his son Gilles were attacked in their clearing by two Iroquois, who thought to take them alive. Boisverdon fired on them, without wounding them; Master Nicolas and his son, were struck with fear, and rushed away down the mountain, to escape. These Iroquois having gone to join others,—toward the house of Nopce,—they fired an arquebus shot into the door of the house. The dogs on the hill of Ste. Genevieve barked all that night.

**JR, 36:123** [*\*Iroquois raids along the St. Lawrence*]

[May 1651]. We have learned by letters from both Montreal and Three Rivers:

1st, that Jaques ondhwarak and his uncle, Charles Aontrati, were captured by the Iroquois, this winter, while hunting.

2nd, that, about the end of April, Susane Aia'ris was mortally wounded by three enemies, and her little son Denys, aged 6 years, carried away.

3rd, that the onnonta'eronnons this winter besieged our fort at Ahwen'do,e, and had destroyed a hundred men....

11th. Two Iroquois, being ready to deal their blow in the house of Nicolas Peltier, are perceived; item, two others,—or the same two,—near the house of Thomas Hayot.

14. Monsieur the Governor and I leave Quebec for Three Rivers, where we arrive the next day, in the *St. Joseph*,—Monsieur Godefroy, in the *Ste. Anne*. . . . We learn the news of an Annie'ronnon who was killed, and of another who was captured, by six Algonquins who had been to war. This Captive Annie'ronnon was put to death at Montreal.

18. We leave Three Rivers for Montreal, where we arrive the next day at 8 o'clock in the morning. . . . We learn there: . . . 1st, that on the sixth day of

the month, about 50 Iroquois had killed Big Jean and had cut off his head; and that they had taken captive his wife Caterine, whom they had left for dead, having removed the entire scalp from her head. A young man of 21 years, named Jean chicot, who [blank space]. These Iroquois robbed the miller's house, and partly the house of the aforesaid Big Jean, within sight and hearing of the fort. . . . 2nd. On the tenth of May, at two o'clock after midnight, about 40 Iroquois attacked and tried to set fire to the brewery; but 4 frenchmen who slept there repelled the enemy. The house of Ste. Susane and the house of la vigne were burned at the same time.

24. We depart from Montreal, and arrive the next day at Three Rivers about 4 o'clock in the evening. There we find that quite recently ten Iroquois had made their attack, six of them having fired upon a canoe with two frenchmen, who had gone to take up a line,—within sight of the fort, and within a musket's range. These Iroquois had lain in wait at the edge of the wood, and fired two shots, by which the two frenchmen were felled in their canoe,—Noel Godin receiving a number of mortal wounds, from which he died on the ninth day after his injury; the other, named La Jeunesse, having an arm broken, and a shoulder pierced through and through, by a ball. That very evening they were sent in a shallop to Quebec, in order to be cared for at the hospital. The Four others, of those ten Iroquois, had gone into the clearings, where they killed a Huron named Honditsoa, or itehoiachon'nen.

**JR, 36:129** [*\*Druillettes leaves for New England; Iroquois attacks.*]

[\*June] 22. Father Druillettes, Monsieur Godefroy, and Jean Guerin leave with the Abnaquinois and a *Sokoquinois* for New England; 7 or 8 canoes. Noel Tekwerimat is of the party...

29. 2 Algonquins were taken at the fall of la Chaudiere, opposite Sillery, by five Iroquois. . . . Our brother Pierre feauté had been there the day before, and went there the same day to visit his nets.

30. Another Algonquin is taken by the same Iroquois, toward la Poterie; his companion, Mathieu, escaped. They were going to 3 Rivers.

**JR, 36:131** [*\*Iroquois raids on the St. Lawrence and Lake Nipissing.*]

[\*July] 4. News arrives from 3 Rivers concerning 3 Algonquin women, who escaped from the Iroquois; and of 2 Algonquin men,—one captured at the Chaudiere fall, the other, who was thought to have been captured on the 30th of the preceding month. *Vide supra*. News of the condition of the Hurons, and of the defeat of the Tangwaonronnons, on the lake of the Nipissiriniens, by 50 Iroquois....

On the 30th, the bark from Three Rivers arrives, which brings as news: 1st, that, on the 27th of May, 4 Hurons who had come from the Neutral Nation had said, when they arrived at Montreal, that the two collars given by Monsieur the Governor to Ohenhen, as bearer thereof, had been received, etc. and, that Jaques Ondhwara'k, captured in the spring while hunting, with his

uncle Aontrati, had returned from Anniene,—arriving at Montreal on the 8th day of June, the day of the Blessed Sacrament,—and had brought for news that, etc. 3rd, that on the 18th day of June,—a Sunday,—at the conclusion of the two Masses, they had fought at Montreal against 50 or 60 Iroquois, in which combat the french had behaved valiantly,—an Iroquois Captain being left there on the spot, and several having been wounded. Four frenchmen were wounded there, and among these, Leonard Barbau, who survived only two days. . . . 4th, that many Iroquois bands were continually appearing, without having dealt any blow. *Item* at Three Rivers.

On the 15th of July, a band of Iroquois had seized a Huron named Tearachia'kwa, and had killed another, named Sohonetsi,—four others having escaped; these six Hurons had been on the other side of the River, in the morning, in three canoes, to get hay. The Iroquois, having dealt their blow on the other side of the River, noticed that our french, to the number of about 50, were going by land to bring back the cattle, which were more than a league distant from Three Rivers. They jumped into their canoes; and, having crossed the River, they came to land at a place still farther away, where some oxen and cows were,—our french not yet having arrived there. They killed five beasts there on the spot, the best of which they carried off; but, besides that, there were found missing twelve or thirteen others, both oxen and cows; *sive ab Iroquæis occisi sint boves*, or else they may have become dispersed and lost.

On the 26th, five Iroquois canoes appeared at Three Rivers, without accomplishing anything, except to kill a heifer there. This they left on the spot, having been constrained to recross the River hastily,—seeing that they were discovered, and that the french were moving toward them, partly by water, partly by land.

### August.

On the 7th, Maturin, Antoine des Rosiers' man, was killed at Three Rivers by the Iroquois; he had started as early as four o'clock in the morning, to go and shoot crows in his field. He was found dead on the road, with two arquebus shots in the breast, and a hatchet in his head. Some men had started that morning in a shallop, in order to go and get some pine logs, at a place named la Piniere; they found everything burned,—by the enemies, as is believed....

15th. We receive letters from Father Druillettes, dated July 12th, at Kousinok on Kenebeki,—where he had arrived on the 3rd day of July, and whence he was to start for Boston on the 13th....

On the 25th, we receive letters from Montreal, by which we learn: 1st, that Denys Archambaut had been instantly killed by a cannon which burst while he was firing it, for the third time, against 60 Iroquois. This was on the 26th of July.

2nd, that Athohonchiwane and Toratati had arrived from the Hurons on the 1st of August.

3rd, that on the 16th of August the Iroquois, having appeared toward the middle of the clearings, were put to flight by our french.

27th. Torata'ti arrives at Quebec, and informs us of the condition of the Hurons.

31st. Noel Tekwerimat returns from Boston, with letters from Father Druillettes.

**JR, Chap. 36:139** [*\*Sokokis acting suspiciously and an army of Iroquois cause alarm.*]

[\*September] 3rd. La fleur de Paris, Tandoutaionk, and an Algonquinized Abnaquinois, start to go and bring Father Druillettes....

The same day [\*September 18], an hour before sunset, Louyse, wife of Chagniau, was killed in her house by the Iroquois. Only 3 Iroquois were seen....

On the evening of the same day [\*September 22], there arrived at Sillery a canoe of three Sokoquinois, about 7 o'clock in the evening; one of whom was he who had come here in the spring as Ambassador. These sokoquinois told Noel Tekwerimat that they had come in Company with a hundred other Sokoquinois, whom they had left engaged in hunting, toward Richelieu; but they contradicted themselves in their story, so that there was every reason to suspect that there might be some trickery in the behavior of these sokoquinois, and that they came *animo potius hostili, quàm amico*. Noel having given warning to some canoes of Hurons, who were fishing for eels near Sillery, those Hurons came by night to spread the alarm here at Quebec,—saying that there were 200 Iroquois quite near Sillery, who were coming to attack it. To aid both Sillery and Cap rouge, a troop of french were despatched at once, who arrived there before day. The three sokoquinois became terrified thereby, and two of them took flight, escaping over the walls. The third one remained,—*is scilicet qui Legatus huc venerat*.

In the bark Ste. Anne was a Huron named Tsawenhohi, from Arhetsi, who had arrived in the month of August at Montreal, with a nephew of his, named A,arenhon,ok, who came from Atra'kwae. They told as news: 1st, the capture of Teoto'ndiaton, and the desolation of the Neutral Nation: *quàm alio modo narrabant* from what we had been given to understand before. 2nd, they told us that those of St. Michel Atahonta,enrat, and the Arendae'ronnons, had given themselves freely to the sonnontw'eronnons. 3rd, that those Gentlemen of st. Michel had already held many councils with their new kinsmen, the Sonnontwe'ronnons, *de feriendo fædere cum Gallis, Contra* the Iroquois Annie'ronnons; and that for this purpose they were about to man a canoe for this place, with 4 Tahonta,enrat and 2 Sonnontwe'ronnons, in order to know the purpose and opinion of onnontio.

On the 23rd, a shallop arrives from 3 Rivers, to give us warning that an Iroquois canoe had been perceived passing by 3 Rivers, coming down here; and that the Iroquois were in the field.

On the 24th of the same month, the Sokoquinois who had stayed behind withdrew *incognito*, with an Abnaquinois, having stolen a canoe from Thomas Hayot....

On the 26th, the news arrives at Quebec of 36 Huron canoes, who are coming to swell our Colony. Aenhio, ondhataionk, Hoek, Handotonk.

**JR, 36:147** [*\*Iroquois capture 20 Attikamegs.*]

25th [\*of October 1651]. We receive news from 3 Rivers that the Iroquois had been in the country of the Atikamegues, and that they had there captured 20 persons, at the place of the second assembly.

**JR, 36:149** [*\*Iroquois at Three Rivers and Montreal.*]

On the same day [\*December 4, 1651], news came of some Iroquois who had pursued Poisson's canoe, which was going up to 3 Rivers.

[\*December] 8. A canoe arrives from 3 Rivers, by which we learn of the capture by the Iroquois, at Montreal, of a Huron named Tentenhawita; which occurred on the 15th of November.

**Fr. Paul Ragueneau. 1652. Relation of what occurred most remarkable in the Missions of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, New France, in the years 1650 and 1651. From Quebec, October 28th, 1651.**

**JR, 36:165** [*\*Iroquois continually appear around Montreal—only Frenchmen remain but they have so far repelled the attacks.*]

The wheat crop has been very good everywhere, this year, but especially at Montreal, where the land is most excellent. That spot would be an earthly Paradise for both the Savages and the French, were it not for the terror of the Iroquois, who make their appearance there almost continually and nearly render the place uninhabitable. On this account, the Savages have withdrawn from it; and only about fifty French remain there. It is a wonder that they have not been exterminated by the frequent surprises of the Iroquois bands, which have many times been stoutly resisted and repelled. Monsieur de Maison-neuve has maintained that settlement by his good management. Peace has reigned among the French, and so has the fear of God. The greatest misfortune that has happened to them was in the person of a poor French woman who was seized in the month of May by about fifty Iroquois, in the very sight of the fort, and was carried away a captive. Afterward, she was cruelly burned by those barbarians, after they had torn off her breasts, cut off her nose and ears, and vented their fury on that poor innocent lamb, in revenge for the death of eight of their men, who had fallen in a battle this Summer. God gave that poor woman courage and piety in the midst of the tortures; she ceased not to implore his aid; her eyes were fixed on heaven, and her heart was faithful to God unto death; on expiring, the name of Jesus still lingered on her lips, and she invoked him as long as her sufferings lasted.

At three Rivers, some French and some Hurons were killed this Summer by Iroquois bands. The assistance that has come to us from France this year is



absolutely needed in this place; for, to tell the truth, it has existed only through a miracle.

**JR, 36:177** [*\*Defeat of the Neutrals and the fate of the remaining Hurons.*]

The Iroquois have not waged so pitiless a war against us for a year as we had feared. They turned their arms against the Neutral nation whither they sent the bulk of their forces, They met with success, and captured two villages on the frontier, in one of which there were over sixteen hundred men. The first was taken toward the end of Autumn; the second, at the beginning of Spring. Great was the carnage, especially among the old people and the children, who would not have been able to follow the Iroquois to their country. The number of captives was exceedingly large,—especially of young women, whom they reserve, in order to keep up the population of their own villages. This loss was very great, and entailed the complete ruin and desolation of the Neutral nation; the inhabitants of their other villages, which were more distant from the enemy, took fright; abandoned their houses, their property, and their country; and condemned themselves to voluntary exile, to escape still further from the fury and cruelty of the conquerors. Famine pursues these poor fugitives everywhere, and compels them to scatter through the woods and over the more remote lakes and rivers, to find some relief from the misery that keeps pace with them and causes them to die.

Those of the Hurons who, when their country was ruined, had turned their steps toward the Neutral nation were assailed by the same misfortune; some were killed on the spot, while others were dragged into captivity. I pray God that their faith may not be made captive, and that all the tortures may not tear it from their hearts, as I learn of some who have manifested their piety even until death. Some others who were more fortunate, and escaped from these ruins, have gone toward New Sweden, to the South; others have gone toward the West, and others are on the way hither, to join our Huron Colony. A canoe that was sent on ahead came and gave us notice of this.

The former inhabitants who remained in the villages of saint Michel and saint Jean Baptiste,—which, before our misfortunes, were two of our Huron Missions,—when they saw that there was no end to their evils, and that one misfortune was followed by another, went of their own accord to a Tribe of our enemies, the Iroquois, and now live as peacefully with them as if they had never been at war. We know not what the designs of God are respecting these peoples; but an excellent Christian told me, some time ago, that perhaps it was for the furtherance of the faith that so many good Christians were thus scattered, in order that the name of God might be made known and adored everywhere, even in the midst of our cruelest enemies.

Last year, after we had left the island of sainte Marie, the Hurons who had not followed us in our retreat, but who had given their word that they would come down after us at the end of the Summer, were prevented from carrying out their design, through a crowd of misfortunes which overtook them, one

after another. The frost killed a portion of the corn, and this caused the famine to continue. A party of Hurons whom we met, and who were going back to their own country after wintering at Quebec, were defeated on the great lake by a band of about three hundred Iroquois, who lay in wait for them as they passed,—and who doubtless would have surprised us, had not God enabled us to avoid their ambushes. A band of about fifty men of the Tobacco Nation, who came after us, and followed our trail, were defeated by the same enemy. A great many Christian families who had scattered here and there, to live by fishing, met with captivity or death. Thirty Iroquois had the boldness to land on the island of sainte Marie, where they erected a fortress, from which they sallied out to massacre and take captives at the very gate of the fort which we had left, and in which the Hurons had taken refuge. An attempt was made to besiege these thirty Iroquois, but they defended themselves stoutly; they killed the bravest of our Hurons when they approached, and had the address and good fortune to escape without any loss.

Toward the end of the Autumn, another band of Iroquois proceeded to that island, to carry away the remainder of the Hurons who dwelt on it. They erected a fort on the mainland opposite the island, with the object of capturing all who might go away from it. In fact, some Hurons fell into these ambushes,—among others, one named Estienne Annaotaha, a man of note and courage, who, just as he was about to defend himself, was arrested by the cries of the enemy, who told him that they had not come to do any harm, but that their thoughts were all of peace; and that they brought rich presents to invite the remnants of the Hurons, who were dying of hunger, to take refuge among them, so that in future they might be but one people. This man,—whose life is but one series of combats and adventures, and who has always been accompanied by blessings, even in the midst of his misfortunes,—without changing countenance, feigned that he believed them; then, without manifesting any distrust, he walked, with head erect, into their fort, with the object of deceiving them themselves; for he knew very well that all they did meant nothing but treachery. They spread out their presents before him. “It is not to me,” he said, “that these presents should be given, but to more hoary heads than mine, which are the counsel and the soul of our country. What they will say shall be done. Keep me here as a hostage, and send to them those of your number whom you consider the most prudent and the most courageous.” “Not at all,” they said; “we depute thee on that errand, and thy comrades shall remain as hostages.” Three Iroquois went with him as Ambassadors. At the entrance of the village he uttered a joyous cry which is, as it were, a signal for calling the people together; they all hastened thither. “My brothers,” he said; “Heaven is propitious to us to-day, because to-day I have found life in death, not only for myself, but for all those who will not refuse the happiness that comes to our doors from the side whence we feared our greatest misfortune. The Iroquois have changed countenance, for their hearts have altered; their thoughts are no longer of blood or of fires, except to change them into bonfires. They are our

brothers; they are our fathers; they are the deliverers of our country, who now give us life, after having almost led us to the grave. Let us not refuse it." He explains to them the designs of the Iroquois, without in any way betraying his suspicions, or the thoughts that he keeps hidden in his heart. The old Captains manifest in their eyes and in their speech the joy that they feel in receiving this news. There is nothing but public acclamations from all the people, from the women and the children, who redouble their joyful cries and commence to breathe liberty. The three Iroquois who were present could not hope for anything more favorable to the design that brought them there. They were taken into a cabin, and while they were treated to everything that was most delicious in the village, three or four of the wisest heads held a secret council with Estienne Annaotaha, who told them his suspicions. They all came to the same conclusion,—that they should in no wise trust this enemy, who had so often been treacherous; that their design was no doubt to deceive them, but that they themselves should be deceived, and that means should be taken to turn this opportunity to advantage. The execution of the plan was left to him who had so happily commenced it. On leaving the secret council, the Captains went through the streets, urging the women to begin pounding their Indian corn, and collecting their provisions,—to be ready to start in three days, and go in company with the Iroquois to a country which they should no longer look upon as hostile, but as a land of promise; and as a new country, wherein they would forget their past evils in undisturbed feelings of joy, which would lead them gently to the grave. This was said so boldly that no one could doubt it. The women set to work to do what they were commanded; on their side, the men prepared what was necessary for the journey; all, both great and small, were busily occupied at this. The news of this was carried to the fort where the Iroquois awaited the result; and, to remove all suspicion of deceit, Estienne was the first to return thither. There were many embassies on both sides, with as much confidence as if there never had been war between them, until our Hurons had attracted into their fort over thirty Iroquois,—when they seized and killed the treacherous enemies, who were biding their time to carry out the same plan, but were forestalled. One of them candidly admitted it, and said that on this occasion the Demon of war had not been propitious to them. These thirty Iroquois were the choicest and the bravest of their band. Three of them succeeded in effecting their escape, as they had been warned of what was to be done; Estienne wished, in doing so, to return the kindness that he had received from them when he was taken captive, and they spared his life, at the same time that Father Jean de Brebeuf and Father Gabriel Lallemant, of blessed memory, were put to death by those barbarians. When the Iroquois who remained in the fort heard of the massacre of their people, they were seized with fear, and at once took to flight.

In the Spring, our Hurons, who were sure that a powerful army would swoop down upon them to avenge this injury, hastened their retreat,—some over the ice; others in canoes, as soon as it was possible to embark in them.

They fled, and retreated to another island called Ekaentoton, sixty leagues from there. Indeed, it was time to leave. The enemy vented their fury on some families of Christians, and on some old people and children who were unable to embark, because there were not enough canoes. Fire never loses its heat or its activity; and the hearts of the Iroquois will never cease to be cruel, as long as they remain pagans.

At the same time, a number of Algonquins, who had gathered together on the lake of the Nipissiriniens,—where they were fishing for sturgeon, intending to go down to three Rivers,—were surprised and massacred by a band of Iroquois. The poor women and children were, as usual, dragged away into captivity. Some, however, fortunately succeeded in escaping; they journeyed over the hundred and two hundred leagues of road, to come and join us. God's guidance of his elect is ever as adorable as it is loving; the infidels who blaspheme his name and oppose his glory prosper in their ways, while the Christians, as soon as they begin to adore him and to become his people, find everywhere only crosses, and misfortunes are their lot. Praise be to him forever for this.

A fleet of about forty Huron canoes, all Christians, which left Ekaentoton arrived safely to increase our Huron colony down here. God guided their steps, and protected them from the ambushes of the Iroquois. Hunger was another enemy that tormented them and kept them company,—for they brought no provisions with them from a country which, as it was no longer an abode of the living, but of the dead, was sterile this year,—and compelled the poor wanderers to throw themselves in our arms, to receive at the same time the life of the body and that of the soul.

**JR, 36:193** [*\*Sillery's defenses.*]

The Residence of saint Joseph at Sillery can now serve, more than ever, as a refuge for the Christian Savages in their necessities, and as an asylum in their fear of the enemy... They go there all the more willingly, because they find themselves protected this year by a good and strong wall, which is flanked at the four corners and can withstand the assaults of the Iroquois. The Savages know very well that it is not a place that is open to Apostates from the Faith, or to those who live scandalously in sin. Noel Tekouerimat, their Captain, gave them clearly to understand that the walls which had been built there were not for the purpose of sheltering vice, but of preventing it from entering.

**JR, 36:195** [*\*Three Rivers so far spared, despite dangerous location.*]

The residence of la Conception, at three Rivers, is nearest the enemy's frontier, and most exposed to the incursions of the Iroquois; but I may truly say that never has greater peace been remarked, or more calm and piety amid the noise of battle and the terrors of war. Most of the Neophytes, of whom there are many, have taken up their residence there through a motive which

would not be expected from barbarians but recently converted to the faith. "It is," they said, "to fight the enemies of the prayer that we willingly expose our lives; if we die fighting, we consider that we die in defense of the faith....Charity compels us to provide for the necessities of the women and children, who are oppressed by hunger. We cannot do so without exposing ourselves to the danger of being taken and burned by the Iroquois; but God, who sees what is in our hearts, will be our reward....The God of love, for whose sake they so cheerfully exposed themselves to the danger of death and fire, seems to have taken special care of them,—not one had been taken or pursued by the enemy; and, as for food, although the snow was not favorable in that quarter during the Winter, nevertheless they never lacked game, either Moose or Beaver.

**JR, 36:201** [*\*Montreal a shelter for tribes who come to trade.*]

The Residence of Montreal will, so long as the war with the Iroquois shall last, serve rather as a temporary shelter for the Savages than as a permanent abode. It is a very advantageous place for all the upper Nations who wish to trade with us; for, as they find there what they seek, they are not obliged to come further down and to expose themselves to new dangers from the Iroquois who are more to be dreaded below than above Montreal.

**JR, 36:227** [*\*Druillettes and Tekouerimat seek New England allies.*]

Father Gabriel Druillettes started, therefore, from Quebec for that Mission [*\*of the Abenaki*] on the first of September, 1650, accompanied by Noël Tekouerimat, the chief of the Sillery Christians. This last undertook the journey for the purpose of maintaining peace with these tribes who live inland, and with others, still more distant, who are in new England, with the view of soliciting them to join in war against the Iroquois. The Father did not return from that journey until the beginning of June; and, about a fortnight afterward, he was sent back on the same errand, from which he has not yet returned.

**Journal of Father Jacques Buteux, of the journey that he made for the Mission to the Attikamegues. [1651]**

**JR, 37:41** [*\*Thirty captives taken in the north.*]

A good woman gave me consolation; she had gone down five or six years before to Sillery, where Father Paul le Jeune then was. She was instructed and baptized there, and was compelled to follow her pagan husband to a small tribe in which faith had not yet been able to find entrance...Fear of the Iroquois, who during the previous Winter had carried off thirty of their countrymen, still further increased her dread of dying without confession.

**JR, 37:67** [*\*Iroquois have entered Attikameg country.*]

Since that journey [*\*home from the Attikamegues, June 18th 1651*], the Iroquois have entered that country which seemed almost inaccessible.

**Letter of Father Jaques Buteux, written from three Rivers to Reverend Father Paul Ragueneau, residing at Quebec. November 4th, 1651.**

*JR, 37:69 [\*Iroquois attack Attikamegue country.]*

The Iroquois penetrated into the country of the Attikamegues, as far as the lake called Kisakami. I would never have thought that they could have found or reached that lake with their canoes. On the journey that I made to those regions, we walked about twenty days on the snow, before coming to it. The length of the road, the currents of water, the horrible and very frequent torrents, did not prevent those Barbarians from going thither, and surprising twenty-two persons in the darkness of night. There were only three men in their cabin who defended themselves valiantly; all the others were but women and children, who, after the death of the three brave warriors, were tied and bound, and dragged away as victims to the land of fire and flames.

A neighboring cabin was full of women whose husbands had gone out hunting; and when they heard the noise of the combat, and the cries and groans of their neighbors, they fled, under cover of the darkness. When their husbands returned from their pursuit of game, they were greatly surprised to find their countrymen massacred, and their wives in flight. Thinking that they were sure to have gone toward our quarter, they came to seek the same refuge. I greatly fear that those who are scattered about that lake will be put to death, this Winter, by those same Barbarians,—who will surprise them all the more easily, since those poor people think they are in safety.

Those who have come to throw themselves into our arms are most worthy of compassion, both on account of the loss of their friends, and because they have not been able to hunt and collect furs,—which are the money wherewith they buy their clothes, and most of their food, from the French.

*JR, 37:73 [\*Tadoussac unknown to the Iroquois.]*

This zeal has made her a captive, and has caused her to fall into the hands of the enemy; for, when she was invited to withdraw inland in the direction of Tadoussac, which is a country unknown to the Iroquois, the desire that she felt to go and help the Catechumens of lake Kisagami induced her to remain in the quarter where she was captured.

*JR, 37:77 [\*English unresponsive to requests for help.]*

I [\*Noël Negabamat, or Tekouerimat] was sent to the countries of the Abnaquiois and of the English, who are their neighbors, to ask them for assistance against the Iroquois. I obeyed those who sent me, but my journey was in vain. The Englishman replies not; he has no good thoughts for us. This grieves me much; we see ourselves dying and being exterminated every day.

For thy part, my Father, be firm and constant of heart; speak to the great Captain of the French; encourage the other Captains, visit them often, and

induce them to defend those who believe in him who has made all. The Iroquois are weak, but you are strong: the Iroquois are few in number, but you are very numerous. If you wish to destroy our enemy utterly, you will do it, and give us life once more.

### **Journal of the Jesuit Fathers, in the year 1652.**

#### ***JR, 37:93*** [*\*Huron and Algonquin party attacked by Iroquois.*]

On the second day of March [\*1652], 12 Hurons, six Algonquins, and ten Algonquin women, having left Three Rivers for Montreal, and having spent the night on lake st. Pierre, were—on the next morning, a Saturday—attacked on the way by the Iroquois. 3 Algonquin women escaped, also five Algonquins, and 2 Hurons, Ehawennon and Achaennhak. *Desiderati sunt decem Hurones*,—Toratati, burned; Athohonchiwanne, killed; Ora'kwi, Otarawia, burned; Ondiatsondi, Onnondate, en, Osondach, Atandihetsi, Ionde'cha, and Tonnontaon, son of Hoek, *qui et Ahoskwentak vocatur*.

On the 8th, Mademoiselle de Grandmaison's house at the isle of orleans was burned, about ten or eleven o'clock in the evening.

#### ***JR, 37:95*** [*\*A group is captured by Mohawks; Neutrals make alliance with Susquehannocks.*]

On february 15th [\*1652], an Algonquin, named by the Hurons Haasate, left Montreal with three Hurons,—Pierre Tsondeonskon, Jaques saonwaretsi, and Louys Tehoa'chia'kwan. On the 17th, they were captured by 8 Annie'ronnons, who intercepted their trail near Montreal, and followed them until at a day's journey from Annice. Aasate escaped by night, and arrived at Montreal on the 10th of March. He brought back the following news: 1st, that the Neutrals have made an alliance with those of Andasto,e against the Iroquois, and, that the sonnontwe'ronnons, going to war against the Neutrals, had been defeated, so that the women had been constrained to leave sonnontwan, and take refuge at Onioñen. 3rd, that the Annie'ronnons and sokoquinois are killing one another. 4th, that, during the winter, the Annie'ronnons had gone to war toward Andasto,e,—the result of which was not yet known. 5th, that Tehandoutason had gone,—he the eighth,—toward the petite Nation, as a skirmisher.

#### ***JR, 37:99*** [*\*Attacks around the French settlements and other news.*]

On the 10th day of May [\*1652], Father Jaques Buteux, in company with a frenchman named fontarabie, and a Huron named Thomas Tsondoutannen, was killed by a band of 14 Iroquois. The two frenchmen remained dead on the spot; the Huron was Led away captive. This took place on the Three Rivers, at the third portage. The Huron afterward escaped from the hands of the Iroquois, and arrived at Three Rivers on the 28th of the same month, giving news of the disaster.

On the 13th of the same month of May, the Algonquins, having gone up for trade to the whitefish tribe, fell into the ambushes of that band of 14 who had killed Father Buteux. They took to flight, excepting the son of Jean Baptiste, who shot and killed an Iroquois; but he had his arm broken, and was captured and burned at the same place.

15th. Two Huron women, mother and daughter, Annendok and Atondech, with a little son four years old, were seized at Montreal by a band of 50 or 60 Iroquois. They had gone to a secluded place, in order to get some meat from a Moose, which four frenchmen had killed there.

On the 16th, a Huron named Ahoskwentak, son of Hoek, who had been taken by the Iroquois on the second day of March, returned in safety to Montreal.

The same day, at daybreak, eleven Algonquins, who were hunting in the islands of lake St. Pierre, were surprised and defeated by a score of enemies. A number of them escaped.

On the 21st, two men in a canoe,—one a frenchman, named La fleur de Cognac, a soldier; the other, a young Algonquin,—having gone to raise their fish-line on the other side of the River, opposite the fort of Three Rivers, were attacked by a volley of 7 or 8 gunshots. The savage died two days later; the frenchman was wounded, but not seriously. The enemy promptly retreated, being pursued by a number of canoes and shallops.

On the 26th, the day of The Trinity, a troop of 50 Iroquois killed the cowherd at Montreal, named Antoine Róos, near the hill St. Louys.

### June

On the 2nd, two Algonquin women, escaped from the Iroquois, arrived at Montreal; one of them had been delivered of a child by the way, ten days before. They had been 25 days on the road. The child was baptized the same day, and named Jean by Monsieur De Lauson. Our Governor was his godfather; the godmother was Mademoiselle Mance.

On the 3rd, having sailed from Montreal, we picked up, three leagues below, a Christian Algonquin named Mangouch (Ahikwanne, by the Hurons), who had been taken in lake st. Pierre on the 16th day of May, *ut dictum supra*.

Two hours later, we encountered a canoe with seven Iroquois, to whom we gave chase, *sed frustra*.

4th. We picked up in the islands of lake St. Pierre two Algonquin women, escaped from Anniené, where they had been captive for 2 years....

The fugitives brought back the news: 1st, that, toward the end of the winter, a band of Iroquois had gone up to the whitefish tribe, and had dealt a considerable blow.

2nd, that another band had gone up to the Païsans, and had captured 25 Algonquins.

3rd, that the Onnontaeronnons had defeated a number of Hurons, toward the end of the last summer, in the isle Ahwen'do,e, where they had gone to seek Sunflowers.



4th, that the Iroquois, having gone during the winter in full force against the Atrakwae'ronnons or Andasto,e'ronnons, had had the worst of it.

June 8. Enheionsa and Aontarison, Hurons, having gone very early in the morning to their fish-line, which was at Three Rivers, fell into an ambush of Iroquois. The first was killed on the spot; the second was probably carried away alive; but the enemies, having been vigorously pursued by the Algonquins, Hurons, and french, may have thrown him into the water, after having killed him. However this may be, the Iroquois were so keenly pursued that they were constrained to abandon all their baggage. Two were then killed, from whom Our savages removed the scalps.

**JR, 37:107** [*\*River engagement at Three Rivers; the Atrakwae are defeated.*]

2nd [\*of July, 1652]. A band of 80 Iroquois appeared at Three Rivers,—at first to the number of 8, who, issuing from the wood, rushed upon two canoes which were approaching the land opposite Three Rivers, where they had gone accompanied by a shallop, to inspect some fish-lines. But, Our men having abandoned their canoes and taken refuge in the shallop, there appeared a greater number of Iroquois, who discharged 40 or 50 shots upon the shallop,—in which no one was hurt save Atseia, a Huron Captain, but slightly in the arm. They fired, on both sides, several volleys without effect; until, by gradually working into the stream, and raising the sail, the Northeast wind carried our shallop to the brick-yard. The enemies were meanwhile holding the middle of the river in 13 large canoes. The french, Hurons, and Algonquins having embarked, they give chase to the enemy at such a rate that they constrain him to go ashore, a league from the fort of 3 Rivers. Sundry negotiations were held between the Hurons and the Iroquois; these not pleasing the french and the Algonquins, the french, to prevent the same, withdrew to Three Rivers; and, subsequently, all the Hurons and Algonquins. Shortly afterward, the Iroquois send a canoe with three men, who stop in the middle of the River while waiting for a canoe from us. Annaotaha, Sowendwanne, and an Algonquin went to meet them.

While they were parleying, other canoes from the enemies' side came ashore in the direction of the brick-yard, which landed a Huron named Oskennontonwa, or Otindewan. Hoek went to meet him, and put him in charge of Monsieur Robineau, who led him to the fort, where Onda'kont questioned him.

Meanwhile, these three canoes were parleying with certain persons, saying that A,ontarisati was coming with the intention of making peace, etc. But, every one having concluded that this was nothing but deception, the plan was adopted of deceiving them in turn. There was a canoe with three men, at the edge of the water,—two Iroquois, and a Huron named Annenharitak. Onda'kont beguiled this canoe, while some hastened to get bread; Annaotaha, Ahoskwontak, and some children carried it. Annaotaha comes near, and the others; and, while giving bread, he lays hands on the Iroquois. Some men run up, at the same time, and bring them along. The one whom Annaotaha had

seized proved to be Aontarisa'ti, chief of the band; the other, named Ta'akenrat, was not a man of importance.

The enemies were not aware of this capture, save through the delay of these men to return.

On the 3rd, Father Menard baptized the two Iroquois, Pierre and François Aontarisa'ti, who were burned the next day. Aontarisati was given for an Algonquin named Otsinnenko; Ta'akenrat, for Torata'ti, a Huron.

As for news of the enemies:

1st. The capture of Atra'kwa,e by the Iroquois Nations, to the number of a thousand. They have carried off 5 or 6 hundred,—chiefly men. The Annie'ronnons lost, in this expedition, ten men; the other cantons, some 20, some 30,—all together, 130.

2nd. One band has been to Ekaentouton, where they have made a capture.

3rd. Another has made a capture at Askikwannhe.

**JR, 37:111** [*\*Various canoe engagements.*]

On the seventh day of August [\*1652], 80 Hurons, Montagnais, and Algonquins, returning from Montreal, were attacked by the enemy, who numbered one hundred, in eleven canoes. Our Christians had two shallops and some canoes. There was one Huron killed, Anniewindet; and an Algonquin, Entsoña. Three Iroquois were killed, and several wounded,—so that the enemy retreated, and *had the worst of it*.

On the 10th, news arrived from Montreal that, on the 29th of July, two Iroquois, having slipped in under cover of the corn, had attacked Martine, wife of Antoine Primot,—who, by defending herself courageously, gave the soldiers of the fort time to come to her aid, and put the enemy to flight. She received six shots, not one of which was mortal....

On the 18th, 4 frenchmen were attacked by 8 Iroquois canoes, between 3 Rivers and the Cape; Maturin Guillet and La Boujonnier were killed on the spot. Plassez, a surgeon, and Rochereau, were taken away as captives.

19th. 2 french shallops having been in search of the cattle of 3 Rivers,—killed or scattered by the Iroquois, above 3 Rivers, along the lake,—the following persons were killed or carried away captive:

Monsieur Du Plessis, the Governor.

Monsieur Grandmesnil.

Guillaume Isabelle.

francheville, captive.

Poisson.

Turcot.

Normanville, captive.

Du Puis.

Matris Belhomme, burned.

Langoulmois, killed.

}

La Palme, captive.

}

La Gruvé. } soldiers  
 St. Germain. }  
 Chaillon. }

Des Lauriers, died from his wounds.

The fight was about eleven o'clock in the morning. 120 Onneiouchronnons.

At the same time, Sawenhati, a Huron, and his wife, were killed in their fields by some Iroquois.

**JR, 37:115** [*\*A Frenchman is captured at Three Rivers.*]

On the 1st [\*of September 1652], the shallop from Montréal arrives, bringing us Monsieur Dailleboust, and the news of the capture of Tiburce Aotonst at 3 Rivers, on August 30th.

**JR, 37:117** [*\*Various murders, five Sokokis are captured.*]

On the 12th [\*of November, 1652], arrival of the bark *Esperance* from 3 Rivers, which brings us the news that, on the 25th day of October, a Huron woman, named Annendieratons, had been killed at 3 Rivers; and that, on the following day, st. Denis and Gaillarbois had been killed at the Cape, and a certain Le Valon wounded.

24th. The frigate returns from Montreal, bringing news of the death of La Lochetiere, killed by the Hiroquois; and of the fight which took place at Montreal on the 14th of october.

On the 16th of September, Andre David, alias Mirgré, had been killed by some Iroquois near the house of the late Big Jean.

On the 26th, 9 Algonquins arrive, with five Sokokinois, whom they had captured as enemies, in the direction of the south, 3 or 4 days' journey from the river. Their lives were spared, with the intention of sending two of them back to their own country, in order to give warning of what was going on; and to ask that some Algonquin women be sent back, whom the sokokinois are keeping, etc. But the Algonquins and Hurons having, at the outset, wounded and beaten these prisoners so severely that the two who were chosen to make the journey, were not in such condition that they could do so, this journey was postponed.

**Fr. Paul Ragueneau. 1653. Relation of what occurred in the Mission of the Fathers of the society of Jesus, in the country of New France, from the Summer of the year 1651 to the Summer of the year 1652. Quebec, October 4th, 1652.**

**JR, 37:135** [*\*Death of Fr. Buteux.*]

The present letter will be to inform your Reverence of the glorious death of Father Jacques Buteux, who was slain by the Hiroquois infidels on the tenth day of May of the present year, 1652....

On the morrow, which was the tenth day of the month of May, they con-

tinued their journey; and after they had been compelled to disembark three times, in places where the river goes falling down declivities and where it ceases to be navigable, (that means, in such circumstances, that one has to carry his canoe and all his baggage on his shoulders,) when they were making their third portage, each laden with his burden, they found themselves surrounded by a band of Hiroquois who lay in wait for them on their way. The Huron, who was walking in front, was seized so suddenly that he had no time to take a single step backward. The two others, a little farther away, were brought to the ground by the discharge of the enemy's muskets at them. The Father fell, wounded by two balls in his breast and another in his right arm, which was broken. Those barbarians immediately threw themselves upon him, to stab him with their javelins, and to kill him and his companion with strokes of their hatchets. Neither of them uttered a single word, except the name of Jesus. They were stripped entirely naked, and their bodies thrown into the river.

Two days later, some other Christians, who were following the same route, fell into the same ambush; and a young Algonquin whom the Hiroquois captured alive, was cruelly burnt there, on that very spot, with no other consolation but God, whom he invoked until his last breath. They reserved the young Huron, in order to burn him in their own country; but in the course of a few days God gave him means to break his bonds, and, escaping entirely naked from his captivity, he arrived safely at three Rivers on the eighth day of June. It was he who brought us these sad tidings which, however, are happy enough, since they redound to the glory of God in the death of those who lay down their lives for the salvation of souls.

**JR, 37:147** [*\*Continual Iroquois threat makes hunting dangerous.*]

...it has been necessary, notably this year, to join temporal to Spiritual assistance, and this for two reasons.

One is, that the Hiroquois, being always in the field, cause these good Neophytes to fear that they may meet death in the forests whither they go to seek their living. Wishing to go and kill wild animals, which serve them for food, they fear they may themselves be killed; this apprehension, during the greater part of the year, has thrown them into extreme want. The other reason is, that there has been so little snow this past winter that those who risked their lives in order to find game thought they would die of hunger and cold,—so that, being destitute of all things, they would have died miserably or, at least, would have undergone extreme suffering, had not the goodness of some persons, whose charity is not limited by the confines of France, given us the means to succor them.

**JR, 37:153** [*\*Peace in old France might result in aid against Iroquois.*]

“Noel Tekouerimat, who was formerly called Negabamat,—a great Captain of Sillery and an excellent Christian, possessing nothing of the

Savage except the name,—thanks you, as your very humble servant, for the honor of being remembered by you. He hopes, and we also, that, if God gives peace to old France, you will work for the aid of his people against the Hiroquois....”

**JR, 37:181** [*\*Fort built on island of Orleans.*]

We have had a Redout or a kind of Fort built, to defend them [*\*the Huron colony on the island of Orleans*] against the Hiroquois; it is of about the same size as the one that was among the Hurons at the place named Ahouendaé.

**JR, 37:203** [*\*Attikamegues flee from Iroquois to Tadoussac.*]

The Attikamegues, frightened by the death of Father Jacques Buteux, their Pastor,—whom the Hiroquois killed, together with a large number of his flock,—have, after accomplishing a journey of more than a hundred leagues in these great forests, part of them taken refuge at the Port of Tadoussac, where they have made it evident that this great disaster has not shaken their steadfastness in the faith, or lessened their devotion.

**JR, 37:259** [*\*Druilletes' mission to the English.*]

After the Father [*\*Druilletes*] had made his visits, and had spent some time in cultivating the villages farther inland and at a greater distance from the English, he took with him Noël Negabamat, or Tekouerimat, Captain of the Christians of saint Joseph, to go down to new England. This valiant Neophyte was commissioned by the Algonquins of the great River, and the Father was sent as Agent, or Ambassador, by his good Abnaquiois Catechumens, to ask the English for some help against the Hiroquois, who were striving to exterminate those poor [*\*Abnaquiois*] peoples, as well as the Hurons and Algonquins. The Father went to Boston, to Pleymot,—in short, he journeyed over almost all new England, without prevailing on the English to put themselves to much trouble in aid of these poor nations, their neighbors. His embassy accomplished, he returned to his dear children, and spoke about making a journey to his brothers who were at Kebec. Those whom he had instructed and caused to be born in Jesus Christ, remonstrated with him affectionately; but he was forced to leave them, in order to go and render an account of his work.

**JR, 37:261** [*\*Fighting strength of New England nations.*]

The emaciated countenance and exhausted body of this good Father did not deter another from setting out, with five or six Neophytes, in little bark Canoes, to go to the shores of Acadia and, by that route, find an easier approach to the tribes called Etechemins, Abnaquiois, Sokoquiois, Sourikois, Chaouanaquiois, Mahinganiois, Amirgankaniois, and numerous other savage nations, which are sedentary, and have villages of a thousand or two thousand fighting men.

**JR, 38:45** [*\*News of Iroquois activities.*]

A letter sent from Three Rivers will furnish us a Journal of what the Hiroquois have done during the past year in this new world....

On the sixth of March of last year, 1652, the Hiroquois, who prowled around the French settlements all the Spring and all the Summer, defeated a Squad of Hurons who were going in search of them at a great distance, and found them very near, without expecting it. They were in ambush at the river of la Magdelaine, six leagues, or thereabout, above three Rivers. That Squad, commanded by a man named Toratati, fell into their hands and was entirely defeated.

On the 10th of May, Father Jacques Buteux (as related in the first Chapter of this Relation) was put to death, with a Frenchman accompanying him, named Fontarabie.

On the 13th of the same month, a band of Algonquins, on their way to the country of the Attikamegues, were surprised and defeated when they were passing the place where Father Buteux had been murdered. A young man who had killed one of the Hiroquois who surprised them, was burnt and tormented in a horrible manner, on the same spot.

On the 16th of the same month, the Algonquins of three Rivers, having learned of the defeat of their people, went out to lie in wait for the Hiroquois as they passed; but they fell into the trap which they intended to set for their enemies, for another band of Hiroquois—concealed near Lake St. Pierre, where they were going to lay their ambuscade—cut them into pieces, for the most part.

On the same day, there arrived from Montreal a Huron soldier of Toratati's company, who had escaped from the hands of the Hiroquois. He reported that this Captain had been burnt, and that those of his band that were left had been given their lives. It is thus that the Hiroquois swell their troops.

On the 15th of the same month, a Huron woman, who was working at Montreal cultivating Indian corn, was carried off by the Hiroquois, with two of her children. These wretches hide in the woods, behind tree-trunks or in holes which they make in the ground, where they pass two and three days sometimes, without eating, in order to lie in wait and surprise their prey.

On the 21st, a French soldier and a Savage—crossing the great River, in a Canoe, before the Fort of three Rivers—were attacked, and both wounded, the Savage dying of his wounds two days afterward.

On the 26th of the same month of May, a Frenchman who was tending cattle at Montreal was put to death; and a French woman received five or six wounds,—not dangerous, however, since she did not die of them; her courage brought her out of the danger. These wanton Rascals abound everywhere, and at all times.

On the 8th of June, two Hurons who were stretching a line to catch some fish, near the Islands of the river called three Rivers, were butchered. As this place is very near the French settlements, some men hastened hither, on hear-

ing the noise, and pursued the Hiroquois, who made their escape, leaving behind their equipage, and the scalps of the two men whom they had killed.

On the 19th of the same month, three Canoes arrived by the river of three Rivers, bringing word that the Hiroquois had made their way very far into the country of the Attikamegues, and had defeated them for the third time.

On the 2nd of July, at five o'clock in the morning, when some Hurons were going out to fish opposite the Fort of the French, on the other side of the great river, which is of considerable width at this place, the Hiroquois, who were in ambush, rushed upon them; but they jumped into the shallop of the French who had come to escort them. The Hiroquois took to their Canoes and opened fire in all directions, pursuing the shallop, which spread its sail to the wind and extricated itself from this danger. Having reached land, near the French Fort, some soldiers entered it; the Savages followed them in their Canoes, and they gave chase to the Hiroquois, pressing them very hard. But as they are adroit, they halted, protecting themselves from our firearms; and seeing that the Lion's skin could not cover them, they tried to use that of the Fox. They sent a Canoe toward our people, propelled by two men, who demanded a parley; a Canoe was sent to them from our side, in charge of two Hurons and an Algonquin; and these two Canoes parleyed for about half an hour, keeping the distance of a pistol shot apart. The Hiroquois said they were led by a man named *Aontarisati*, their Captain, and that he wished to speak to the French, and to the Savages who were their allies. They were told, in answer, to go down opposite the French Fort, and there they should receive an interview. They repaired thither immediately, and from that place sent two Canoes to the quarters of the French. One carried a young Huron whom they had captured, whom they put ashore at a spot a little above the Fort, to go and see his kinsfolk who were among the French; this was in order that he might incite them to desert the French side. The other Canoe did not approach the land, but called out from its position on the water, and asked that the three Captains—of the French, of the Algonquins, and of the Hurons—should cross the river in order to go and treat with their people; and they said that they would, on their side, send the three most prominent men of their number. This proposal was ridiculed; and, meanwhile, some Canoes approaching for the purpose of corrupting our Hurons and bringing them over to their side, one of them was captured, which carried three Hiroquois; two of these were Captains, who were notorious on account of the murders they had committed in all the French settlements. They were more fortunate than the rest, for our Fathers instructed and baptized them before their death.

On the 25th of the same month of July, a Squad composed of more than a hundred Savages, strongly suspecting that the enemy were scattered in various places, started out in order to find some of them. They had two encounters, and fought stoutly and resolutely, without our learning the degree of success on the side of the Hiroquois; as for our own people, they returned on the seventh of August, having lost two men, and bringing back many wounded.

On the 18th of August, four inhabitants of three Rivers, on going down a short distance below the settlement of the French, were pursued by the Hiroquois, who killed two of them, as it was reported, and carried off the other two, to sacrifice them to their wrath.

On the 19th, the repulse was much greater. Monsieur du Plessis Kerbodot, Governor of three Rivers, taking with him forty or fifty Frenchmen and ten or twelve Savages, had them embark in shallops to give chase to the enemy, to recover, if possible, the prisoners and the cattle belonging to the French, which, it was believed, had been carried away. After sailing to a distance of about two leagues above the Fort, he perceived the enemy in the undergrowth at the edge of the woods, and landed in a place that was full of mud and very disadvantageous. Some one pointed out to him the advantage of the enemy, who had the forest for shelter. He went forward, advancing headlong; but his ardor made him lose his life, as well as those of fifteen Frenchmen. During this engagement some Hiroquois, detached from their main body, slew a poor Huron and his wife who were at work in their own field, not far from the French settlements. God, who balances victories and confines them within limits, showed in this disaster that it was his will to preserve us; for, if the Hiroquois had followed up their advantage,—as panic had been spread among our people, who had lost their Chief,—they would have wrought havoc among the inhabitants of three Rivers. But they retired, not knowing how to make use of their victory, and suffered the French to finish their harvests and garner their crops in peace, but not without sorrow.

On the 23rd of the same month of August, a visit was made to the scene of the engagement, where these words were found written on a Hiroquois buckler: *Normanville, Francheville, Poisson, la Palme, Turgot, Chaillon, St. Germain, Onneiochronnons and Agneehronons. I have as yet lost only a Finger-nail.* Normanville, a young man of skill and bravery who understood the Algonquin and Hiroquois languages, had written these words with a piece of charcoal, wishing to convey the information that the seven persons whose names were seen, had been taken by the Hiroquois known as the Onneiochronnons and Agneehonnons, and that he had himself up to that time received no further injury than the tearing out of a finger-nail. I greatly fear that these poor victims have been sacrificed to the rage and fury of those Barbarians. A Lady, honored for her virtue, has written to some one in France, who was acquainted with the sieur de Normanville, that he seemed to have had some presentiment of his capture.

“It is probable” (he said to this Lady a short time before falling into the hands of those Barbarians) “that, as I am every day exposed to danger, I may be captured by the Hiroquois. But I hope God will give me the grace to endure their fires with constancy, and that I shall have the good fortune to baptize some dying children, or even some adult sick persons whom I shall instruct in their own country before my death.”

On the 30th of the same month of August, the Hiroquois captured another young Huron, and carried him away alive to their own country.



A letter, dated the first of November, conveys the following information: "Some Hurons have just apprised us that two Frenchmen have recently been killed at Three Rivers, and that two others have had their arms broken. They add that, when spending the night near the burnt Rock, they heard the Hiroquois singing as they are wont to sing when they torture their prisoners.

"An Algonquin who has just come to Sillery says that yesterday, opposite sainte Croix, those same Barbarians captured a Savage and two women of his nation. A good many of our Neophytes have gone out hunting in that direction, and I greatly fear lest they may fall into the snares of those hunters of men. Noël Tekouerimat is setting out immediately to arm the young men, who are here in considerable numbers, in order to avert such a disaster; but he would very much like to have Monsieur our Governor give him a French escort." Those are the contents of that letter.

To crown all our calamities, we are informed that the Hiroquois intend to rally together all their forces, in order to come and destroy us next Winter. Such is the report made by the fugitives, and the reason which they give is very probable. They say, then, that the Hiroquois of the lower country, who are called Agneehronnons, asked aid, last year, from the Hiroquois of the upper districts, who are called Sontouaheronnons, in order that they might come to fight against the French. But the Sontouaheronnons made answer that they had upon their hands enemies near home; and, if they would come and help destroy these, they themselves would join them later on for the purpose of destroying the French. The Agneehronnon Hiroquois accepted the condition and sent their troops to join those of the *Sontouaheronnons*,—who, with this assistance, have destroyed the Neutral nation, which was on their borders. Consequently, they are obliged to join forces with the Hiroquois called *Agneehronnons*, for the purpose of coming to make war on the French. Those are the contents of the memoirs which have served as material for writing this Chapter.

The Demon well knows how to seize his opportunity. Seeing that old France is rent asunder by her own children, he wishes to destroy the new, in order to reëstablish his Dominion and his Kingdom, which is steadily going to ruin, owing to the conversion of these poor north Americans, of whom some Thousands have already entered into Heaven by the door of faith, of Baptism, and of a holy life. Those who remain, forming a Church of great innocence, cry out: "Help us, ye people who call yourselves our brothers. Let not the Hiroquois stifle to death the germ of your belief... If ye love Jesus Christ, protect those who love him and are baptized in his name."

Some time ago, there was a request for soldiers, and for their pay, or salary; their provisions were asked for, as well as their arms and their passage. But now,—when the country is yielding grain for the feeding of her people, and this is being done every day,—the only thing demanded for the maintenance of these vast regions is the payment of transportation for two or three hundred workmen each year; the inhabitants of the country will feed them and

pay their wages. France, who is constantly emptying herself into foreign countries, does not lack men to build up Colonies. God grant that she may have charity enough to send them to a place where they will live holier and easier lives...

**JR, 38:65** [*\*Request for aid from France; Dutch arms causing their destruction.*]

Let us finish this Chapter with a letter that a Savage Captain, a good Christian, sent to Father Paul le Jeune, who is laboring in old France for the salvation of the new.

"...I shall pass the coming Winter at *Ka-Miskouaouangachit*, which you call St. Joseph, as I passed the last one....Make haste to come, and to bring us many sword-bearers, in order to drive away the Hiroquois from our heads. We shall soon be departed souls; do not wait until we are in the grave before coming to see us. It is thy good friend, Noël Tekouerimat, who writes to thee, and who says that he will always pray to God for thee, and for those who give us aid. Speak to the great Captain of France, and tell him that the Dutch of these coasts are causing our destruction, by furnishing firearms in abundance, and at a low price, to the Hiroquois, our enemies. Tell him to give aid to those who are baptized. That is all I have to say."

### **Journal of the Jesuit Fathers, in the year 1653.**

**JR, 38:169** [*\*Two Hurons captured near Three Rivers.*]

On the 12th [*\*of January, 1653*], Jaques Andata, aiaich Arrives from 3 Rivers, bringing letters by which we learn of the capture of two Hurons on the 17th of December, one league from 3 Rivers.

**JR, 38:171** [*\*Four Hurons captured on way to Three Rivers.*]

[*\*April 21, 1653*] the news of the capture of 4 Hurons,—Ahatrihoia and Horentaon, taken while going up from Quebec to Three Rivers; TeArenhont, who had gone hunting at Three Rivers; Tsondoutannen, captured as long ago as the 29th of the month of March, while bringing letters from 3 Rivers to Quebec. He was taken below the Cape, by 20 Iroquois.

**JR, 38:175** [*\*News of Hurons captured and plundering Iroquois.*]

10th [*\*of June, 1653*]. The Iroquois, having appeared at Cap rouge, kill there François Boulé, having pierced him with three gunshots,—in the stomach, in the groin, and in the thigh,—and having removed half of his scalp. . . . Besides, they lead away alive Pierre Garman, called "le Picard," and his son Charles, 8 years old; also a young man, Hugues Le Cousturier, of 23 years. They crossed the River again in five canoes....

On the 14th, the bark from 3 Rivers arrives, bringing the news:—

1st, concerning François La Meslee, killed by the Iroquois on the 28th of the month of May, on the Common lands, by 20 enemies;

2nd, concerning Guillaumet, who had had his legs broken by the bursting of a cannon while he was firing it, on the same day;

3rd, about a Nipissirinen, escaped from the hands of the enemies, who had been taken, he the thirtieth, in the lake of the Nipissiriniens, above the sault de L'esturgeon, by 20 Iroquois;

4th, of a Huron, named Onatiawe, taken captive by some enemies in the fields of Monsieur de La Poterie, on the 30th of May;

5th, of three renegade Hurons, taken captive, of a Sonnontwe'ronnon killed on the spot, and of Onatiawe recovered from their hands by 12 Savages, Hurons and Algonquins. The 3 Hurons taken captive were Onta, annaoche, formerly of St. Michel; Ochahend, formerly of Ationnontetsia; *qui amba igne cremati sunt*. The third received his life; he was named [blank space];

6th, of Cailleteau, killed at Cap de La Magdelene on Whitsun-monday, the second day of June, near the fort;

7th, of the defeat,—or, rather, of the plunder,—of twenty or thirty Iroquois, pursued by the Hurons, on the 9th of June....

21st [\*of June, 1653]. Aweiawa and Ochiawarenton'kwi taken captive at 3 Rivers.

**JR, 38:179** [*\*Alliances form against the Iroquois.*]

On the 15th [\*of July, 1653], the frigate arrives from Montreal, with the News of a Peace negotiation with the onnontae'ronnon, for whom Awen're of Tehaontiaichen served as interpreter; and Father Le Moine spoke for the french.

On the 20th, ten or eleven shallops arrived at Quebec,—Savages from Gaspé and some Etechemins and Montagnais, going to war against the Iroquois. These brought letters from Monsieur de La Tour, and news: 1st, that the English of New England were undertaking war against the Dutch of New Holland and against the Iroquois. 2nd, that, of the french fugitives from Three Rivers, several had died from destitution,—Paul La franchise, Savary, Des Lauriers, La font; and that there were indications that they had eaten one another,

29th. Nine shallops and seven canoes of Savages start to go to war, in the direction of 3 Rivers; and Father Bailloquet with them.

On the 31st, a canoe from Three Rivers arrives, which brings us the News of the arrival of three canoes from the country of the Hurons,—to wit, Aennons, a Huron; Mangouch, a Nipissirinen; Matoutisson, whom the Hurons call Onda,enronk; Eentawai and Totraenchiarak, Andarahi,ronnons; and two Ondatawawak, *vel* Outawak, to wit, Teóchiawenté and Otontagonen. These seven savages have brought news that all the Algonquin Nations are assembling, with what remains of the Tobacco Nation and of the Neutral Nation, at A,otonatendie, three days' journey above the sault Skia,é, toward the south.

Those of the Tobacco Nation have wintered at Tea,onto'rai; the Neutrals, to the number of 800, at sken'chio,e, toward Te,o'chanontian; these two

Nations are to betake themselves next autumn to A,otonatendia, where even now they number a thousand men,—to wit,

400 Ondatonateni ;

200 Outawak, or cheveux relevez;

100 Awe,atsiwaen'ronnons, and people from the Nation of A'chawi;

200 Enskia,e'ronnons;

100 Awechisae'ronnons and Achirwachronnon.

Achawi is the one who is directing all this affair.

**JR, 38:183** [*\*Two Iroquois treat for peace.*]

On the 9th [\*of August, 1653], the shallop from Montreal arrived, bringing news about Michel Noela, killed by the Iroquois on the 20th of July; and about a canoe with two enemies, who came on the 21st of July to treat for peace,—one of whom was an Onneiochronnon named Tehoatirhon; the other, a Huron from onnonta,e.

**JR, 38:189** [*\*Fr. Poncet captured; prisoner exchange with Iroquois.*]

21st [\*of August, 1653]. A canoe arrives from Mon-real, bringing us the news that 30 hurons, having successfully fallen upon a band of 17 Annieñer-onen Iroquois,—who were in ambush behind The Island of St. Helene, in order to surprise some french who were mowing in a meadow,—put them to confusion, killed one on the spot, and took five alive,—4 of whom are Annieñ,er'onon, and the fifth a huron, formerly from St. François Xavier. Two hurons have been killed, and 2 grievously wounded. We have learned by these captives: 1st, that the onontae'ronon and the onneiouchtronon desire peace in good earnest; 2nd, that a nation near the English is making war on the Annieñer'onnon; 3rd, that the Annieñer'onnon are making a league, offensive and defensive, with The Dutch against the English, who have declared war on them, and are all assembling, for this purpose, in the same village; 4th, that the Andasto,er'onnon are engaging in war between the Annien,e'ronnon and the Sonontwen'ronnon; 5th, that 600,—mostly Annien,e'ronnon,—had started, 30 days ago, to attack 3 Rivers.

An hour after this news, Father de Quen brings us Father Poncet's skull-cap, and the news of his capture by the Iroquois, a little above sillery, whither charity had led him. He was carried away alive,—with another frenchman, who was cutting his wheat,—on the 20th instant, about 4 or 5 o'clock in the afternoon. 32 frenchmen, among the most prominent persons in Kebec, embark in 6 canoes, in order to pursue the enemy, and to lay an ambush for him in lake St. Pierre.

By letters from 3 Rivers, we learn that, on the 16th of the same month, two young hurons were captured on an island at 3 Rivers, by 8 Iroquois.

22nd. Toward morning, a huron is wounded on the hillside at three Rivers, by a small band of Iroquois, precursors of an army of 500 Annien,eronnons. About 8 o'clock, a canoe is perceived, which was passing a league above three Rivers from the South toward the north. A canoe goes to reconnoiter; then a

shallop, well equipped, which having passed the brickyard, sees more than 30 Iroquois canoes on the north side and 9 on the south side. It was in great danger, and belle Poire, who was in command, behaved valiantly with his troop. Two Iroquois were killed; not one of the french wounded.

In the night, the band of frenchmen who had pursued those who were carrying away Father Poncet, arrives at the cape. They learn that three Rivers is besieged, and that there has been fighting all day. Caron embarks in a canoe, in order to reach the spot: he safely arrives, toward midnight; he finds everything in good condition, and the inhabitants full of courage. The siege lasts more than 8 days; meanwhile they devastate the fields, setting fire to the peas already torn up, and to the cut corn; and at our redout on the hillside they kill the cattle,—among others, 8 horned beasts which belonged to our fathers. . . . The 32 frenchmen arrive at three Rivers, and the Iroquois speak of peace; they mingle with the hurons; they promise to give up Father Poncet and we promise them to spare the life of the Annien,eronnon prisoners taken at Mon-real.

**JR, 38:193** [*\*Gifts exchanged with the Onondaga.*]

On the first [\*of September, 1653], word is sent from 3 Rivers that, on the 30th of last month, the troop of victorious hurons who were coming from Mon-real with their prisoners fell into the hands of the Iroquois, along with 4 ononta,eronnons, who were coming with many presents of beaver and collars, in order to make peace. Most of the presents were plundered. . . . Nevertheless, the Annien,eronnons become none the more insolent, but continually speak of peace. The chief of the army, named teharihogen, receives presents from Monsieur boucher, captain of the village, in behalf of the life of Father Poncet. He embarks with 3 canoes, in order to pursue those who were carrying away the Father. The siege is broken up, and the Iroquois go away in disorder; 6 or 7 stay with the french, and go down to Kebec with the ononta,eronnons.

On the 4th, a bark leaves three Rivers for Mon-real, with Father bailloquet, in order to bring back Father Claude Pijart. On the same day, the onnonta,eronnons make their presents at the Island of Orleans, where are Monsieur the governor, Monsieur d'Ailleboust, and others.

On the 7th, mutual gifts are exchanged with the onnonta,eronnons. The processions of the jubilee are continued, which began the preceding sunday, to last two months.

8th. The onnonta,eronnons see the procession, in which there were more than 400 fusiliers in fine order. They leave for 3 Rivers.

18th. 2 hurons arrive from Agnéé. Aweawissen started with his son, after the army.

**JR, 38:197** [*\*Father Poncet is returned to the French.*]

24th [\*of October, 1653]. Father Poncet arrives—in a wretched canoe, conducted by some Iroquois—at Mon-real; he is dressed in Dutch fashion.

On the 28th, he arrives at three Rivers, in the flyboat, which they encountered among the Isles of Richelieu.

**JR, 38:197** [*\*Gifts exchanged with Mohawks.*]

4 [*\*November, 1653*]. The Father arrives at Quebecq with Father Richard, Monsieur boucher, and 7 Iroquois; 3 guns were fired.

6th. The Annien, e'ronnons make their presents, to the number of 16.

On the 9th, we make them presents in return: 23 presents. The hospital mothers make them a feast; we do the same, toward evening....

On the eleventh, solemn mass is sung, by way of thanksgiving. The Iroquois go to spend the night at Sillery; also Father la place, who goes up to three Rivers in place of Father Richard....

On the 17th, news from 3 Rivers concerning an Iroquois and a savage of the nation of the wolves, who were killed near mon-real by some hurons.

The hurons and the Algonquins make their present To the Annien, e'ronnons at 3 Rivers.

18th. The bark arrives from 3 Rivers, with the 3 murderers put in irons and sent to Monsieur the governor, with presents from the Annien, eronnons for their deliverance. . . . On the same day, the Elders of the hurons produce 3 collars received in secret from Teharihogen, an Annie, n, eronnon captain, *in order to attract the hurons into their country.*

On the 19th, a council is held with reference to this business, at our house at Quebecq. Monsieur the governor resolves to have 3 presents delivered at 3 Rivers in due season, on his behalf, to the Annien, eronnons: the first, to certify that he *disavows the murders* committed by the hurons; the 2nd, to let it be known that he has knowledge of the presents made by them to the hurons in secret; the 3rd, to declare that whatever the hurons and Algonquins may do, we shall always remain at peace with them. On the same 19th, Teharihogen embarks at 3 Rivers with sieurs des Mares and la fleur, for Annieñ, e. The other Annien, eronnons having embarked, put back and remained at 3 Rivers. 23rd. The Flyboat arrives at 3 Rivers from Mon-real, and brings a savage from the *nation of the wolf*, dressed in European style,—a kinsman of the Mahingan who was killed by the hurons.

**Father Francesco Giuseppe Bressani. 1653. A brief account of certain missions of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus in New France. Macerata, Italy, July 19, 1653.**

**JR, 39:57** [*\*Letter of Fr. Bressani from the Iroquois*]

I started from three rivers by order of the Superior, on the 27th of last April,—in company with six Christian Barbarians, and a young Frenchman, with three canoes,—to go to the country of the Hurons.... The third day, when not distant more than 22 or 24 miles from the fortress of Richelieu, we were taken captive by 27 Hiroquois, who, having killed one of our Barbarians, captured the others, and me with them. We might have fled, or indeed killed some Hiroquois; but I, for my part, on seeing my companions taken, judged it better to remain with them... Those who had captured us made horrible cries, *Sicut exultant victores capta præda*; and, after many thanks to the Sun for hav-

ing in their hands, among the others, a “black robe,”—as thus they call the Jesuits,—they changed our canoes. Then, having taken from us everything,—that is, provisions for all of ours who lived among the Hurons, who were in extreme necessity, as they had not been able for several years to obtain help from Europe,—they commanded us to sing. Meanwhile, they led us to a little neighboring river, where they divided the spoils, and tore away the scalp and hair, from the slaughtered Huron, in order to carry it as in triumph, attached to a pole; they also cut off his feet and hands, along with the most fleshy parts of the body, to eat them, with the heart. Then they made us cross the lake, to spend the night in a place somewhat retired, but very damp,—in which we began to sleep, bound and in the open air, as during the remainder of the journey....

**Father François le Mercier. 1654. Relation of what occurred in the mission of the fathers of the Society of Jesus, in the country of New France, from the summer of the year 1652 to the summer of the year 1653. Quebec, October 29th, 1653.**

*JR, 40:85* [*\*Onondagas sue for peace.*]

The Fathers of our Society who are at this settlement [*\*Montreal*] observed that the Iroquois were incessantly striving to obtain it, making sallies into the Island, continually laying ambuscades, and holding our French so closely besieged that no one ventured upon a ramble, to even the least distance, without manifest danger of losing his life,—as was shown by what happened to one poor wretch, who, because he did not obey the orders that were given him, unhappily fell into the hands of these hunters of men. Our Fathers, I say, seeing the imminence of these dangers, induced our French to have recourse to the blessed Virgin in a special devotional service.... From that time not only did the Iroquois not gain any advantage over us, but they even lost many of their own number in their attacks; and God’s hand was finally so heavy upon them that they sued for peace.

The protection of this Queen of men and of Angels was, on a certain occasion, made evident in an altogether peculiar way. Twenty-six Frenchmen were surrounded by two hundred Iroquois and, without the aid of that Princess, would have surely lost their lives. The Barbarians discharged their pieces at them from a position of close proximity; and two hundred shots were fired by them, without killing or wounding one of our men. It was not that they did not handle their weapons well. But it was God’s will, in this attack, to verify the proverb which says that “what God guards is well guarded.” Mary’s Son refuses his holy Mother nothing. He turned aside the enemy’s bullets, and directed those of the French so well that they caused many of their Assailants to fall, and put to flight those who escaped death or serious wounds. I have read in a letter that the routes taken by them in their flight were found all covered with their blood; and that, a considerable time after their departure, the dogs kept bringing back fragments of human bodies to the French settlement.

“There has not passed,” say the memoirs which have reached us, “a single month of the year in which these Hunters have not visited us by stealth and tried to surprise us. But finally, on the twenty-sixth of June, there appeared sixty of them, belonging to those who are called by the Hurons, Onnontaeronns, requesting from afar a safe-conduct for some of their number, and calling out that they were sent on behalf of their whole Nation to learn whether the hearts of the French would be inclined to peace.”

It is strange how much confidence these Infidels have in our word, although they are well aware that they have betrayed us almost as often as they have treated with us, and that consequently they themselves deserve like usage. Our Frenchmen were, indeed, planning to deceive them, and to put these treacherous and perfidious people to the sword; but, when they saw them advancing unarmed and defenseless, such frankness softened their hearts and made them believe that God had granted the prayers which they had offered him through the mediation of the blessed Virgin, whom they had petitioned for help against so faithless and powerful an enemy.

When they had entered the Fort of our French people and had declared the purposes and wishes of their Nation, you would have said,—since nothing was any longer talked about but confidence and peace and good will,—that they had never waged any war, and that they were indisposed ever to begin it again. Our Frenchmen were, nevertheless, always under arms and all ready to fight, although those simple people were in our midst without rod or staff, satisfied with the mere word that had been given them for their sole defense.

They were treated with kindness; their presents were received, and others given them in return; and, after a public rejoicing on both sides, they returned to their own country, overcome with joy at having found minds and hearts desirous of peace. I find in some memoirs that they gave their promise that news should soon be heard from them; and we have received word that some from that Nation came down to Quebec with presents, as will be seen in the fifth Chapter, where the peace is described. As for those of whom we are speaking at present, we are told that, on their way back, they called at the Village of Onneiout and displayed, before the Inhabitants of that Village, the presents that had been given them at Montreal. They said a thousand things in favor of the French: “They are,” said they, “Demons when they are attacked, but the gentlest, most courteous, and most affable people in the world, when they are treated as friends.” They declared they were really going to contract a close alliance with them.

The Onneichronns, wishing to be parties to it, some time afterward sent an Embassy to Montreal, with a large porcelain collar, declaring that all their Nation wished to enter into the treaty of peace that the Onnontaeronns had begun with the French. And, in order to give some proof of their sincerity, they informed us that six hundred Anniehronnon Iroquois had set out from their country with the purpose of capturing the Village built by the French at three rivers. This was found to be true....



...after the parley of these two Nations, a band of Anniehronnon Iroquois invaded the Island of Montreal for the purpose of molesting the French in their usual manner. A gallant company of Christian Hurons, arriving unexpectedly, discovered their trail, and gave such hot chase after these hunters, on the very day of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, that they made prisoners the Captain of the Skirmishers and four of his principal followers, putting the rest to rout, That capture, as we shall see hereafter, contributed greatly to the general peace of all these tribes.

*JR, 40:97* [*\*Mohawks try to take Three Rivers by surprise.*]

I shall follow, almost word for word, the contents of some letters that have come from this Village. "Captain Aontarisati," says one of these letters, "whom our Savages captured last year, was so deeply lamented by all the cantons of the lower Iroquois, his fellow-countrymen, that, as soon as the news of his death reached them, a general league was formed, and a resolution taken to exact a bloody and cruel vengeance for his loss. The murder of Monsieur du Plessis, our Governor, and of many of the chief men of our Village, did not glut their rage; the horrible torments that they made all their prisoners undergo, French as well as Savage, failed to extinguish the fire of their wrath. They issued an edict throughout their whole country that no one should thenceforth spare the life of any Huron taken in war; and this order they afterward executed upon some wretched victims who fell into their hands. But all this seemed a small matter to them; in their opinion, it was necessary, in order to console them for the loss of so great a man, to take the Village of three Rivers and put to fire and sword all the French and all the Savages that they might find there.

"To carry out this purpose, a little army of Anniehronnons came and took up its Winter quarters at the distance of three leagues or thereabout from our Village, in the depths of the woods,—thinking to surprise us when the heavy snows and intense cold should make us think of rest rather than of war. But God, who did not choose to make us a prey to those ravenous wolves, caused us to discover the traces of their spies, who had advanced to within a league from our Village. That put us on the defensive: we fortified our Bastions and Curtains, doubled our guards and sentinels, and, in short, kept ourselves so carefully protected that the Enemy, whose numbers we did not know, finding no more game in the vicinity of the fort which they had constructed, were forced to disperse and go in search of provisions to their own country; but they did not remain there very long.

"As soon as the river was free, we saw on all sides nothing but little bands of skirmishers trying to surprise some hunter or some Husbandman, and to draw into their ambushes those who should wish to save these. Our Savages, seeing themselves so hemmed in and so often harassed, took courage, choosing rather to die fighting than to be surprised, as occasionally happened to some Frenchman or to some of their own fellow-countrymen. They resolved

to put a stop to the insolence of these Trasos [boasters], who came to defy us almost at our very doors. God gave them his blessing; for, although they were few in number, they often gave chase to some rather large bands, and compelled them to abandon their arms, their boats, and their baggage, in order to seek safety in the woods.

“On the ninth of May, a little Algonquin canoe, catching sight of an ambuscade concealed under shelter of the Islands of the three Rivers, took flight as fast as its paddles could urge it,—not to avoid an engagement, but to put ashore, on a cape where some Frenchmen were intrenched, a woman who was in their little boat. As soon as she was in safety, they faced about toward the enemy that pursued them, although they were only three men in that little gondola, while the Iroquois filled three of their large canoes. When these Iroquois saw the determination of our three warriors, who were trying to board them, they were so surprised and astounded that they took flight, thinking that others might pursue them, now that they were discovered.

“On the thirteenth of the same month, Monsieur de Lauson, Governor for his Majesty of the whole country, came to visit our Village. At the same time that the cannon fired a salute in his honor, it happened that four or five Husbandmen, who were plowing in the neighboring field, were surrounded by a band of Iroquois, who killed two of them. Our Savages pursued them, but a little too late,—finding only the baggage of these robbers, which they had abandoned in order to run more freely and put themselves the sooner out of danger of being caught.

“On the twenty-eighth, these Hunters having killed a little French child, almost within gunshot of our settlement, the cannoneer, seeing that there was no one to pursue them, discharged a piece of artillery, in order to give the signal; but the cannon burst, and broke one of this poor man’s legs; he died from his wound, a few days later.

“On the thirtieth, this same band surprised a young Huron, whom some Husbandmen had posted as sentinel at the edge of the wood, while they worked in the field. They led him to a retired spot, about half a league from the Village, where they made him sit down, in order to question him on our situation and learn the state of our affairs. This good lad was adroit; and he talked with them in such wise that these brigands, not thinking they might be followed, tarried there a little too long for their own good; for our Hurons, coming upon them by surprise, not only made them release their prey, but also took some of them prisoners and carried these back to the fort. I would take too much time if I tried to relate all the attacks, pursuits, and captures that were made on both sides in the neighborhood of this Village. Let us come to the siege, which they carried on after their usual method.

“Although the Savages do not carry on sieges in the manner of the Europeans, yet they do not lack generalship in their wars, of which I will give an instance. The Anniehronnon Iroquois, purposing to capture the Village of three Rivers by surprise rather than by force, sent in the first place, as far as I

can infer, some small bands, detached from their main body, to Montreal and toward Quebec. This was in order to engage the attention of our Frenchmen and make them indisposed to go down—or up, as the case might be—to three Rivers; and by this means to cut off the aid that it might have been possible to render the place which they wished to capture.

“That done, they came and hid themselves, to the number of five hundred, in a cove that is very near the Village of three Rivers; they were covered by the point forming that cove, so that they could not be perceived. At nightfall, they divided into three bands, sent a canoe with ten men to some small Islands very near the fort and the Village of three Rivers, and caused eleven canoes to proceed to the farther side of the great river, opposite this fort. The rest concealed themselves in the woods behind our Village. In this disposition of their forces their purpose was as follows:

“Seeing some indian corn planted on those little Islands, they thought that those to whom this corn belonged would come in the morning to work in their fields, according to their custom; and that the ten men in ambush would capture one of these and carry him away in their little boat, passing in front of the fort, in order to incite the French to pursue them; and then the eleven canoes that were concealed on the other side of the river would come to the rescue. Thereupon, as they imagined, the French would get excited, come out of their Village, and rush in crowds to the banks of this great river, partly to embark and put to rout these twelve canoes, partly to see the engagement; and, while these were engaged,—some in fighting, and others in looking on,—the main body, concealed behind the Village, would easily surprise it, as it would be emptied of the greater part of its Inhabitants. But the thing did not succeed according to their intention; for our Savages, to whom that corn belonged, did not go away from their cabins on that day, which was the twentieth of August; and so no one moved,—they remaining in hiding, and we being unaware that we had such bad neighbors.

“On the following day, some cattle having gone astray, the French Inhabitants asked some Savages to go and look for them in the woods, or on the banks of the great river. Those who took it upon themselves to execute this commission, retraced their steps in a short time, saying they had seen traces of a great many people, and that the enemy was not far away. At the same time, some harvesters, leaving their work, came running toward the Village, declaring that they had seen new faces,—those of people dressed in an unusual manner, who were keeping themselves hidden in the woods. Spies were sent out; but, as they discovered nothing, this information was ascribed to ill-founded fears or panic..

“On the twenty-second of the same month, the men returned to the work of harvesting; and, in order to give security to the harvesters, some sentinels were placed on the edge of the woods. The Iroquois, growing impatient, rushed out upon one of these sentinels, for the purpose of learning the condition of our settlement. This man took to his heels; but they overtook him, and

gave him two or three blows on the head with clubs or hatchets, hurting him severely, although these blows were not mortal. There was then no longer any doubt that the enemy were in the field, or, rather, in the forests.

“On the twenty-third, they appeared on the water as well as on the land. The canoe that had hidden among the Islands, as already mentioned, seeing that no one appeared, left its post to cross the river and go to join those eleven boats which the enemy had placed in ambush on the other bank. We gave chase after it, not so much to fight with it as to find out, by its means, whether the enemy were many in number. But, as we could not overtake it, the Captain of the fort sent an armed shallop, well manned, up the river.”

Let us hear him speak; I have taken what follows from the copy of one of his letters. “Scarcely had our people proceeded a quarter of a league from the fort, when they perceived a large number of canoes that had stranded in a cove; they discharged their firearms at these, and immediately resumed their course toward the fort. The Drummer, whom I had ordered to give some drum-beats in case the shallop should discover the enemy, called me back into the fort; as I approached it, I saw a great number of Iroquois running with loose rein, as the saying is, across the fields, and acting as if they were coming to attack the Village. I called to arms, had the gates closed and two pieces of ordnance discharged, which I had arranged for this purpose. Those Barbarians, at the noise of this thunder, rushed upon the cattle that were passing near the Village, drove them into the woods, and, after butchering them, ran to the banks of the great river, discharging their muskets at our shallop. The latter found itself assailed on all sides; for the eleven or twelve canoes that we have mentioned, came and pounced upon it, trying to force it to approach the shore, that it might be beaten both by land and by water. Fire was opened on all sides, and soon the air was full of flames and smoke. In a quarter of an hour, I had more than twenty cannon shots fired,—which, because our balls were not of the right caliber, produced no farther effect than to make the enemy retire and give Passage to our shallop. This defended itself valiantly and with success; for our people used their firearms and wounded a number of Iroquois, while not one of them received any injury.

“These half-Demons, seeing that they had been hardly used, proceeded to vent their wrath on our Indian corn and French wheat. They cut down all that they could find, burning the plows and carts left in the field, in order to set fire to the heaps of peas and grain that they gathered together. They set fire to some scattered houses and killed the Fathers’ cattle, which we had been unable to place in safety soon enough. In a word, one would have said they were mad-men, so great fury did they manifest.

“I had a cannon rolled out upon a level place, and fired at them. The Savages advanced, engaging in several skirmishes; and in these little actions one of our Algonquins received a musket-ball in the knee, and we wounded and killed several Iroquois.

“At length, these Barbarians retired, feigning to have glutted their rage

and vengeance, but planning to approach the Village at night and set fire to it, as it is surrounded in several places only by large trees. We were under arms all night long; I doubled the sentinels, and the Trumpeter and Drummer played almost constantly at the fort. Everywhere was to be heard only the cry, 'Who goes there?' The Redout fired several arquebus volleys; and, as a result of all this, the enemy, after making their approach, were frightened by these noises, and despaired of being able either to capture or to surprise us.

"During that night there arrived a canoe of Algonquins, who were returning from the chase; they were much astonished to find themselves safe and sound in the midst of so many dangers. There also arrived a canoe of Frenchmen, who told us that Father Poncet had been made prisoner at Cap rouge, in the neighborhood of Quebec; and that a squad of Frenchmen and Christian Savages, full of determination, were in pursuit of his captors, but, meeting with the Iroquois,—who were holding us, as it were, besieged,—they were led to change their plan. God sent us this reinforcement, which raised our courage and depressed proportionately the spirits of our Enemies.

"On the next day, the twenty-fourth of August, they once more dispersed throughout our little fields and renewed their ravages. Our cannon prevented them from coming too near, but did not deter our Hurons, who,—being eager to learn news of their relatives and friends who had formerly been taken in war, and had become Iroquois,—quietly approached the Enemy, in order to speak to them. When they had recognized one another, confidence spread little by little, on one side and the other, to such an extent that in a short time there was nothing to be seen but conferences and interviews between Iroquois and Hurons; and this continued for several days, so that one would have said there had never been any war between them. We kept careful guard on our side, each man remaining at his post, and under arms. Some Hurons of the Enemy's side came and gave themselves up to us. When these earnest parleys were noticed, and it was not doubted that the Enemy were seeking an opportunity to surprise us, the question whether we should not practice deception upon them themselves was proposed in the Town house; but, for several reasons, this was deemed inadvisable.

"At last, matters reached the point that the Enemy approached us without arms, and even made us presents on several occasions,—protesting that they had no more bitterness or venom in their hearts. A Huron who had turned Iroquois, stealthily slipping in among our people, carried off to the Enemy's camp a daughter of his, whom he found with us; and he and the Iroquois learned from her mouth many things, good and bad. She told them that assistance had come to us; that a company of Hurons had captured some Iroquois at Montreal, and that victors and vanquished were daily expected. That was the reason of their delay; for in our interchange of presents, one side with the other, they had given us their word to go back soon to their own country, but said they wished to await the return of these Hurons, who were bringing some of their people prisoners. In this truce, or period of waiting, they spoke of

returning prisoner for prisoner, and promised to bring back Father Poncet and the Frenchman who had been captured with him.”

On the thirtieth of the month of August, the Hurons, returning from Montreal with their Anniehronnon Iroquois prisoners, fell—not all, but a part of them—into the hands of the Enemy, who were waiting for them. We shall relate in the Chapter on the peace how it all came to pass among the Iroquois captured by the Hurons. Among these was a Captain of influence, who spoke in energetic terms to his compatriots, whom he found already universally in favor of peace, impelled by a more secret influence than that which actuates men.

They straightway despatched two canoes to their own country, to prevent any harm being done to the Father and his companion, if they should be found to be still alive; and, after sending back the Hurons to our fort, the chief men among them came to visit us, entering our Village and sleeping there with as much exhibition of confidence as if they had been our most faithful and constant friends. In short, they left us four or five of their people as hostages, solemnly promising that they would bring back the Father in a few days, and that they would come and treat of peace with us—a peace, too, which should be genuine and sincere. The foregoing is an abridgment of two letters that came from Three Rivers, where the above events occurred; what follows is drawn from a third which was written by a Father of our Society.

“We are daily awaiting the result of a Council or general assembly, that our Enemies are holding in their own country, on the proposal of peace which they themselves made to us after a thousand acts of hostility, and a thousand attempts to take our Village of Three Rivers. They were faithful in the truce of forty days which they granted us; for during that time nothing at all was seen of them, and we went our way, on both land and water, without any hostile encounter.” I will add, in concluding this Chapter, that, when the Onnontaeronnons were on their way down to Quebec to treat of peace, the Anniehronnons, of whom we have just spoken, delegated some of their own number to enter into this same treaty, as will be related in the Chapter on the peace.

**JR, 40:119** [*\*The capture and deliverance of Fr. Poncet.*]

The Iroquois, having butchered some Frenchmen in the month of June, at Cap rouge,—a place distant three leagues, or thereabout, from the fort of Quebec,—surprised in the same place, on the twentieth of the month of last August, Father Joseph Poncet and a Frenchman named Maturin Franchetot. This good Father, seeing that a poor French widow had some grain in the field, and lacked help to gather it in, went off in that direction to hunt up some good people who would be willing to aid in garnering her little harvest. He had just spoken to the Frenchman mentioned above, when some Iroquois, issuing from the neighboring forest, where they had been hidden in ambush, rushed upon them separately and unexpectedly, and dragged them away. The Father was bidden, upon his return, to, commit to paper his capture and all his adventures; he obeyed with reluctance, desiring that his Crosses be known only to the

King of the crucified; but a part of his account was torn up by the English. After citing two or three short passages from a letter written on this subject, we shall follow, in this Chapter, what has come into our hands.

“As soon as the news was brought to Quebec that the Iroquois had carried off Father Poncet, not only was general sadness felt on his account, as he was beloved by all; but thirty or forty Frenchmen, and some Christian Savages, firmly resolved to rescue him from the hands of those Barbarians, whatever it might cost them to do so. They launched their canoes on the day following his capture, purposing to forestall the Enemy by going to wait for them in some spot which they must pass, in order to surprise them as they went by. So many prayers have been offered here, in public and in private, since their departure, that I can but think either that God will restore him to us, or that by his means he will give peace to this poor country, both within and without its borders.” And, farther down in the same letter: “Father Poncet was captured on the twentieth of August, toward evening; on the twenty-first, toward night, our scouts followed him; and on the twenty-sixth, one of the canoes that had gone in pursuit of the robbers who were carrying him off brought back news to us that those scouts had stopped at Three Rivers to give help to the Village, as it was harassed by five hundred Iroquois,—who were holding it closely beset, and were prowling about the neighborhood in all directions. Those who returned in this canoe told us that they found, near the Island of saint Eloy, two faces drawn with charcoal on a tree from which the bark had been removed, and the names of Father Poncet and Mathurin Franchetot written beneath these. Furthermore, they said they had found in the same place a book in which was written, in substance, these words: ‘Six Hurons, turned Iroquois, and four Anniehronnons are carrying off Father Poncet and Mathurin Franchetot. They have not yet done us any injury. It is their custom to treat their prisoners gently as long as they are still in fear of being overtaken.’” That is what was written to me concerning this good Father’s capture. Let us now come to the tattered remnants of his own account, of which I shall make a brief abridgment.

“We arrived,” says he, “at a very rapid River, where the army that had gone to Three Rivers had camped....when it came to crossing the Stream of which I have spoken, I was ordered to wade through it. I was already soaking wet, having passed the night in the tall grass, which was all saturated with drizzling rain and the dew of night, the nights being very cold. I was wet up to the waist in this Stream; and all that, with the want of nourishment, caused me a severe colic and excessive pains. I did not, however, cease to perform all my devotions as usual, taking comfort quietly with Our Lord, from whose hand, and not from the hand of men, I received this Cross.

“Amid these labors, I was seized with so great numbness in the left leg, and was so severely inconvenienced by a large blister under this same left foot, that my hosts were compelled to halt for a time, a thing which they had not expected. They had only a morsel of boiled meat left, which they had kept

from their last meal, thinking to reach a place where they would find provisions. They ate it at the same inn where we had lodged throughout our journey,—under the vault of Heaven; and, as I felt extremely exhausted, I had recourse to my two Patrons, Saint Raphael and Saint Martha, saying to them softly in my heart that I greatly needed some refreshment in the thirst from which I was suffering, and a little broth in my exhaustion. Scarcely had these feelings arisen in my breast, when one of our conductors brought me some wild plums that he had found in the woods,—by great good luck, for more than six hundred men had passed that spot. Toward night, after experiencing much difficulty in finding a little clean water, because we were in a nasty swamp, I lay down and went to sleep, with no other comfort than what I gained from my weakness; but when my host aroused me and offered me some broth, I was much surprised, not knowing how he could have made it.

“On the following morning I was compelled to set out without breakfasting, and walk with one leg and one foot crippled, and my whole body disabled. The strength that God gave me I attribute to my dear Patrons, especially to St. Joseph, to whom I had frequent recourse. At two o’clock in the afternoon, reaching a spot near the river which flows down to the territory of the Dutch, and across which is situated the principal Village of the Iroquois, we were ordered to strip ourselves, and give up what was left us of our French garments. When I had nothing left on me but a breech-clout, a blue greatcoat, all in rags, was thrown over my back; and to my companion was left an old linen doublet, badly tattered. Some Savages of our band, who had gone on ahead, had returned as far as this river with their wives, bringing some ears of Indian corn and some native squashes to our conductors; but they never offered us a single morsel. It was late; we were fasting, extremely fatigued by our journey, and covered with very dirty rags; but for refreshment were ordered to sing as we walked, thus attired. It was the beginning of our victors’ triumph. I intoned the Litany of the blessed Virgin, the *Veni Creator*, and other Hymns of the Church.

“As we crossed the river of the Dutch, I confessed my companion, who wished to prepare himself for death, having caught sight of about forty or fifty Iroquois who appeared to be waiting for us with staves in their hands. We were stripped entirely naked, except our breech-clouts, and were made to pass through these Barbarians, who were drawn up in line. They gave me some blows on the back with their switches; but as I was quickening my steps, one of those executioners stopped me short, taking me by the arm and stretching it out, in order to give me a blow with a short, thick stick that he raised aloft. I gave my arm to Our Lord, thinking the man was about to break and shatter the bone between the elbow and the wrist; but, the blow falling on the joint, I came off with a wound which disappeared in course of time. When we had entered the Village, I was made to take the lead in ascending a scaffold erected in the middle of the public place, and raised about five feet from the ground. My companion joined me there soon afterward, bearing the marks of



the blows he had received; and, among others, were seen the traces of a troublesome and painful lashing across his breast.

"I felt so firm and calm on this stage, and faced, with so serene an eye and mind, those who were looking at me, that I wondered at myself. Nevertheless, I felt some alarm at the sight of a certain One-eyed man who carried a knife in one hand, and a piece of their bread in the other. I remembered that the good Father Isaac Jogues had lost one of his thumbs on a similar scaffold; and, not feeling then disposed to give the man my fingers, I appealed to his good Angel; and the man, approaching us, gave my companion the bread that he was holding, and then withdrew without doing any injury. A shower, coming up suddenly, dispersed the spectators, and we were conducted to the shelter of a little roof at the entrance to a cabin. There we were made to sing; and God put me in such a state of submission to those Barbarians, and I abandoned myself with such fortitude to all sorts of indignities, that there was nothing I would not have done, provided it were bidden me and were not contrary to God's Law." I will say here, in passing, what I have noticed in a private letter,—namely, that, as the Father did not succeed in all these apish tricks in a manner satisfactory to the Savages,—who, in consequence, would have been inclined to condemn him to death,—a young Huron, a captive among these people, came forward to sing and dance, and execute all the grimaces, in the Father's place, the latter having never learned that trade.

"Toward evening," continues the Father, "we were conducted to the cabin of him who had captured me, and there I was given a dish of their sagamite, or porridge made of Indian corn and water. The old men having assembled in this cabin, a woman presented a brasse of Porcelain to enforce her request that one of my fingers should be cut off. I felt no farther reluctance at giving up my hands, especially as—in the hope which I had entertained, during my journey, of saving my life, and in my desire to work afterward in the cause of peace—I always believed it expedient that I should bear the marks of my experience, and that it should cost me one of my fingers. As a result, I no longer appealed to the Angels of these Barbarians, in order to avoid that cross, but rather to Saint Gabriel, that I might gain strength to suffer it cheerfully. The One-eyed man, who had approached our scaffold with a purpose which he did not execute at the time, took my right hand and examined my fingers; and, just as I was thinking that the fingers of that hand were a little more necessary to me than those of the left, he took the latter and dropped the right. Then calling a child, from four to five years of age, he gave him his knife, took the index or forefinger of my left hand, and made the child cut it off. I offered my blood and my sufferings in the cause of peace, regarding this little sacrifice with a mild eye, a serene countenance, and a stout heart; I sang the *Vexilla*, and I remember that I repeated two or three times the couplet, or Strophe,—*Impleta sunt quæ concinit David fideli carmine, dicendo nationibus, regnavit à ligno Deus.*

"The Hymn completed and the finger cut off, that man hung around my

neck a part of the Porcelain beads which the woman mentioned above had given; and with the rest he encircled my severed finger, and carried it to my captor. Now, as the blood flowed from the wound in abundance, the One-eyed man wished to apply to it the fire of his tobacco-pipe, in order to stanch it—which would have caused me intense pain. But he was anticipated by others, who had a glowing coal applied to it by the same child who had done the cutting. As the blood did not cease flowing, they wrapped the wound for me, some time afterward, in a leaf of Indian corn; and that was all the dressing applied to it until my life had been granted me. I shall abridge what follows,” adds the Father, “since it appears to me as if it were being snatched out of my hands.

“On the following day, we were conducted to another Village, where there was to be held a great Assembly of the notables of the country. A woman took away my shoes from me, thinking perhaps that we were going to be put to death; accordingly I made that journey barefooted and bareheaded. For three days and two nights—namely, the Friday, Saturday, and Sunday immediately preceding the Nativity of the blessed Virgin—we were exposed to the ridicule, the taunts, and the insolence of the children and of every one. We shared in the promise that was made to the Son of God before his birth: *Saturabitur opprobriis*,—‘He shall be filled with reproaches.’ It was our principal dish, from morning, until evening, in the great public place where we were exposed. Some gave me blows with their pipes on my cut finger, others applied to it burning ashes; some gave me fillips on it; others applied thereto the fire from their tobacco, and others the hot stone of their pipes. In a word, every one did us some injury, according to his fancy. Behold what we suffered outwardly, while inwardly we were expecting, as the last act of this tragedy, only horrible and frightful torments.

“In the night from Friday to Saturday they burned in the fire of their pipes the two Index-fingers, both right and left, of poor Mathurin, my companion,—an operation which he bore with admirable patience, singing the *Ave maris stella* in his sufferings. We were very rigorously bound during these two nights, the cords around our hands and feet being made fast at such a height, and in a manner so extremely uncomfortable, that we were half suspended in the air; we suffered in consequence, a pain of such excruciating severity that a good old man, seeing plainly that it was unbearable, loosened our bonds and relieved us a little.

“On one of these nights, the Elders ordered the young people to content themselves with making us sing and dance, without causing us further torments. But that did not prevent those who were around the fires in the cabin from touching glowing firebrands to our flesh as we passed. I received a good part of these burns.

“Sunday was spent in councils and assemblies, in order to determine what should be done with us. Toward evening, our sentence was pronounced, but in terms which I did not understand. I took it for a sentence of death, and my mind was so well prepared for this that I seemed to see the divine grace all

ready to sustain me in the cruelty of the last torments. But my sentence was milder: I was given to a good old woman in place of a brother of hers, who had been captured or killed by those on our side. Nevertheless, my life was not yet safe: for that woman could have made me die in all the torments that could have been suggested by revenge. But she had pity on me and delivered me from death, at the season when the Church is wont to honor the birth of the blessed Virgin. I pray God to reward that goodness. As soon as I had entered her cabin, she began to sing a song of the dead, in which two of her daughters accompanied her. I was near the fire during these doleful chants and was made to sit down on a kind of table slightly raised from the ground; and then I became aware that I was given in return for a dead man, the last mourning for whom these women were renewing,—causing the departed to become alive again in my person, according to their custom. In this cabin I met a captive Algonquin woman, who had been adopted into that family, into which I saw myself also adopted. As I had seen her before, and as I understood her language, I was delighted. I found also a Huron of my former acquaintance, which increased my joy.

“As soon as I had been made a relative of my house, they began to dress my finger after the manner of the Savages,—applying to it I know not what roots or barks, previously boiled, which they wrapped in a linen rag that was greasier than a kitchen-cloth. This poultice lasted me a fortnight, so that it became hard, in such a manner as to cause me great inconvenience. I was given half a blanket, to serve me as robe and as bed; and, some time afterward, they made me some stockings and shoes after their fashion; I was also presented with an old and very greasy shirt,—and all that with so much savage kindness and so great affection, that I have not experienced more cordiality among the Savages who are friendly to us. Moreover, they went to my captor, and paid him for my life with several thousand Porcelain beads.

“As for my poor companion, he was conducted on Sunday to another Village and was burned on Monday, the day of the Nativity of the blessed Virgin, who had delivered me at the beginning of her festival.

“Three days thereafter, there was brought to the Village where I was news of the army that had gone to Three Rivers. For a considerable time I was in fear of death, not knowing whether the news was good or bad, and being well assured that I would be the object of their vengeance, in case it were bad,

“But at length there came a Captain, who was commissioned to grant my life, and to conduct me back to Three Rivers. It happened, by a very special providence, that this man was a member of the family to which I had been given, and a brother of her who had adopted me as her brother. He lived in another Village, whence he sent two Hurons to invite me to go and see him. These good people told the Iroquois marvels about me, assuring them that I was mourned by all the French, and that on my life and my return depended the lives of their fellow-countrymen who had been left as hostages at Three Rivers. These words caused me to receive as much consideration as I had

before met with indignity. The Captain whom I have just mentioned was delighted to see me still alive; and he gave me an old hat, which was very acceptable to me, inasmuch as I had been going bareheaded for twelve days. He promised to conduct me to the Dutch, in order to have me clothed, and then to take me back to the country of the French.

“Upon this Captain’s report, they began to call assemblies and hold councils, for the purpose of concluding peace with the French. Meanwhile, I was conducted to fort Orange, occupied by the Dutch, where I arrived on the twentieth of September. The first family to whom I came received me with much charity: I was given a dinner and, among other things, I there ate some apples,—a fruit which I had not tasted for fifteen years; and I was also presented with a white shirt. A young man who had been captured at Three Rivers by the Iroquois, and ransomed by the Dutch, whom he served as interpreter, came to find me, and, after some conversation, told me that he was coming to make his confession on the next day, which was Sunday.

“A good Scotch Lady, who has shown herself on all occasions very charitable toward the French,—and who had done all in her power to ransom Monsieur Petit’s little son, who has since died among the Iroquois,—conducted me to her house, to remove the dressing of bark or roots which those good Iroquois women, of whom I have spoken, had applied to my finger; and, when she saw that it was still very far from being healed, she sent me to fort Orange, to have it dressed by a Surgeon. There I met the Governor of that fort, to whom the Iroquois Captain had presented a letter from Monsieur de Lauzon, Governor for the King over the great river saint Lawrence in new France. This man received me very coldly, although the letter which had been brought to him commended me in the highest terms. As night was approaching, and I was going away to lie down on the bare floor, without bed or supper, a Savage asked the Governor for leave to take me to a family who were friendly to him. I was conducted thither, and found there an old man who received me with much kindness. The Frenchman whom I mentioned above was living in that house: and he set his conscience in order during the three nights that I spent with him under the roof of that worthy man,—whose courtesy I wish I could acknowledge by any kind of service, so handsomely did he treat me when I was in the most despicable condition in the world. I could not lack coats, as this worthy Gentleman presented me a very decent one; and, at the same time, a good Walloon, knowing nothing of this kindness, went to search through the houses, to find me the means of clothing myself. I was also told that that good Scotch Lady was preparing to do me the same charity; but I thanked them all, and would not accept anything but a hooded cloak, and some stockings of the Savage fashion, with some French shoes, and a blanket that was to serve me for bed on my return journey. That Lady took charge of all this, with so much skill and affection as to include every conceivable provision for my comfort. My hosts urged me to take some food for my journey; but I contented myself with some peaches from a Brussels Merchant, a good Catholic, whom I con-

fessed at my departure. I had to promise them all to come back and see them the next Summer, so much affection and kindness did they manifest toward me.

“Leaving the Dutch settlement, I was conducted to the Village of the man who had captured me. Upon going to visit him, he returned to me my Breviary. Thence we proceeded to the Village and to the cabin where I had been adopted, where I remained only two days; for some one came to conduct me, together with my sister who had given me my life, to the largest of the Iroquois Villages, for the purpose of attending the councils and assemblies in which the question of peace was to be discussed. I observed that presents were being everywhere collected, to accompany my escort back to Quebec. There was nothing but feasting, and I was given the best possible reception at these gatherings. At length, on St. Michael’s day, it was decreed that they should solicit and conclude a treaty of peace with the French and their Allies. This conclusion was reached in the Village where the first Frenchman, the good Rene Goupil, companion to Father Isaac Jogues, had been killed by the Iroquois on that very day of St. Michael. I had always expected that this festival would not pass without some important occurrence.

“Three days after this resolution, I was told that the Captain who had escorted me to the Dutch settlement would be my conductor to the country of the French,—not by water, because of the storms which ordinarily prevail at this season upon lake Champlain, over which we must have passed; but by another route, which was very fatiguing to me, as we had to proceed on foot through those great forests for seven or eight days, and I had neither strength nor legs for so great an undertaking. At the end of these eight days is found a river upon which we proceed by boat for about two days, and then we come to the great river saint Lawrence, into which the first empties its waters, sixty leagues or thereabout above the Island of Montreal, and not far from the lake called Ontario.

“I at that time recalled to mind St. Joseph, who bore Our Lord to Egypt through the deserts of Arabia, as is believed; and I prayed him to serve me as guide and support in the fatigues of this journey. I had always had frequent recourse to his protection in all my labors, as also to that of St. Michael, protector of the Church and of France; and it happened, as I have since learned, that on the fourth of September, the day on which I entered an Iroquois Village for the first time, the *Te Deum* was sung at Kebec in a little Church dedicated to St. Joseph. This was in thanksgiving at my deliverance and my return to Three Rivers,—a report having arisen, though the first author of it could never be discovered, that I had escaped from the hands of the Enemy. On that same day, too, the Sacrifice of the Mass was offered for the same reason at the Cove of St. Joseph [Sillery], in a Church dedicated to God under the name of St. Michael,—whom we may call the Angel of our peace, since that was concluded in the country of the Iroquois on the day of his festival.

“At length, on the third of October, I left behind me the last Village of the Iroquois, to return to Quebec. On a little hill at a short distance from the

Village, I met the Captains and Elders of the country, who were waiting for me with the presents which they sent in ratification of the peace. They made me their last harangue, urging me to bind our new alliance firmly. My conductor having taken charge of the presents, we pursued our journey, accomplishing only four leagues on that first day. All those whom we met bestowed some endearment on me, according to their custom, and begged me to use my influence in concluding a satisfactory peace with the French.

"I began and completed this journey by land, with inconceivable fatigues. We started upon a Friday, the third of October; and we arrived at the first river that I mentioned above on Saturday, the eleventh of the month. We proceeded in company with several Iroquois who were going to hunt the Beaver about lake Ontario. The rains, and the mountains and valleys; the mountain-streams and brooks, and four rivers of considerable size which we had to cross by fording, wetting ourselves thereby up to the waist; another larger one, that had to be crossed on rafts, insecure and badly put together; very short rations, consisting solely of Indian corn just picked, without bread, without wine, without meat and without game, those regions having been hunted bare,—all these things, I say, formed a Cross for me that was so formidable and unceasing that it seems to me a perpetual miracle that I was able to bear it, suffering, as I was, such intense pain and such extreme weakness. It was also very remarkable that my Guide never lost his gentleness and patience, although he saw what a bad traveler I was. In this return journey, I seem to have participated a little in the weakness and exhaustion of the King of the afflicted,—as on my outward journey, after my capture, I had shared in his bonds and his agony.

"But now, at the end of this nine days' labor, there appeared three young men, sent by the Elders of the country to notify my Conductor that a Captain, to whom presents had been given at Three Rivers for my deliverance, had just arrived in the country with a report that the Iroquois hostages who had been left in the French fort had been put in irons, and that some of them had already had their heads broken. This Captain declared that he had learned that news from the mouth of a Savage, a friend of his. Upon leaving, they warned my Conductor and his attendants to be on their guard, if they were to involve themselves farther in conducting me home. They asked me if I wished to go on, as affairs then stood, and I had no answer, My Conductor, with great courage, said to me that if I would give him my word to try to save his life, he would expose it to all sorts of dangers for the sake of leading me back, safe and sound, among the French. I gave it to him very freely, and that many times; for he constantly asked me for it. The promise given and accepted, we embarked and pursued our journey. I have since learned that this false rumor was based on the fact that irons had been put on the feet of an Algonquin Savage who had become intoxicated. These alarms came to us from time to time, and some took pleasure in reporting them to me, thinking to intimidate me; but those persons were not of the number of my Guides, who always treated me with much gentleness.

“As we began to draw near the Island of Montreal, my people were afraid of meeting with some Algonquins; and meanwhile they took such great pleasure in hunting—game being very plenty in those regions of the great river saint Lawrence—that this delay seemed tiresome to me. Our final Cross was the danger of being swallowed up in the whirlpools of the saint Louys rapids, within sight of the Montreal settlement. I almost thought I would find my grave in those currents, but they did me no further harm than to wash away the rest of my sins.

“At last, we landed safely at that settlement on the twenty-fourth of October,—nine weeks having passed, in honor of St. Michael and all the holy Angels, since the beginning of my captivity. we left Montreal on the twenty-fifth, toward evening, and arrived on the twenty-eighth at Three Rivers, where we remained until the third of November. On the fifth we set foot on shore at Quebec; on the sixth our Iroquois, my Conductors, made their presents in the cause of peace, which were responded to with other presents; and thus, upon a Sunday evening, eighty-one days after my capture,—that is to say, just nine times nine days,—the great affair of the peace, so ardently desired, was brought to a close. The Holy Angels made manifest by this number, nine, which is dedicated to them, the share which they had in this sacred work,—which was conducted in an entirely different manner from the affairs managed by the Savages, who protract to extreme length their assemblies and proceedings. I spent only one month in the country of the Iroquois, entering it on the fourth of September, and leaving it on the third of October; and in this short time I held communication with the Dutch, saw fort Orange, and thrice entered the four Villages of the Anniehronnon Iroquois,—the rest of the period of my captivity being consumed by my journey thither and back. I was taken by way of the River of the Iroquois and Lake Champlain, and then proceeded, for two days only, by land; and I returned by another way, so that I passed over the two routes taken by their armies and warriors when they come to seek us. That, approximately, is what obedience required me to relate concerning my journey.”

**JR, 40:157** [*\*Peace is made with the Iroquois.*]

At last we have peace. Would to God that these words were as true in the mouths of the French as they are sweet and agreeable to the Inhabitants of New France! “Yes,” some one will say, “but the Iroquois are treacherous, making peace only in order to betray us to better advantage in a fresh war. The past is very ominous to us of the future: we have already had peace with them and they have violated it.” I admit that we have had peace with them, but am uncertain whether they have ever had it with us; for, to tell the truth, it was we who induced them to make peace, urging them with presents and in long councils. They had, indeed, some inclination to ally themselves with the French, but held the Savages, and especially the Algonquins, in abhorrence. Those who had their eyes open recognized clearly that that peace did not entirely suit

the Savages' notions. But, however it may be in the future,—which I would not like to answer for, either as to old France or as to new,—yet we can say with truth that, in the present instance, it is the Iroquois that have made peace. Or, rather, let us say that it is God; for this stroke is so sudden, this change so unexpected, these tendencies in Barbarian minds so surprising, that, it must be admitted, a genius more exalted than that of man has guided this work. In the evening there was nothing so unsightly, so to speak, and so dejected as the face of this poor country; and the next day, there is nothing so blithe and joyous as the countenances of all the Inhabitants. On Wednesday, for example, there is mutual killing, butchering, pillaging, and burning; but, on Thursday, presents are exchanged and visits paid on both sides, after the manner of friends. If the Iroquois have some design, God also has his. I am sure that it will be admitted that the event I am going to describe was not brought about purely by chance.

On the day of the Visitation of the blessed Virgin, Captain Aontarisaty, so mourned by the Iroquois, after his capture by our Savages was instructed by our Fathers, and baptized; and on that same day, after suffering execution, he ascended into Heaven, I doubt not he has thanked the blessed Virgin for his misfortunes and for his good fortune, and has prayed to God for his Compatriots.

The people of Montreal, as we have remarked above, having made a solemn vow to celebrate publicly the festival of the Presentation of that Mother of kindness, the Iroquois of the upper Nations sought to make peace with them.

It was on the day of the Assumption of that Queen of Angels and of men that the Hurons captured, on the Island of Montreal, that other famous Iroquois Captain who was the cause of the Anniehronnons' asking for an alliance with us—as we shall presently see.

After the Frenchman who accompanied Father Poncet in his captivity had been burned in the country of the Iroquois, they gave the Father his life, at the time when the Church honors the Nativity of the blessed Virgin; and he worked thereafter so effectively in the cause of peace—or, rather, the blessed Virgin and the holy Angels did this—that on St. Michael's day it was decreed, in a public Council of the elders of the country, to conduct the Father back to Quebec, and conclude a firm peace with the French.

On the same day, that of the birth of the blessed Virgin, while the Anniehronnon Iroquois were concluding peace in their country, a general procession was celebrated at Quebec for the purpose of winning the heart of the son through the mediation of the mother. Four hundred musketeers, well armed, were made to join in this procession; and as they discharged their pieces from time to time, at fitting moments, they filled with alarm the Iroquois who had come down to treat of peace; and who were led to conclude, from this exhibition, that peace was the more necessary for them, as they remarked our Frenchmen's address in handling their arms, some effects of which they had just experienced at Three Rivers.



Tell me, now, whether it was chance or Providence that was at work in these emergencies, and whether the devotion of the people of new France, and the trust which they reposed in the Spouse of the great St. Joseph, Patron of all these new Churches, has not been well rewarded. Let us continue.

The Iroquois who made war upon us were divided into five Nations, whose names, in the Huron language, are as follows:

The Anniehronnons, whose country is called Anié.

The Onneihrnonns, whose principal Village is named Onneiout.

The Onnontaëronnons, whose country and chief Village are named Onnontae.

The Sonnontouaheronnons, of the country called Sonnonthouan.

The Onionenhrnonns, whose Village is called Onneioté.

Who prompted all these Nations to adopt sentiments of peace independently of one another? We have learned, on good authority, that the Sonnontouaheronnons, who constitute the most extensive and populous Iroquois nation, were thinking of peace as far back as last Spring, planning to induce the Onioenhrnonns, their next neighbors, to join in it.

We saw in the second Chapter how the Onnontaeronons, and afterward the Onneiohronnons, came to ask it from the French at Montreal.

There remained no longer any save the Anniehronnon Iroquois who, puffed up with his victories, wished to persevere in his desires for war; but he has yielded as well as the others. Did all these thoughts of peace and of alliance come, almost at the same time, into the fierce and insolent minds of those Nations, without a very special providence? *Deus nobis hæc otia fecit.* Let us say rather, *Digitus Dei est hic.* This stroke is a stroke of the might of the great God. A consideration which, in this holy providence, greatly reassures us, that if any one of these Nations should forfeit its word, it is very easy to believe that the others, inasmuch as they each sought us individually, would not so easily break with us. But let us come to details.

The Onnontaeronnons having presented themselves at Montreal, to the number of sixty, in order to ascertain whether the hearts of the French were in any wise inclined to peace, the Governor of the place, prudently distrusting them, told them that their past acts of treachery rendered their proposals highly suspicious, and that, if they had any desire for an alliance with us, they must make it evident to Monsieur de Lauson, Governor of the whole country, who was at Quebec. The Captain replied that a careful distinction must be made between Nation and Nation; that the Onnontaeronnons were not faithless, like the Anniehronnon Iroquois,—who cherish, deep in their breast, their rancor and bitterness of heart, while their tongues are uttering fair words. He said that, as for him, whom the whole Nation had acquainted with its sentiments, he spoke with every part of his body, from his little toes up to the top of his head, and that there was nothing in his heart, or in any of his other members, that gave the lie to what had come out of his mouth; and that he would go and see the great Onontio, Governor of the French, and would offer him his presents, in which were enclosed the wishes of his entire Nation.

In fact he did go from Montreal down to Quebec, voyaging sixty leagues upon the great river. The first assembly was held on the Island of Orleans, in the Village of the Hurons, two leagues distant from Quebec. This Captain displayed his presents, which, among all these Barbarous tribes, have the same use that writings and Contracts have with us. When every one was seated, he arose, and first invoked the Sun as a faithful witness of the sincerity of his intentions, and as a torch that banished the night and the darkness from his heart, to let in a veritable daylight upon his words.

These presents consisted of beaver-skins and porcelain; and each of them had its name, and testified the desire of the speaker and of those who had delegated him,

The first one was given to wipe away the tears that are commonly shed upon hearing of the brave warriors killed in battle.

The second was intended to serve as a pleasant draught to counteract whatever of bitterness might remain in the hearts of the French, because of the death of their people.

The third was to furnish a piece of bark, or a blanket, to put over the dead, for fear the sight of them might renew the old-time dissensions.

The fourth was to bury the dead and tread down the earth very hard over their graves, in order that nothing might ever issue from their tombs that could sadden their relatives, and arouse any feeling of revenge in their bosoms.

The fifth was to serve as a wrapping for packing away the implements of war so securely that they would never be touched again in the future.

The sixth, to make clear the river, stained with so much blood.

The last, to exhort the Hurons to accept whatever decision Onontio, the great Captain of the French, should choose to make concerning peace.

As one must needs adapt himself to the customs and methods of procedure of those whom he wishes to win, when those customs are not unreasonable, Monsieur the Governor gave back speech for speech and present for present.

The first was given to make the war-hatchet fall from the hands of the Onnontaëronnon Iroquois.

The second, to break the kettle in which he cooked the men whom he captured in war.

The third, to make them throw down the knives used in this butchery.

The fourth, to cause them to lay down their bows and arrows and other arms.

The fifth, to wash off the paint and the red dyes with which they besmear their faces when they go to war.

The sixth, to hide so carefully the canoes or boats that they make for use in war, that they shall never be able to find them again.

These Agreements exchanged, everybody rejoiced over the event; and the peace Ambassadors, or Delegates, carried away their Cloaks, their blankets, their kettles, and other like commodities,—in which, I believe, their presents

consisted. They promised that they would, in a short time, bring back news of the universal joy of their entire Nation. Let us come now to the Anniehronnon Iroquois, the proudest and most arrogant people of all these Regions. It was they who murdered Father Isaac Jogues, and burned Father Jean de Brebeuf, Father Gabriel Lallemant, and several other Frenchmen.

These Thrasos, after resolving to surprise and put to fire and sword the Village of Three Rivers, as we have seen above, and finding more resistance than they had expected, were changed almost in a moment. Ten or twelve of their number appeared on the great river with a white Flag, approaching the fort, and calling out that they wished to parley and to treat of peace, and that some one should be sent to them for the purpose of hearing what they had to say. The one who presented himself, on the part of the French, began with invectives, reproaching them with their acts of knavishness and perfidy. "Thou art a young man," returned the Captain of these Iroquois; "we asked for somebody to listen to us, and not for a young man to come and talk to us. Off with thee, to see thy elders and those that have the direction of your affairs; take thy speech from them, and then thou shalt speak." "I know their sentiments," replied the Frenchman; "they all think you are deceivers who know not what it is to keep your word." "Go and consult them, and tell them that we have good intentions, and our hearts have no more venom." The Frenchman went up to the fort again; there was an assembly at the Town hall, and it was the opinion that these Barbarians had no peaceful intentions, but were seeking opportunities to surprise us. The man went back again to see them, and said to them: "I had told you plainly that I was acquainted with the thoughts of our Elders: they take you all for knaves, and for people with whom no communication must be held except by the mouths of our cannon. If you had thoughts of peace, you would speak of restoring to us one of our Fathers and a Frenchman, whom your people captured a short time ago in the vicinity of Quebec." That Captain was surprised at this news, having no knowledge of the capture. "I did not know," returned he, "that any Frenchmen had been captured; but I will go at once and send two canoes with all haste to our country, in order to prevent any harm being done them; and I give thee my word that, if they are still alive, thou shalt soon see them in your settlements."

This man spoke in such a tone that his heart seemed to be in accord with his words. Meanwhile, however, an incident took place which made us think this little ray of peace that was beginning to dawn was going to be extinguished at its very birth. Our French people imagined that those Barbarians, upon learning that our Hurons were holding some of their men as prisoners, were asking for peace in order to save the lives of the latter; and, by some misfortune or other—or let us rather say, by an inscrutable providence—these prisoners fell into their hands in the manner I am about to describe.

A Huron Captain, upon starting out to war, was warned by the French at Montreal that there were some enemies within the confines of their Island. This Captain, as we have already noted, hunted for them, and traced, pursued,

and attacked them; and after defeating them, he captured their Captain and four of his principal followers. Now, as he did not know that there was an army of Iroquois at Three Rivers, and as he was obliged to pass by that place in going down to Quebec, whither he wished to conduct his prisoners, he fell right into the trap, as the saying is. For, when he was least expecting such a thing, and was quietly proceeding down the great river, talking with his prisoners about peace and war, he caught sight of the Iroquois army from a distance, and saw himself changed, almost in a moment, from victor to vanquished, and from being triumphant to being himself a captive. Part of his men, turning the prows of their little boats toward the land, ran away as fast as they could toward the woods; the others, not wishing to retreat, were on the point of butchering their five prisoners,—that they might die the more gloriously, according to the notions of the country, in their enemies' blood. But God stayed their arms, already raised to deal the blow, and gave them thoughts of life and of peace, at the sight of death and when there were indications of the continuation of a cruel war. Aaoueaté, Captain of the Hurons, addressing his captive—the Iroquois Captain, Aronhieiarha—by name, said to him: "My nephew" (that is a term of friendship used among these tribes), "thy life is in my hands: I can kill thee and make my escape with the others, or rush into the midst of thy people and kill as many of them as possible. But thy blood and that of thy people would not deliver us from the ills into which your arms have thrown us. We spoke of alliance. Since peace is more precious than my life, I choose to risk the latter, for the sake of insuring so great a blessing to my grandnephews, rather than to avenge the death of my Ancestors by shedding thy blood. At least I shall die honorably, if I am killed, after having given thee thy life. And if thou, on thy part, suffer me to be killed by thy kinsmen, being able to prevent it, thou shalt pass the rest of thy days in dishonor and shalt be deemed a dastard for having allowed to be put to death one who had just given thee thy life." The Iroquois Captain made answer: "My uncle, thy thoughts are right. It is true, thou canst take my life; but give it to me, in order that I may save thine own. The glory that I have won for my Nation by my victories does not render me of so little consequence in the minds of my Compatriots that I cannot secure to thee thy life, and that of thy people as well. If my people wish to attack thee, my body shall serve thee as a shield. I would rather suffer them to burn me by a slow fire than to render me contemptible to the extent of not honoring your benefaction and my return, by setting you free."

The Onnontaeronnons who were bearing the presents which we have just mentioned, to Onnontio,—that is, to Monsieur the Governor,—in order to incline his heart to peace, after embarking at Montreal with these two Captains, victor and vanquished, and seeing the tables turned and the aspect of affairs reversed by meeting with this Iroquois army, put themselves on the side of the Hurons, and stoutly maintained that, if any one attacked their escort,—for it was the Hurons who had taken them into their boats,—they would risk their own lives for them. Aronhieiarha, the Iroquois Captain, said to them:

“Fear not; I give you my word that we shall be favorably received.” They had halted during this conversation, after which they urged their canoes toward the Army, which, after reconnoitering them, sent eighteen large canoes to meet them. They saw themselves surrounded on all sides in a very short time; but these canoes all came with peaceful intent,—so entirely so, that their commander, after holding a brief interview with the captive Iroquois Captain, his countryman, sent some men ashore to look for the runaway Hurons and give them assurance of life and peace. Seeing himself in the midst of his Enemies, whose testimonials of good will seemed to him signs of treachery, and their caresses signs of his death,—or, rather, of a thousand deaths before the final one,—Aaoueaté, the Huron Captain, arose and, in order to give himself courage for suffering, sang, in a martial tone, his former deeds of prowess. He related the number of Iroquois he had killed, the cruelties he had perpetrated upon them, and those with which he hoped his nephews would some day avenge the torments he was himself about to endure.

“Thou art neither a captive nor in danger of death,” the Iroquois answered him; “thou art in the midst of thy brothers; and thou must know that the Frenchman, the Huron, and the Iroquois are dropping the war-song and are beginning a song of peace, which begins to-day, to last forever.”

“You are faithless rogues,” rejoined the Huron Captain; “your hearts are full of venom, and your minds of knavishness; if you talk of peace, it is only to employ a treachery more baleful both for us and for the French. I know your wiles only too well. Content yourselves now with eating the head of the Hurons; but know that you do not yet hold the other members. My people still have feet and hands, legs and arms.” Saying this, he offered his throat for them to cut; but seeing that not a man put his hand to his knife, “Burn me, then,” he said to them; “do not spare your tortures,—all the more, as I am a dead man. My body has already become insensible; and neither your fires nor your cruelties will shock my courage. I would rather die to-day than be indebted to you for a life which you give me only with the intention of depriving me of it by some dire treachery.”

“Thou speakest too harshly to thy Friends,” returned the Iroquois; “our hearts are in accord with our words.”

“I know you well,” rejoined Aoueaté; “your minds are furnished with seven linings, and when one of them is taken away, there are still six remaining. Tell me, I beg you, whether this treachery that you are devising with such skill is the last of your knavish tricks. You have forgotten the exchange of promises that took place between our Ancestors,—when they took up arms, the one side against the other,—to the effect that if a mere woman should undertake to uncover the Sweat-house and take away the stakes supporting it, the victors should lay down their arms and show mercy to the vanquished. You have violated this law; for not merely a woman, but the great Captain of the French has uncovered this ill-omened Sweat-house where decisions of war are adopted. By his presents he has taken away the stakes that support it, trying to

win the Nations which you are upholding; and you, scorning his kindness, have trampled under foot the orders and the promise of your Ancestors. They blush with shame, in the land of Souls, at seeing you violate, with an unbearable perfidy, the laws of nature, the law of Nations, and all human society."

That man pressed this point so urgently that the Iroquois Captain was forced to admit that they were in the wrong, promising that in the future things should go differently.

They were a long time engaged in this altercation, the Huron being unable to believe what he saw, and the Iroquois unable to persuade him that they were really in earnest in entertaining thoughts of peace.

But, whatever the state of affairs, the Iroquois not only did no harm to the Hurons, but they also talked of nothing but feasting and rejoicing,—so greatly was the aspect of affairs changed in a moment.

At length, after some interchange of friendly words, an Iroquois Captain, addressing the Huron Captain and dismissing him with honor, said to him: "My Brother, *Et Sagon*, cheer up, go and make the fields of the French green again with the good news of the peace that we wish to have with them and with all their Allies." All his baggage was restored to him, together with that of his followers, with the exception of an arquebus which had been lost. The Huron Captain, not yet believing that he was in safety, cried out: "How is this, do you take away a man's arms when he is alone among five hundred?" Immediately a hundred arquebuses were thrown down at his feet, for him to choose one in place of his own, which some warrior had carried away. That done, he embarked with the few of his people who were left him, and with the Ambassadors from Onnontae, to proceed directly to the Village of Three Rivers,

This Captain, who is a Christian, has since told one of our Fathers that he did not regard his life as out of danger until he saw his canoe beyond the range of the hostile army's muskets; then he cried out with St. Peter: "I know now that God has delivered me from the hand of the Iroquois."

Our French, who knew nothing of what was going on in the Enemy's camp, were greatly astonished at learning this news. They scarcely knew whether to believe it, but finally allowed themselves to do so, when they received word that an Anniehronnon Iroquois Captain, Andiouara by name, wished to go down to Quebec, in order to carry some presents to Onnontio and assure him of the desires they all felt to conclude a genuine peace.

This man set out from Three Rivers in the beginning of the month of September, and as soon as he arrived at Quebec, after paying his first visits, he displayed his presents, their meaning being as follows:

The first was to make bright the Sun, darkened by the clouds and the disturbances of so many wars.

The second was a dish which he presented to Onnontio, Governor of the French, in order that, after satisfying his hunger, he might listen more readily to the words of peace, as long speeches are not pleasing to those who are fasting.

The third was to serve as an ear-pick, in order that the harangues upon so pleasant a theme might enter his mind more distinctly.

The fourth was given for the building of a French Settlement within their territory, and for the formation there, in course of time, of a fine Colony.

The fifth, to cause that one and the same heart and spirit should, in the future, animate all those who should be embraced in this treaty of peace.

The sixth was a canoe or boat, for carrying Onnontio to their country when he wished to pay a visit to his Allies.

The seventh bore a petition that they be allowed to embark again in peace and return to their country, when they came to visit their French, Algonquin, and Huron friends.

The eighth asked that the hunting might be shared by all the confederated Nations, and that there might be no more war except on the Elks, Beavers, Bears, and Deer,—in order that all might enjoy together the dainty dishes that are obtained from these good animals.

Monsieur the Governor made answer by means of other presents, which he caused to be explained by his Interpreter, after the manner of these peoples.

The first was to set aright the mind of Andioura,— the name of the Iroquois Captain who had just displayed his presents. “If thy mind is still twisted,” said the Interpreter to him, “here is something with which to straighten it, in order that thy thoughts may be right.”

The second was to assure him that we had thenceforth only one heart with him and with all the people of his Nation.

The third, to unite with them in straightening and clearing the roads from one country to the other, in order that visits might be exchanged with greater ease.

The fourth, to spread a carpet or mat at Three Rivers, on which might be held the councils and assemblies of all the Nations.

The fifth, to prepare a place in their country for displaying the presents from Onnontio.

The sixth was to break the bonds that held captive, in their country, Father Joseph Poncet, whom all the French honored and asked for with urgency.

The seventh, to raise him from the place where he was lying bound and tied fast.

The eighth, to open for him the door of the cabin where he was lodged.

The ninth, to mitigate the fatigues that he must suffer on his return journey.

The last present was composed of six hooded cloaks, or cassocks of a certain kind, six riding-caps, and two large porcelain collars; these were presented to the six Ambassadors to protect them against the inclemency of the weather on their journey, and to lighten the fatigues which they must undergo on the way.

After the distribution of these presents, a number of speeches were made. Noel Tekouerimat, an Algonquin, inveighed forcibly against the perfidy of the Iroquois,—reproaching them with having killed, on five or six occasions, some of the Algonquins’ Ancestors at the very time when the latter were conducting some Iroquois prisoners back to their own country, in order to seek

peace; while the Algonquins had received with honor all the Iroquois who had come to their country to visit them. Besides, he said, if they purposed the formation of a genuine alliance, they would send back a number of women whom they were holding in captivity; if these were married, their husbands could follow them, to dwell with them in the country of the Algonquins; and if this country did not please them, the Iroquois could take them back to the place whence they had brought them. Such, he said, was the usage of their Allies who dwelt on the sea-coast in Acadia.

A Huron Captain made answer that the old disputes must now be forgotten; that, if the Iroquois had treated the Algonquins ill, he was paying them back like for like, in humbling their insolence by another insolence; and that Heaven generally punishes in twofold measure those who abuse its favors in their victories.

Monsieur the Governor made reply through his Interpreter, to the effect that he had always desired to be the Mediator of public peace; that he had not yet taken up arms against the Iroquois; and that, if he had permitted his people to attack them, their Villages would have been reduced to ashes. He said they had acted very wisely in seeking an alliance with him, because he was tired of so often crying, "Peace, peace!" And, if now it were not made with sincerity, the faithless ones would feel the wrath of the French. Furthermore, Annonhiasé—that is, Monsieur de Maisonneuve, Governor of Montreal—was expected to arrive very soon; and he was bringing with him a large force of soldiers to impose respectful behavior upon our enemies.

A Huron Captain closed the council with a short harangue of great eloquence, in which he urged the Iroquois to bring back Father Poncet at the earliest moment. "Know," he said to them, "that he is the Father of the French, of the Algonquins, and of the Hurons, and that he teaches us all, each in his own language, the way to Heaven. Be assured that the peace which shall be confirmed by the deliverance of such a personage will be inviolable on our side, and that you will seal it more firmly by restoring him to the French than if you brought back to us a whole world of Hurons or even of other Frenchmen,—supposing them to be in captivity."

The harangues concluded and the presents interchanged, rejoicing was manifested on all sides; and then the Ambassadors, Onnontaeronnon and Anniehronnon, returned to their own country.

All this occurred in the month of September, but at length Father Joseph Poncet, appearing at Quebec on the fifth of November, filled the hearts of all the French people with joy and gladness. The letters and memoirs which told of his arrival and of the councils held for the establishment of peace, were lost in the vessel taken by the English. Here are two short extracts taken from a letter written to a person of quality; they say much in a few words:

"God has, then, been pleased to answer our prayers and give back to us the good Father Poncet. Seven Iroquois escorted him home with eight presents, which are an earnest of those which their Elders are to bring in the Spring



for the establishment of the general peace, which seems to be decided upon. Father Poncet pledges his life for the sincerity of the Enemy's intentions. God grant he may not be deceived. Amen, Amen."

"These last Ambassadors, seeing that the season was advancing, and that the ice might bar their way on a long journey, briefly stated the purpose of their embassy, and gave their presents with the assurance that the peace they were making would be inviolable on their side. Then, after taking leave, and receiving reciprocal testimonials of the good-will of the French, they left with the latter the pleasure and joy resulting from a peace so long desired,—a happiness which I wish to France with all my heart."

**JR, 40:195** [*\*Abenakis are thought to be Iroquois and almost killed by Algonquins, but peace is made.*]

It seems to have been God's will to give a universal peace to New France; may it please his Goodness to render it stable and lasting. Nine Algonquins of the Residence of saint Joseph at Sillery, going to hunt Beaver in the month of November, turned aside from the banks of the great river and went four days' journey toward the Southeast, that is, in a direction between the East and the South. While they were proceeding at daybreak through those vast forests, seeking some lakes or rivers where the Beavers built their houses, they came upon the trail of some men. They immediately thought that these were Iroquois, and they followed close upon their heels, leaving the hunting of Beavers in order to hunt men. They quickened their pace, but noiselessly, in order not to be discovered. At length they found, before the Sun rose, five men asleep in a temporary cabin, which they had erected after the manner of hunters. They immediately pounced upon their prey, one of whom, wishing to use resistance, was quieted by a musket-shot delivered him in the thigh by an Algonquin. In a word, they saw themselves in the bonds of men, almost before they were delivered from the bonds of sleep.

As soon as our party had made this capture, they lost all thought of Beavers, and brought their captives back to Sillery. Now, as there was at this Residence a gathering from different Nations, a part of whom were not yet Christians, they gave the prisoners a strange reception. They were belabored with blows; their nails were torn out, and some of their fingers cut off; fire-brands were applied to their bodies; and, in short, they were treated like Savages and enemies of Savages. Noel Tekouerimat, a good Christian and the Captain of this Residence, after hearing these prisoners talk, said emphatically that they were not Iroquois, and that he doubted very much whether they were Allies of the latter. "They are," said he, "Abnaquiois, or neighbors and friends of the Abnaquiois." He added that, when he was in the neighborhood of New England, on the last journey he had made to the country of the Abnaquiois, he thought he had seen one of those faces. This statement arrested their execution, but did not appease the fury of those who, being enraged against the Iroquois, wished to wreak their vengeance upon these poor wretch-

es. And in order to make them die with some show of Justice, they said an assembly must be held to deliberate upon their life or death.

Noel, seeing plainly that passion and not reason was calling this council, would not attend it. The factious element did not cease its proceedings, but condemned these poor victims to the flames. Our Christian Captain, seeing this lawless conduct, made presents for the ransom of their lives. Again an assembly was called, and four of the men were given their lives, while it was desired to burn the fifth. But Noel, seeing that these assemblies were not composed of all the Nations interested in the war, exclaimed that a general council of all the chief men then in the country must be held; and that they must not proceed lightly in affairs of such importance, wherein human life, and perhaps a new war, were concerned. This advice was followed, a meeting was held, and the Captains made speeches, each in his turn. The common and most general opinion was that the prisoners were all guilty or all innocent; and that, consequently, they ought all to die, or all be given their lives. Thereupon, as peace had not then been made with the Iroquois, Noel Tekouerimat spoke in emphatic terms, saying that we had enough enemies on our hands, and their number must not be multiplied; that these poor men did not come to make war on us, but were Hunters; and that they must be sent back to their own country.

The chief men of the Council, in accordance with this sentiment, decided that not one of them should die; and that the fitting course was to send back two of the number to their own country for the purpose of informing their Nation of what had occurred. Forthwith they were made to enter the assembly, where they appeared bound and wearing nothing except around their loins. They squatted on the ground to hear their sentence, which rejoiced them greatly. A Captain took the word, and made them a short harangue,—telling them that they were all given their lives, that not one of them should die, and that they were free. At the same time their bonds were cut, and thrown into the fire; they were raised from the ground, and each was given some clothing; and they were exhorted to sing and dance and rejoice, since they were among their friends. This order was executed on the instant,—“promptly, joyfully, and in fine style,” as the account says which has reached us.

After some time of rejoicing, two of them were sent back to their own country, and the three others were retained as hostages. Their commission embraced three articles, distinguished by three little sticks that were put into their hands. The purport of the first was, that they were sent home to describe to the chief men of their Nation how they had been captured and delivered. The second said that they must come back again, at the beginning of the following Summer. The third was a petition that they should rescue from the hands of a Nation called Sokoueki, friends and neighbors of theirs, some of the petitioners' kinsfolk, who had been two years in captivity; and that they should bring them to Sillery, if they desired to form an alliance with the peoples who commonly resort thither. The sight of these captives would, it was urged, soften the looks of those who had not regarded them favorably; and

they would serve to tie the knot of the old-time friendship that had once been maintained between them. These simple souls, finding themselves declared innocent, demanded no reparation for the injuries done them. They did not complain of the blows inflicted, or of the fire that had been applied to their bodies. They did not urge the restitution of nails torn out, or of fingers cut off. All these preliminaries are accounted as nothing; provided life is not taken, the rest passes for a little sport. Even women, they say, would endure as much without a murmur.

They departed in the beginning of December of the year 1652, and made their appearance on the great river at the close of the month of May of last year, 1653. As soon as they caught sight of the settlements of the French and the Savages of Sillery, they had their drums beaten, in sign of peace and rejoicing. They escorted two of the most influential elders of their country, laden with presents representing the orders and commissions that had been given them. The Algonquins, hastening to the banks of the great river, and not seeing the captives whom they had asked for, were displeased at first; but the Ambassadors, well aware of their negligence in the most important point, gave such forcible reasons for their conduct as to appease all dissatisfaction. Perhaps those captives were dead; the memoirs and letters which I have received say nothing about it.

Displeasure being allayed, these new guests were summoned to the council on the day after their arrival. The assembly was held in a hall of our little house, where we receive and instruct the savages. It was opened by the exhibition of the presents, which were stretched upon a cord extending quite across the hall. They consisted merely of porcelain collars of great size, of bracelets, and ear-rings; and of calumets, or tobacco-pipes. When each one had taken his place, the oldest of these Ambassadors began to speak, and said to all present that he came to manifest the affection and friendship of the people of his nation, as symbolized by these collars; that their hearts were entirely open, and there was not a single fold in them; and that in his words were seen their inmost thoughts. Thereupon, taking another large collar, he stretched it out in the middle of the room, and said: "Behold the route that you must take to come and visit your friends."

This collar was composed of white and violet-colored porcelain, so arranged as to form figures, which this worthy man explained after his own fashion.

"There," said he, "are the lakes, there the rivers, there the mountains and valleys that must be passed; and there are the portages and waterfalls. Note everything, to the end that, in the visits that we shall pay one another, no one may get lost. The roads will be easy now, and no more ambuscades will be feared. All persons who are met will be so many friends."

That done, he arose; and, approaching the presents as they hung there, in the manner I have already described, he gave an explanation of them, as one would of an enigma, regarding the personages of the picture, one after the

other. "There," said he, pointing to the first present, "is the book, or the paper, wherein are painted the orders and commissions that I have received from my country, and the matters that I have to communicate to you. Whoever shall lightly esteem the purport of this painting or writing, deserves to have his head broken. "

Concerning the second present, composed of a large belt of porcelain, he said: "Come, brothers, arise and gird yourselves with this belt; and let us go together to hunt the Elk and the Beaver." The third was composed of some sticks of porcelain, worn by them in their ears, which are pierced with such very large holes as easily to receive a great stick of Spanish wax. "Those," he exclaimed, "are for piercing your ears, in order that we may speak to one another as friends are wont to do, and that we may take part in one another's councils."

The fourth, comprising six large collars, for the six Nations with whom these Ambassadors were renewing their alliances, represented the robes with which these nations ought to reclothe themselves. "As we have henceforth only one heart, we need only one kind of coat or robe, in order that all who shall see us may understand that we are all brothers, clothed in the same costume, and that he who shall offend one of us will offend the others."

That done, this good man seated himself in the middle of the room and took two large tobacco-pipes, a cubit in length and made of a beautiful, highly-polished green stone; these constituted the fifth present. He filled one of them with tobacco, applied fire to it, and sucked or drew the smoke from it with great gravity. All the assembly looked at him, not knowing what he meant. At length, after he had smoked very much at his ease, "My brothers," said he, "these two tobacco-pipes are yours. We must in the future have only one breath and a single respiration, since we have only one and the same soul."

And coming to the sixth present, which consisted of porcelain strung in brasse-lengths, and in a number of collars, "Ah, my brothers," he cried, "in what great dangers on all sides have we been placed by the bonds of those poor prisoners! But at length they are loosed, and the danger is past. Your Fathers formerly contracted an alliance with our Ancestors. That had been forgotten, and an unlucky event caused harm to our people and good to all our Nations; for we had ceased to know one another, we had gone astray, and lo! we are reunited. Yes, but have not our poor people had their fingers cut off? have they not been beaten and tortured? It is not you, my brothers, who dealt this blow; it is those wicked Iroquois, who have done you so much harm. Your eyes, injured by those wretches, took us for enemies, and you struck us, thinking you were striking Iroquois. It was a mistake; we will say nothing about it."

His speech ended, Noel Tekouerimat, Captain of Sillery, took the word, in the name of all the other Captains. He thanked these Ambassadors very kindly, praising them for entertaining a love for peace and a good understanding with their Ancestors' Allies. And, continuing his speech, he made it manifest to all the assembly, and especially to the Hurons,—who had shown themselves

much opposed to thoughts of peace, taking these prisoners for real enemies,—how important it was not to act with precipitation in affairs of such consequence; and how fitting it was to reestablish the old-time friendship they had had with these peoples.

In conclusion, the Ambassadors, seeing that they had been heard with favor, that their presents had been accepted, and their prisoners set free, began to dance, and to sing a song with the full volume of their voices and all the strength of their lungs. Their song contained only these few words: “Now is the time to rejoice, since our presents are accepted.” By order of the Captains, the young people joined them, in order to render the joy public,—the young men dancing by themselves and the girls by themselves, following one another, however, after the manner of the country. Thus ended that whole ceremony.

*JR, 40:211* [*\*War's effect on beaver trade and economy.*]

Never were there more Beavers in our lakes and rivers, but never have there been fewer seen in the warehouses of the country. Before the devastation of the Hurons, a hundred canoes used to come to trade, all laden with Beaver-skins; the Algonquins brought them from all directions; and each year we had two or three hundred thousand livres' worth. That was a fine revenue with which to satisfy all the people, and defray the heavy expenses of the country.

The Iroquois war dried up all these springs. The Beavers are left in peace and in the place of their repose; the Huron fleets no longer come down to trade; the Algonquins are depopulated; and the more distant Nations are withdrawing still farther, fearing the fire of the Iroquois. For a year, the warehouse of Montreal has not bought a single Beaver-skin from the Savages. At Three Rivers, the little revenue that has accrued has been used to fortify the place, the enemy being expected there. In the Quebec warehouse there is nothing but poverty; and so every one has cause to be dissatisfied, there being no means to supply payment to those to whom it is due, or even to defray a part of the most necessary expenses of the country...

It is the Iroquois of whom complaint must be made, for it is they who have stopped the water at its fountainhead. I mean, it is they that are preventing all the trade in Beaver-skins, which have always been the chief wealth of this country. But now, if God bless our hopes of peace with the Iroquois, a fine war will be made on the Beavers, and they will find the road to the warehouses of Montreal, Three Rivers, and Quebec, which they have forgotten during these later years. The upper Nations will come down with joy, and will bring the Beaver-skins which they have been amassing for the past three years.

This Spring, three canoes arrived at Three Rivers from the former country of the Hurons,—or, rather, from the depths of the most hidden recesses of those regions, whither several families have withdrawn, out of all communication with the rest of mankind, for fear lest the Iroquois might go and find them there.

These three canoes, led by a Christian Savage, contained people from

four different Nations, who brought us excellent news. This was, that they were gathering together, to the number of two thousand men, in a very fine country about a hundred and fifty leagues farther away than the Hurons, toward the West; and that they were to come the next Spring in company, to bring a large number of Beaver-skins, for the purpose of doing their ordinary trading and furnishing themselves with powder, lead, and firearms, in order to render themselves more formidable to the enemy.

Moreover, all our young Frenchmen are planning to go on a trading expedition, to find the Nations that are scattered here and there; and they hope to come back laden with the Beaver-skins of several years' accumulation.

In a word, the country is not stripped of Beavers; they form its gold-mines and its wealth, which have only to be drawn upon in the lakes and streams,—where the supply is great in proportion to the smallness of the draught upon it during these latter years, due to the fear of being dispersed or captured by the Iroquois. These animals, moreover, are extremely prolific.

**JR, 40:219** [*\*Peace will be maintained by settling among Iroquois.*]

The greatest evil wrought by the Iroquois war is the ruin of our infant Churches; for it laid waste the Huron country, depopulated the Algonquin nations, cruelly put to death both Pastors and flock, and prevented any farther passage to the remote Nations, in order to make of them a Christian people.

Now, this new peace will open for us a highroad to the upper Nations, whence the war has driven us away. The zeal of our Fathers already impels them thither with love and joy, as toward the object of their desires.

But what still more animates them, and what will be a very effectual means of maintaining the peace with the Iroquois, is the opening which God gives us for establishing a Residence in the midst of the enemy's country, on the great lake of the Iroquois, near the Onnontaeronnons. The route thither is very easy, there being only two waterfalls where it is necessary to land and make a portage,—a short one at that; and there it would be easy to construct a small redout for the purpose of maintaining free communication and of making ourselves masters of this great lake. Thence, we can afterward make journeys to the distant Nations, and even into the former country of the Hurons, without being obliged to undergo those inconceivable fatigues of former times, when we had to carry both canoes and baggage on our shoulders in order to avoid the waterfalls and impetuous floods which are unnavigable.

The Onnontaeronnon Iroquois invite us of their own accord, and solicit our coming by presents; they have assigned a place to us, and have described it to us as the finest spot in all those regions....

**JR, 40:223** [*\*Hurons took refuge among French and various nations.*]

The country of the Hurons, which sustained from thirty to thirty-five thousand souls within a stretch of territory of only seventeen or eighteen leagues, having been pillaged, laid waste, and burned, those who escaped this

general wreck took refuge among various Nations. A large number came and threw themselves into the arms of the French, and especially of the Fathers of our Society.

**JR, 40:223** [*\*Huron captive married in Iroquoia.*]

I read the following in a letter written by a good Ursuline Mother: “We learned that our Huron Seminarist, who was captured about ten years ago by the Iroquois, was married in their country; that she was the mistress in her cabin, which contained several families; that she prayed to God every day; and that she induced others to pray to him. This appears the more wonderful, as she was only about thirteen or fourteen years old when she was carried away by those Barbarians....

“The father and mother of one of our Seminarists...came to see their daughter, who was about ten years old. They told her that, as peace was being made with the Iroquois, those whom her father had known in that country, where he had been a captive, were inviting him to go and dwell there with all his family; and, thereupon, they asked her whether she would not like to be one of the party and follow her father and mother. ‘What?’ she rejoined; ‘...Go, if you will, to that wretched country, but I shall not follow you: I will never leave the holy maidens if you forsake me.’ Her parents respected her courage, and assured her that they would not go away from the house of prayer.

**JR, 40:257** [*\*French fortify Three Rivers, Hurons don’t help but take shelter in the fort when 600 Iroquois show up to massacre them.*]

“[\*from a letter of Mother Marie, dated Sept. 6, 1653] But the reverend Father superior of the missions—a man very zealous for the public welfare, who considers it necessary to remain continually upon his guard—labored energetically to secure the fortification of that settlement of Three Rivers. This was contrary to the opinion of the inhabitants of the place themselves,—who, devoted to their own personal affairs, had no inclination to quit these in order to labor on the fortress. Notwithstanding the hindrances encountered by the Father in his undertaking, the fortifications were completed, and all the inhabitants were protected from sudden attacks by the enemy. Hardly three weeks had passed, when 600 Iroquois (by whom we had been threatened) appeared, with the intention of putting all to fire and sword, without sparing age or sex,—which they would certainly have accomplished, if the place had been in the condition in which they expected to find it. All those who lived in the Huron village, being informed of the enemy’s approach, immediately took refuge within the fort, and consequently they, as well as the French, escaped slaughter. So true is it that the Iroquois intended to exterminate all and render themselves masters of the place, that they had brought their wives and children, and all their baggage, in order to establish themselves there.”

**Journal of the Jesuit Fathers, January 30 to February 5, 1654.**

*JR, 41:19* [\**Mohawk and Onondaga invite Hurons to Iroquoia.*]

On the 30th [\*of January, 1654], 4 Onnonta,eronnons arrive at Quebecq with letters from Mon-real and three Rivers. The former apprise us that 7 had arrived at Mon-real at the beginning of december, with the intention of proceeding farther; that Monsieur de Maisonneuve had done his utmost to stop them,—telling them that onnontio was everywhere. He had presented to them two *great kettles*, for this purpose; but, as they persisted in their resolve to go down to Quebecq, he asked them to send back two of their men into their country, with two blankets on the part of Annonchiasé, to assure their fellow-countrymen of the Friendship of the people of Mon-real—whatever accident might befall those who should go further down. That was carried out.

By the letters from 3 Rivers we learn that they have presents to bestow in secret upon the Hurons of the Island; 2nd, that, the Annien,eronnons having made some to the latter in the past autumn, Atseña since that time had in return given them three presents at three Rivers, on behalf of his tribe, in order to show that the Hurons accepted the proposition for going to Annieñé. These three presents were then carried to Annieñé. The envoys lodge with us at Quebecq.

On the 31st, they go to the Island. I meet them on the ice; they greet me with a speech, and I give to the chief, named Tsira,enie, a brasse-length of tobacco. At night, they hold a secret council with certain captains and elders. One of our Christians, named Jacques Atsiwens, who had been present there, informed us: 1st, that the hurons had of their own accord made two presents to the onnonta,eronnons, even in the autumn. 2nd, that Tsira,enie, with 4 collars which he was to present to them at a second council, had given them a pledge that 400 men and 100 women were coming to carry away the village from the Island; that meanwhile they were hunting at Andatso; that in the spring they would come down as far as the river st. François, and would send to notify the Hurons to embark. 3rd, that the hurons had answered to the effect that their message had been altered; and that their idea had been merely, in case the war were resumed, to place a mat in onnantä,e for their nephews taken in war,—so that the lives of such might be spared, and that they might thus have some hope of again seeing them some day.

*February*

On the 3rd, a council is held at the fort with the inhabitants, in order to give them knowledge of all these affairs, and to consider means for averting any treasonable design.

The 4th is set for the council: the onnonta,eronnons do not come, on account of the bad weather. We hold a secret council at our house in the evening, with some huron elders,—Oek, Ationnionraskwa, and others. By the advice of Monsieur the governor, Monsieur d'Ailleboust, Father Ragueneau,



Father Chaumonot, and I gave them to understand: 1st, that Monsieur the governor had knowledge of the business which they were secretly negotiating with the onnonta,eronnons. 2nd, that he found nothing to gainsay in the essentials of this project, since he did not intend to keep his nephews, the hurons, in captivity. 3rd, that he blamed them for having consented to conceal this affair from him. 4th, that we recommended them to say all this to Tsira,énié, advising him to make a present in person to onnontio, for entreating him to relax his arms a little, and to give liberty to the hurons whom he held under his protection, etc. They were, 1st, quite confounded; they acknowledged everything, and approved the advice that we gave them. Then, having asked them *quid responsi daturus esset* onnontio, "Let him answer," they said, "that it will be possible in two years." Thereupon we answered that he would better say, "when the peace shall be well established."

5th. Tsira,énié arrives about 4 o'clock in the evening, with 3 or 4 hurons. He makes his six presents in our hall, in the presence of Monsieur the governor and of about 30 frenchmen; and at evening, when night set in, he returns alone to the Island.

**Father François le Mercier. 1655. Relation of what occurred in the mission of the fathers of the Society of Jesus, in New France in the years 1653 and 1654.**

*JR, 41:37* [*\*The uneasy peace—Fr. le Moine promises Iroquois a mission.*]

I have waited until this day, the twenty-first of the month of September, before taking my pen in hand to inform your Reverence of the condition in which we are,—having been unable to do so sooner, because we did not know it ourselves. Our minds have been so divided during the past year that, to tell the truth, we have enjoyed peace while thinking we were at war. Therein God has blessed our administration; and from the plots of treachery entertained by the Iroquois, our enemies, he has derived their welfare and ours,—giving us a genuine Peace, which opens to us ways and routes for going to instruct them in their own country, and for bearing thither the faith which shall make a Christian people out of a cruel and barbarous one....It was Father Simon le Moine, who was sent thither in the beginning of July...he converted a great Iroquois Captain, the Chief of eighteen hundred men, whom he was leading to a new war, to which God undoubtedly aroused them in order to give us Peace....Finally, the Father received presents from the most important nation; it is centrally situated among the other Iroquois nations, who are inviting us to go and instruct them, in order that they may become Christians. We gave them our word that next Spring we would go and dwell there...

*JR, 41:43* [*\*Mohawk and Onondaga peace offers.*]

[\*November 1653]After the happy deliverance and return from captivity of Father Poncet,—who was saved almost by a miracle from death, and from

the flames in which the companion of his fortunes had been cruelly burnt,—the Anniehronnon Iroquois, having given us some considerable presents in testimony of the sincerity of their hearts, and having received some in return, were in haste to start homeward again, seeing that winter was approaching.

At the same time a vessel which was still lingering at Quebec, set sail to return to France, and bear thither the news of that Peace which had been so ardently longed for, and of the joy that had already spread over the countenances and in the hearts of all the peoples allied to us,—Algonquins, Montagnais, and Hurons.

The pleasantest days often have their clouds, and it is not God's will that our joys in this world should be quite free from shadows. The vessel that was returning to France, richly laden with the spoils of the Beavers of this country, was itself despoiled, falling into the hands of the English who were waiting for it in the Channel.

Here, at the same time, three young Hurons, having met by chance in the woods two Savages of the Nation of the Wolves,—Allies of the Anniehronnon Iroquois,—surprised them by night for the sake of securing their booty, and killed them on the spot.

This piece of treachery was discovered by the very Iroquois who had brought back Father Poncet. Upon calling, on their way home, at the French settlement at three Rivers, they recognized there the spoils of their Allies and the robes stained with their blood, which was doubtless crying to Heaven for vengeance. This event was indeed calculated to stifle in the cradle the hopes of a peace that had but just been born. But God interposed, and the Governor of three Rivers had the Huron murderers put in irons, in order to inflict a just punishment upon them and make it understood that the French had no share in these crimes. The Iroquois were satisfied with our action, and themselves made us presents to secure the deliverance of the three criminals, saying that, as Peace had been concluded, they were brothers of the Hurons, that they thenceforth constituted but one family, and that they would take upon themselves the task of arresting at their source the consequences of this murder, since that Nation of the Wolves was allied to them.

In order to bind us more closely together, the Iroquois asked that some of our Frenchmen should go to their country, while they would leave us hostages in return, in order to tie more tightly, as they said to us, this sacred knot of inviolable friendship, which they wished to maintain with us as long as our great rivers should run into the sea. Two young soldiers volunteered to set out on this journey, four Iroquois remaining with us.

A few days after the departure of the Iroquois Ambassadors, the senior Captains of our Hurons revealed to us a secret which until then had been unknown to us. They showed us three large Porcelain collars of rare beauty. "These," said they, "are some presents that have come from the depths of hell, from a demon who spoke to us in the awful stillness of a dark night,—a demon who inspires us with fear, since he loves only darkness and dreads the light."

In a word, they informed us that, on the very night following the beautiful day on which the Onnontachronnon Iroquois had concluded their treaty of peace with us, the leader of that embassy had awakened them toward midnight, in order to take counsel with them. He told them plainly that the purpose of his journey was to sever their connection with us, and to transfer their Huron colony to his own country,—where were already their kinsfolk who had been formerly carried away captive, and who bore their absence only with regret and inconsolable sadness. He said they were waiting for them with love, and would receive them with joy. “The entire procedure,” he said, “which they had observed in delivering Father Poncet, and in conferring about Peace, was only meant to conceal their game, and to afford them more means of speaking with us without suspicion, and of conducting this whole affair smoothly and effectively.”

“We dared not reject these presents,” added the Huron Captains; “for that would have been to break with them and refuse the Peace, which we must try to keep, since we are powerless to carry on war. We received them, too, only with fear, knowing too well that they are but faithless people; and that a feigned friendship with them is a thousand times more dangerous than open enmity. Perhaps, while deceiving you, they wish to deceive us, and by dividing us they intend the more easily to get the better of both of us. Perhaps they wish to strengthen themselves with our Colony, and compel us, when we are with them, to take up arms against you. Perhaps, too, they are treating with the French in sincerity, and, while pretending to wish to deceive you, really wish to deceive us, after removing us from under your protection; for he who commits one treachery is capable of committing more than one.”

Thereupon, those Huron Captains asked for our advice, telling us furthermore that they were resolved to live and die with us, although, to satisfy the expectations of the Iroquois, they had given them presents in return.

Monsieur the Governor made answer to them that they would have done well to reveal this secret council on the very night when it was held; that it was well to know the thoughts of those who wished to deceive us; that God would nevertheless bless the honesty of our proceedings; and that time would enable us to draw some advantage even from the Iroquois, and to effect their salvation from the very purposes which they might entertain for our destruction.

*Design of the Onnontachronnon Iroquois, who arrived at Quebec  
in the Month of February, 1654.*

The Onnontachronnon Iroquois are those who appeared at Montreal, last year, bringing the first tidings of Peace, although we are certain that they came only with thoughts of war. They sent their Ambassadors to Quebec in the month of September following, to treat concerning that Peace; and, with this end in view, they brought very rich presents.

They had promised to come back and see us in the winter, and they kept

their word. They asked at once that the council should be called; and, when their Captain saw himself in the midst of all our Frenchmen, he exhibited six large Porcelain collars,—that meant that he had six things of importance to say to us.

The first present was intended to calm the minds of the French, for fear that they might be disturbed and mistake one word for another; or that they might be offended at some word ill understood.

The second was to testify that his heart was on his tongue, and his tongue in his heart; that is, that there was in all his words and actions naught but the most winning sincerity, which there was no reason to distrust.

The third was a May-tree, which he planted, he said, in the middle of the great River St. Lawrence, opposite the fort of Quebec, the house of Onontio, the great Captain of the French (that is, Monsieur de Lauson, our Governor),—a May-tree which should rear its summit above the clouds, in order that all the Nations of the earth might be able to see it, and that it might mark a rendezvous where all the world could rest in Peace under the shade of its leaves.

The fourth present was given to make a deep pit, extending down into hell, into which should be thrown all slander and suspicion, and everything that might disturb good feeling, and embitter the sweetness of a Peace which heaven had given us.

The fifth was to dispel the clouds that had obscured the sun. “Those clouds, said he, are the words of distrust uttered by the Algonquins and Montagnais, which prevent the sun from shedding its gentle radiance upon us and upon them. If they were less ready to believe a thousand false reports, their mind would be a sun, giving light everywhere and dissipating the darkness.”

The sixth and last present was to bury so far under ground their war-kettle,—in which they were accustomed to boil human flesh and the dismembered bodies of their captives, whom they cruelly devoured,—that that abominable kettle should never be seen on earth again, because all their hatred was changed into love.

This council was held with us on the fifth day of February. All gave free expression to their joy and gayety; and the sun’s rays are not more benign than the faces of those Ambassadors appeared to us. But a dark night followed upon a beautiful day.

We learned from a Huron Christian that this Onnontachronnon Iroquois Captain cherished the same design as that entertained by the Anniehronnon Ambassadors,—namely, to separate the Huron Colony from us, and induce the families to go in a body—men, women, and children—into their country; and that, to accomplish this, he proposed a means as easy as it was plausible. This was that the Hurons should, at the opening of spring, allege that they were attracted by the beauty of Montreal and wished to make their home there; they should take the road thither, and without doubt the French themselves would

favor that move. But, on approaching the Island of Montreal, they were to ascend one branch of the River instead of the other; and, on reaching a point above that Island, they would find there a band of five hundred Onnontaechronnon Iroquois,—who, while waiting for them, would build a fort, capture plenty of game, and make some canoes for facilitating the rest of the journey. This scheme, moreover, was to be kept secret even from the Hurons, with the exception of three or four who were to conduct the affair with prudence, and without giving to their wives and children any other idea than that of a transfer of their abode to Montreal. Four or five hundred Iroquois would come to meet them between three Rivers and Montreal, and then it would be time to make public the whole of their plan, which none would be able to oppose, as they would be forced to bow to the law of might. They would, on the contrary, be only too happy to become friends of the conquerors, and to go to a victorious country and a land of Peace which was about to wage war at a distance, itself receiving no harm therefrom.

That Iroquois Ambassador had made four presents to further this scheme; but he did so in the dark and awesome night-time, to persons whom he believed trustworthy, and under a promise of inviolable secrecy.

When it had all been reported to us, we found ourselves in as great a perplexity as the Hurons themselves. “We see plainly,” these Huron Captains said to us, “that those two Iroquois Nations, in a spirit of mutual envy, wish to win us each to its own side. Whatever plan we adopt, we are equally confronted with misfortune. We have reason to believe that this eagerness displayed by both parties proceeds not from love which they feel toward us, but is rather part of the plot to be revenged upon us, each for an injury received and not yet forgiven. The Onnontaechronnons still bear in mind the death of thirty-four of their number, men of high rank and importance among them, whom we deceived three years ago in our former country when they themselves tried to beguile us. We anticipated by one day the disaster that was about to break over our heads; they were plotting to massacre us, under the pretext of a false treaty of Peace, in which they intended to take us unawares. The Anniechronnons cannot forget the death of their great Captain Torontisati, whom we burned at three Rivers only two years ago, when he saw himself betrayed while plotting to betray us. Although in those matters we are guiltless, still they regard us as criminals for having escaped death at their hands when they planned it. They consider us as so many victims consecrated to their cruelty, and that is probably what prompts them to show us so much love.”

“What increases our ill fortune at this juncture,” added these Huron Captains, “is that, whatever side we take,—even should these pluck out from their hearts their furious desire to be revenged on us,—the other side will imagine itself despised, and treated with less consideration than its rival, and will conceive fresh wrath and commit some new crime which will irritate them more than ever. But if neither side carries us off to its own country, their hope, being disappointed, will turn to despair; and, seeing themselves both

alike deceived, they will conspire to effect our ruin. Thus we see only misfortunes on all sides.”

After long uncertainty as to which course they should pursue, the oldest of the Captains addressed Monsieur the Governor as follows: “It is now thy turn to speak, Onontio, and not ours. We have been dead for four years, ever since our country was laid waste. Death follows us everywhere, and is always before our eyes. We live only in thee, we see only through thy eyes, we breathe only in thy person; and our reasoning is without reason, except in so far as thou givest it to us. It is then for thee, Onontio, to draw us out from these perils by telling us what we must do.”

This was a perplexing emergency for us: for a traitor—conscious of his guilt and seeing that he is discovered—fears that he will be anticipated, and believes his safety to lie in hastening the destruction of the most innocent, knowing well that he himself deserves to be destroyed. So we hesitated to show that we knew of their conduct; while, on the other hand, to seem to know nothing about it was to encourage them in its continuance, and render incurable—by deferring the remedy—the evil which was threatening the ruin of either the French or the Hurons, and most probably of both together.

Finally, we deemed it best to let the Iroquois know, without manifesting either distrust or jealousy, that we ourselves were well inclined toward their project; but to do this in such a way as to succeed in deferring that enterprise until some subsequent year, in the hope—which was afterward fulfilled—that God would admit some light into our darkness, and that time would incline men’s minds toward a genuine Peace.

Our Huron Captains told the Iroquois Ambassador, as if in confidence, that their plan was succeeding beyond their hopes; that the French were proposing to them to build a new settlement themselves on the great lake of the Iroquois; and that, such being the case, it would be best to communicate to the French their hitherto secret design, without letting it appear that there had been a desire to conceal anything from them. To this the Iroquois consented.

A council was held, in which were brought forward the four Iroquois colars, wherewith an invitation was extended to the Huron colony to make itself a new country in lands formerly hostile, which, they were assured, would be to them a Promised land.

To these presents the Hurons had only two things to say in reply, and they did this by means of two other presents. The first was made to postpone, at least for a year, the execution of this plan. The second present was given to exhort the Iroquois to build, in the first place, a dwelling for the black robes,—that is, for our Fathers, who were their teachers,—assurance being given that, whithersoever our Fathers should decide to go, the colony would follow them.

Monsieur the Governor lent his support, and testified, by six more presents, his approval of this plan.

With the first, he exhorted the Onnontaehronnon Iroquois to give a cordial reception to the Hurons, when the latter should come to their country.

With the second, he begged them not to press the Huron Families which might not yet be ready to make this journey.

With the third, he asked that they should be allowed full liberty to go whithersoever they wished, even though some should feel disposed to seek the country of the Anniehronnon Iroquois, and others Sonnotwanne; and even though still others should long for their former country, or choose to continue their abode with the French.

The fourth present was intended to put Onnontio's voice into the mouth of Annonchiassé,—that is to say, Monsieur our Governor declared to them that it was no longer necessary for them to come down as far as Quebec to hear his voice and opinions regarding that treaty of Peace, but that they might treat with Monsieur de Maisonneuve, local Governor of Montreal, with as much confidence as with himself; and that he gave him all his own power in that respect.

The fifth present was to transplant the May-tree which they had set up before Quebec, removing it to Montreal, in order that access to it might be easier, the latter place being on the frontier.

The sixth present was designed to create anew a union of sentiment among all the Iroquois, who are composed of five different nations, in order that this Peace might be general, and that there might be no jealousy between them.

In this way we satisfied every one, being ourselves friendly to all, and no one being able to complain of us. Above all, we left each of the Iroquois Nations hopeful of winning to its own side the Hurons, whom they so eagerly desired.

When this had been accomplished, the Ambassadors prepared for their return, giving us assurance of an inviolable Peace.

*Capture of a Frenchman at Montreal by the Onneiochronnon Iroquois,  
in the Month of April, 1654; and of his Deliverance.*

As nothing happened all winter long to mar our joy, and as the atmosphere of Peace had spread throughout the country, especially at Montreal, the great number of Beavers inhabiting the streams and neighboring rivers attracted our Frenchmen thither, as soon as spring opened and the snow and ice melted. On all sides they hunted and waged war against these animals in good earnest, with pleasure and profit alike.

A young Surgeon in pursuit of his prey,—laying his snares for the Beaver in remote places where never had Solitude seemed to him sweeter,—a band of Onneiochronnon Iroquois, who had gone thither to hunt men, captured this hunter of animals. They quickly carried him away, and hurried him to their canoes, without leaving any trace behind them. Nothing would have been known of this mishap if a Huron accompanying the hostile band had not, by good luck, made his escape. They had left him at the spot where they landed, on the Island of Montreal, to guard their canoes and bear company to two young

Iroquois women who were in attendance on their husbands,—so enjoyable and easy is this warfare to our enemies. This Huron, seizing the opportunity, hastened promptly to the fort of Montreal, and gave warning to be on guard, as a band of a dozen Onneichronnon Iroquois had arrived and were scouring the neighborhood, with thoughts of nothing but war, blood, and carnage.

The cannon was fired as a signal for every one to retire to the fort, where this young Surgeon was the only one found to be missing; no doubt was entertained that he had either been captured, or killed on the spot. From Montreal advices were despatched to three Rivers and Quebec. There we were, again exposed to the terrors of a fresh war, and expecting a hostile army,—the Huron fugitive assuring us that it was close at hand, and that everything had been but treachery. The effect of all this, however, was only to strengthen our Peace, and to make us keenly conscious that God alone was working for us, in a measure exceeding all our foresight and all that we could have dared to hope.

In the beginning of the month of May, a band of Onnontaehronnon Iroquois arrived at Montreal, knowing nothing of this act of hostility. They were kindly received and the French opened to them their hearts, as well as the gate of the fort. After a favorable reception, they were told of the capture of the Frenchman who had been carried off a prisoner. They were surprised at this news; they trembled and turned pale, thinking there might be a desire to take vengeance on them. They were gently reassured, and were made to understand that it was never the custom of the French to involve the innocent with the guilty; and that a friend was not made an enemy, unless he himself wished it.

There was in that band a Captain who, of all his Nation, bore the most influential name, Sagochiendagehtë. “No, no,” said he; “your goodness will always be victorious; our malignity and trickery can never extinguish it. Bad luck to those who shall ever abuse it! I myself will remain your captive and hostage until the Frenchman who was taken away prisoner shall have been set free. For his life I will pledge my own; and, if the people of my nation have any respect and love for me, the Frenchman will live, and his life will save mine.”

He straightway despatched a canoe to carry this news to Onnontaé, of which he is Captain. There the matter was earnestly considered; presents were collected, an embassy was sent to Onneiout,—the Nation of those who had committed the act,—and its people were requested to surrender the Captive and set him free.

It was a pleasant surprise for that young Surgeon to see, in a moment, his bonds broken. Faces no longer showed anything but gentleness toward him, his enemies having become his friends; and the joy at Montreal was made perfect when he himself brought thither the tidings of his deliverance, and the assurance of Peace for all the Iroquois Nations.

The Onnontaehronnons who had conducted him back, on seeing all assembled, brought forth twenty Porcelain collars, to accompany their principal present,—namely, our prisoner, restored to freedom.



The purpose of the first collar was to root more firmly the May-tree which Onnontio, the great Captain of the French, had transplanted to Montreal.

The second was to restore to better humor Monsieur de Maisonneuve, who was rightfully indignant at this unjust capture of one of his beloved nephews.

The third was to serve him as a Potion to make him vomit up all his bile, and all the poison in his heart.

The object of the fourth present was to throw into the fire the fetters which had bound the hands and arms of the Captured Frenchman.

The fifth was to break the cords that had bound his legs.

The sixth, to burn those that had been tied around his waist.

With the seventh, the Nation of the Onnontaehronnons demolished the scaffold upon which this French captive had been exposed.

With the eighth, the Nation of the Sonnontoehronnons rescued him from that position of ignominy.

With the ninth, the Onionenhronnons did the same.

With the tenth, the Onneiochronnons burnt the wood that had been used in building that unhappy scaffold, so that not even the ashes were left to posterity, and the memory of it was lost.

The purpose of the eleventh present was to reunite in the same thoughts of Peace the minds of our French, of the Hurons, and of the Algonquins, in case fear should have inspired any one with distrust.

In presenting the twelfth, the Iroquois Captain said: "Nature has strewn with rocks and shoals the Rivers that connect us with the French. I remove every one of those breakers, in order that all communication between us may be pleasanter and easier."

With the thirteenth he said: "I wish, above all things, to see in my country one of the black robes who have taught the Hurons to honor the one God."

With the fourteenth: "We shall pay him respect, and shall daily clean the mat on which he makes his bed."

With the fifteenth: "We shall receive his teachings with love, and it is our wish to worship him who is the master of our lives."

With the sixteenth: "Our young men will wage no more warfare with the French; but, as they are too warlike to abandon that pursuit, you are to understand that we are going to wage a war against the Ehriehronnons" (the cat Nation), "and this very summer we shall lead an army thither. The earth is trembling yonder, and here all is quiet."

With the seventeenth: "If any accident should happen which can disturb this Peace, I shall have wings with which to fly, and to hasten hither on the instant. My presence will put a stop to all disorders."

With the eighteenth: "I open the ears of the French, that they may learn every occurrence, and hear the news and advise me thereof."

With the nineteenth: "We—the Frenchman and I, the Onnontaehronnon—are now one, our arms being linked together in a bond of love; and he who shall seek to sever it will be our common foe."

With the twentieth: "We shall do nothing in secret; the Sun will witness our actions; and may it cease to shine on him who shall choose the path of darkness. He who hates the light is not worthy that the sun should shine on him."

Such were the twenty presents given us by the Onnontachronnon Iroquois, to establish firmly the Peace which had been violated by the capture of our Frenchman.

*A Fleet of Huron and Algonquin Canoes from the Upper Nations,  
Allies of the French, Arrive in the Month of June at Montreal  
and at Three Rivers, and Bring Thither Good News.*

After the capture of the Surgeon of Montreal, and before his return from Captivity,—while we were in suspense between fear and hope, not knowing what would be the issue of that affair,—a fleet appeared in the distance, descending the rapids and waterfalls which are above Montreal. There was reason to fear that it might be a hostile army; but, upon its approach, it was seen to be composed of friends, who were coming from a distance of four hundred leagues to bring us news of their Nation and learn some of our own.

The people of Montreal and three Rivers experienced a double joy upon seeing that these canoes were laden with furs, which those nations come to exchange for our french products.

These people were partly Tionnontatehronnons, whom we formerly called the tobacco Nation, and who speak the Huron language; and partly Ondataouaouats, speaking the Algonquin language, and called by us Cheveux relevez, because their hair does not hang down, but is made to stand erect like a high crest.

All these peoples have forsaken their former country and withdrawn to the more distant Nations, toward the great lake which we call "the lake of the Stinkards," because they dwell near the Sea,—which is salt, and which our Savages call "stinking water." This lake is toward the North. The devastation of the Huron country having made them apprehensive of a like misfortune, and the fury of the Iroquois having pursued them everywhere, they thought to find security only by retreating to the very end of the world, so to speak.

They live there in large numbers, and form a greater population than before occupied all those countries; several of them have different languages, which are unknown to us. Nevertheless, they must be brought to a knowledge of God, and we must some day proclaim his majesty to them. Those who came to visit us—to the number of about sixscore—met, on their way, some Sonnontachronnon Iroquois, and some people of the Wolf Tribe, allies of the Anniehronnon Iroquois. They were out on a hunting expedition, and our visitors took thirteen of them Captive,—not intending, however, to treat them with the customary cruelty, or even to bind their arms and hands. God softens the hearts of barbarians when he wishes that Peace should be made.

This victorious band arrived safely at Montreal; seeing in what disposition its inhabitants were, and how everything pointed toward Peace, they made

a present of these captives to Sagochiendagehte, the Onnontaehronnon Captain who had voluntarily remained there as a hostage, pending the return of the Frenchman who had been carried off a prisoner.

Thereupon nothing but feasts and songs of joy were going on, amid a gentle impatience for the Frenchman's speedy return. Soon after, he arrived, as has been related in the preceding Chapter.

His restitution by the Onnontaehronnon Iroquois showed us that God was working more than we for the strengthening of this Peace. They informed us that a fresh war had broken out against them, and thrown them all into a state of alarm: that the Ehrichronnons were arming against them (these we call the Cat Nation, because of the prodigious number of Wildcats in their country, two or three times as large as our domestic Cats, but of a handsome and valuable fur). They informed us that a village of Sonnontoehronnon Iroquois had been already taken and set on fire at their first approach; that that same nation had pursued one of their own armies which was returning victorious from the direction of the great lake of the Hurons, and that an entire Company of eighty picked men, which formed the rear-guard, had been completely cut to pieces; that one of their greatest Captains, Annenraes by name, had been captured and led away captive by some skirmishers of that Nation,—who, in order to deal this blow, had come almost to the gates of their village. They declared, in a word, that all the four Nations of the upper Iroquois were on fire; that they were leaguings together, and arming to repulse this enemy; and that all this compelled them earnestly to seek for Peace with us, even though they might not have had any such thoughts before.

This news taught us that God, by diverting the arms and forces of our enemies elsewhere, was aiding us in a most unexpected manner.

The Cat Nation is very populous, having been reinforced by some Hurons, who scattered in all directions when their country was laid waste, and who now have stirred up this war which is filling the Iroquois with alarm. Two thousand men are reckoned upon, well skilled in war, although they have no firearms. Notwithstanding this, they fight like Frenchmen, bravely sustaining the first discharge of the Iroquois, who are armed with our muskets, and then falling upon them with a hailstorm of poisoned arrows, which they discharge eight or ten times before a musket can be reloaded.

We, however, are left in Peace; and Father Simon le Moine, who has but recently returned from the upper Iroquois, assures us that they were arming themselves to set forth from that quarter, to the number of eighteen hundred men.

*The Anniehronnon Iroquois Arrive at Quebec in the Month of July,  
and Bring Back Two Frenchmen Whom They Were Holding as Hostages*

Two young soldiers of the garrison at Quebec had gone, in the month of November, 1653, with the Anniehronnon Iroquois who had brought back Father Poncet, liberated from his captivity. They had been sent to serve as

hostages, or, rather, as an assured pledge, that the Iroquois and we were really of one mind, and that we were desirous of living in a spirit of mutual confidence.

All winter long there had been seen, at Montreal and at Three Rivers, many Iroquois of that Nation, whose presence was a constant confirmation of the Peace. Nevertheless, some items of news that reached us, and even some of the letters from our Frenchmen, continued to inspire us with distrust,—until, toward the end of the winter, an Anniehronnon Captain, the son of an Iroquois mother and a Dutch Father, brought us letters from the Captain of fort Orange in New Holland and from some Dutch tradesmen, who all assured us that now they really saw a disposition for Peace on the part of the savages allied to them.

This same Iroquois Captain made a second journey to bring back to us our two French hostages, according to the promise he had given us. They arrived at Quebec in the month of July, a very few days after Father Simon le Moine had left us for his journey to Onnontage, of which we shall speak in the following Chapter.

We were, at this point, confronted with a difficulty; we saw well that there would be some cause for jealousy between the four upper Iroquois Nations and the Anniehronnon Iroquois,—each of them being anxious to secure for its own country the honor of this embassy of Father le Moine. The Onnontaehronnons desired it because they had first brought the news of Peace; while the Anniehronnons wished for it because they are the nearest to us,—being situated, as it were, on the frontier.

The Anniehronnon Captain made his complaints on the subject with cleverness and intelligence. “Ought not one,” said he, “to enter a house by the door, and not by the chimney or roof of the cabin, unless he be a thief, and wish to take the inmates by surprise? We, the five Iroquois Nations, compose but one cabin; we maintain but one fire; and we have, from time immemorial, dwelt under one and the same roof.” In fact, from the earliest times, these five Iroquois Nations have been called in their own language, which is Huron, *Hotinnonchiendi*,—that is, “the completed Cabin,” as if to express that they constituted but one family. “Well, then,” he continued, “will you not enter the cabin by the door, which is at the ground floor of the house? It is with us Anniehronnons, that you should begin; whereas you, by beginning with the Onnontaehronnons, try to enter by the roof and through the chimney. Have you no fear that the smoke may blind you, our fire not being extinguished, and that you may fall from the top to the bottom, having nothing solid on which to plant your feet?”

Monsieur the Governor was therefore obliged to make him some presents, in assurance that Ondessonk (that is the name of Father Simon le Moine) would go also to his country, provided he could overtake him on the road and deliver to him our letters, informing him of our purposes. These letters caused him to hasten his departure; but the Father had gained a start and could not be overtaken, pursuing his journey according to the plan first adopted.

**JR, 41:107** [*\*Eries take three captives near Onondaga.*]

“On the 9th [of September, 1654], toward noon, there comes a direful report of the murder of three of their hunters at the hands of the cat Nation, a day’s journey from here [*\*Onondaga*]. That means that war is kindled in that direction.”

**JR, 41:109** [*\*Peace council with four Iroquois Nations.*]

“On the tenth day of August, the envoys from the three neighboring Nations having arrived, after the customary summons of the Captains, to the effect that all should assemble in Ondessonk’s cabin, I opened the proceedings” (thus the Father continues his Journal) “with a public prayer, which I offered on my knees and in a loud voice, using the Huron tongue throughout. I appealed to the great master of heaven and earth, that he might inspire us to act for his glory and our own good; I cursed all the Demons of hell, since they are spirits of discord; and I prayed the guardian Angels of the entire country to speak to the hearts of my hearers, when my words should strike their ears.

“I astonished them greatly when they heard me name them all by Nations, bands, and families, and each person individually who was of some little consequence—all by the help of my written list, which was to them a thing full of both charm and novelty. I told them that in my speech, I had nineteen words to lay before them.

“First, I said that Onnontio—Monsieur de Lauson, Governor of New France—was speaking through my mouth, and in his person the Hurons and the Algonquins, as well as the French, since all three Nations had Onnontio for their great Captain. A large Porcelain collar, a hundred little tubes or pipes of red glass, which constitute the diamonds of the country, and a moose-skin, somewhat worn,—these three presents accompanied one word only.

“My second word was to cut the bonds of the eight captives from Sonnontouan, who had been taken by our Allies and brought to Montreal,” as has been related above in the fourth chapter.

“The third was to break also the bonds of those members of the Wolf Nation who had been captured at about the same time.

“The fourth, to thank the people of Onnontage for bringing back our captive to us.

“The fifth present was to thank the people of Sonnontouan for rescuing him from his position on the scaffold.

“The sixth was for the Onioenhranon Iroquois, because they too had helped in this.

“The seventh, for the Onneiochronnons, in return for breaking the bonds that had held him captive.

“The purpose of the eighth, ninth, tenth, and eleventh presents was to give to each of these four Iroquois Nations a hatchet, to be used in the New war in which they were engaged with the Cat Nation.

“The twelfth present was intended to renew the courage of the Sonnontochronnons, who had lost some of their number in this war.

“The thirteenth was to strengthen their palisade,—that is, enable them to maintain a strong defense against the enemy.

“The fourteenth, to paint their faces; for it is the custom of the warriors here never to go into battle without having their faces painted,—some with black, some with red, and some with various other colors,—each having in this matter his own style of livery, so to speak, which he retains through life.

“The fifteenth, to harmonize all their thoughts, for which purpose alone I made three presents,—a porcelain collar, some little glass Tubes, and a moose-skin.

“With the sixteenth, I opened Annonchiassé’s door to all the Nations,—thus indicating that they would be welcome in our cabin,

“With the seventeenth, I exhorted them to become instructed in the truths of our faith, making three presents to accompany this word.

“With the eighteenth, I asked them to lay no more ambuscades in future for the Algonquin and Huron Nations when they should wish to visit us in our French settlements. I made three gifts with this request.

“Finally, with the nineteenth present, I wiped away the tears of all the young warriors, caused by the death of their great Captain Anneneraes, who had been taken Captive by the cat Nation not long before.

“At each of my presents they uttered a loud shout of applause from the depths of their chests, in evidence of their delight. I was occupied fully two hours in delivering my entire harangue, which I pronounced in the tone of a Captain,—walking back and forth, as is their custom, like an actor on a stage.

“After that they gathered together by Nations and bands, calling to them an Anniehronnon who by good luck happened to be present. They consulted together for more than two hours longer, when they at length called me back and gave me a seat of honor among them.

“That one of the Captains who is the tongue of the country and acts as its orator, repeated faithfully the substance of all that I had said. Then they all began to sing to express their joy; and told me that I might, for my part, pray to God, which I did very willingly.

“After these songs, he addressed me in the name of his nation. 1. He thanked Onnontio for the good will he entertained toward them, in token whereof he produced two large Porcelain collars.

“2. In the name of the Anniehronnon Iroquois, he thanked us for causing the lives of five of their allies, of the Wolf Nation, to be spared,—therewith, two more collars.

“3. In the name of the Sonnontoehronnon Iroquois, he thanked us for rescuing from the flames five of their people, and this with two more collars. Each present was followed by applause from the whole assembly.

“Another Captain, of the Nation of the Onneiocronnons, arose. ‘Onnontio,’ said he, addressing Monsieur de Lauson, our absent Governor, ‘Onnontio, thou art the support of the earth; thy spirit is a spirit of Peace, and thy words soften the most rebellious hearts.’ After other praises, which he uttered in a tone animated with affection and respect, he displayed four large

collars, with which to thank Onnontio for encouraging them to make a spirited fight against their new enemies of the cat Nation, and for exhorting them never to wage war again with the French. 'Thy voice, Onnontio,' said he, 'is wonderful, for it produces in my heart, at the same, time, two wholly opposite emotions. Thou givest me courage to fight, and thou softenest my heart with thoughts of Peace. Thou art both peaceable and yet very warlike,—beneficent to those thou lovest, and terrible to thy enemies. We all wish thee to love us, and we shall love the French for thy sake.'

"To conclude these thanksgivings, the Onnontaerrhonnon Captain took the word, 'Listen, Ondessonk,' he said to me; 'Five whole Nations address thee through my mouth; I have in my heart the sentiments of all the Iroquois Nations, and my tongue is faithful to my heart. Thou shalt tell Onnontio four things, which are the gist of all our deliberations in Council.

"1. It is our wish to acknowledge him of whom thou hast told us, who is the master of our lives, and who is unknown to us.

"2. The May-tree for all matters of concern to us is to-day planted at Onnontagé.' He meant that that would be thenceforth the scene of the assemblies and parleys relating to the Peace.

"3. We conjure you to choose a site that will be advantageous to yourselves, on the shores of our great lake, in order to build thereon a French settlement. Place yourselves in the heart of the country, since you are to possess our hearts. Thither we will go to receive instruction, and thence you will be able to spread out in all directions. Show us Paternal care, and we will render you filial obedience.

"4. We are involved in new wars, wherein Onnontio gives us courage; but for him we shall have only thoughts of Peace.'

"They had reserved their richest presents to accompany these last four words; but I am sure that their countenances spoke more eloquently than their tongues, and joy was depicted on their faces, with so much kindness that my heart was deeply moved.

"The most touching part of all this to me is that all our Huron Christians, especially the Captive women, have kindled this fire which is burning in the hearts of the Iroquois. They have heard so much good about us, and have been told so often of the great blessings of the Faith, that, in spite of their ignorance of it, it commands their esteem; and they love us in the hope that we will become to them what we have been to the Hurons."

To resume the continuation of the Father's journal:

He says: "On the eleventh day of August, there was nothing but feasting and rejoicing on every hand....

"The 14th. A young Captain, chief of a levy of eighteen hundred men who were to set out as soon as possible to prosecute the war against the cat Nation, begged me urgently for baptism. For several days I had been giving him instruction, and, as I wished to make him prize this mark of grace by deferring it until some future journey, he said to me: 'How now, my brother? If from this day forth I possess the Faith, cannot I be a Christian? Hast thou power over

death to forbid its attacking me without orders from thee? Will our enemies' arrows become blunted for my sake? Dost thou wish me, at each step that I take in battle, to fear hell more than death? Unless thou baptize me, I shall be without courage, and shall not dare to face the conflict. Baptize me, for I am determined to obey thee; and I give thee my word that I will live and die a Christian.'"

**JR, 41:131** [*\*Peace will be solidified by French settlement in Iroquoia.*]

We have always wished for the Conversion of our enemies, even when their cruelty was directly opposed to the salvation of all these countries. Their fury laid waste the lands of the Algonquin and Huron Nations at the very time when they were beginning to form a thoroughly Christian People; they cruelly burned both pastors and flock. But at length the blood of the martyrs has made itself heard in heaven; and we see ourselves called to proclaim the Faith by those cruel Barbarians whose sole purpose in the world seemed to be to oppose it. In short, the Iroquois are pressing us to go and instruct them; and they urgently request us to build on their Lake a French settlement that shall serve them as an asylum, and be a bond of peace between them and us.

After witnessing their proceedings, the Embassies and the presents to promote this end,—the wisest of the French, moreover, being of opinion that this was the only means of concluding a genuine Peace with those Infidel Nations,—Monsieur our Governor fortunately felt himself bound to grant them what both they and we desired.

**JR, 41:177** [*\*Algonquins and Iroquois living together peacefully.*]

From three Rivers there come two items which deserve to be placed among these Observations.

The first is, that a band of Iroquois passed the winter among the Algonquins, and no disagreement was noted between those two Nations, hitherto the most haughty and most hostile peoples under Heaven,—so much so that the Iroquois never spared any Algonquin's life when they could capture one, or take him unawares, in the hunt which they carried on against human beings.

Now, not only have they come to a good understanding, but the Algonquins were so well pleased with their hosts that they permitted the widows and girls of their Nation to marry some Iroquois men.

**JR, 41:199** [*\*Mohawks waylay Fr. le Moine's party.*]

While the last Sheet of this Relation was being Printed, we received a Letter from la Rochelle. It informs us that a Vessel, recently arrived from Canadas, brings word that the lower Iroquois, whom we call the Anniehronnons, met, on the great River St. Lawrence, a canoe or small boat, which, under the guidance of two Onnontaeronnon Iroquois, was carrying Father Simon le Moine to Montreal; that they killed one of his two conductors, and, after slaying some Hurons and Algonquins, seized the Father and



bound him. His other guide, or conductor, witnessing this perfidy, uttered loud threats that his Compatriots would resent this treachery, that he did not care for the liberty which they gave him, and that he would share the fortunes of the Father. Since they had bound the latter, he said; let them couple the two together; for he would never forsake him. "If he is a prisoner," said he, "I am a prisoner with him. If you take his life, put me to death. If you set me free, unbind him." Those traitors, fearing the threats of this Iroquois from the upper countries, unbound the Father and restored him to his Guide, who conducted him to Montreal. Thereupon, according to the report brought by this Vessel, the upper Iroquois joined their forces with the French against the lower Iroquois. Whatever truth there may be in these tidings, I can make the following assertions with great probability.

First, the lower Iroquois—who have become jealous of the upper Iroquois, because of the treaty of peace which the latter were the first to conclude with the French—will not lightly suffer these upper nations to come and trade with our French people; for they would no longer be compelled to pass through their Villages, which their route obliges them to do when they carry their merchandise to the Dutch.

Second, I know with certainty that it is easier for the upper Iroquois to come down to the French settlements than to visit the Dutch. Their Lake and our great River can bring them and all their goods easily to the warehouses of the French; but, when they are forced to take the route leading to the Dutch, they suffer two great inconveniences. The first is, that they are compelled to perform the greater part of the journey by land and on foot, and to be their own beasts of burden for carrying their baggage and merchandise. The second arises from the insolence of the Anniechronons, who, being the Masters, so to speak, of this trade, do not always treat the upper Iroquois with civility. Perhaps these conveniences and inconveniences will induce the Onontaeronons, and the other Savages of the Upper countries, to break with the Anniechronons, rather than with the French. Perhaps, too, the authors of this deed are only some hairbrained young men whose action will be disclaimed by their Nation. This year will show us plainly, before its close, what we now see only in obscurity.

**JR, 41:213** [*\*Mohawks refuse to join general peace—upper Iroquois still desire it.*]

The Relation of last year stated that the five Iroquois Nations had entered into an earnest parley with the French, and with the natives, their Allies, with a view to peace. Four of those Nations persevered in their first design of enjoying the sweet fruits of peace. They committed no hostile act; but, on the contrary, they gave proofs of their good will by presenting to the French some children, whom they had taken from more remote Savages who are their enemies. Only the Iroquois Nation called Agnieronnons, who trade with the Dutch, showed themselves perfidious and treacherous as usual. Those Barbarians attacked us at several places, but they experienced as many repuls-

es on their side as we on ours. They killed everywhere, and everywhere they were killed.

They massacred a Religious of our Society named Jean Ligeois. That good Brother, for he was a Layman, hearing at a distance some arquebus shots and knowing that the Christian Savages were in their fields and might be surprised by their foes, entered the woods to ascertain whether there were not some Agnieronons in ambush. There were, indeed; and, before he could discover them, they had pierced him with an arquebus shot; they cut off his head, which they left behind, after removing the scalp. That good Religious was a man of heart, full of love for the poor Savages. The charity that he felt for them caused him a transient death, to give him an eternal life.

Mention is made in a private Letter of the courage of an Algonquin woman, who, when she saw her husband surprised and bound by five Iroquois, seized a hatchet and with two blows—struck right and left, with astounding rapidity—she killed two of those Barbarians outright on the spot; then, having promptly unbound her husband, she advanced to do the same to the three others, who, dismayed at that Amazon's furious onslaught, retained only sense enough to seek safety in flight.

Finally, after many massacres on either hand, after prisoners had been taken on both sides, those Barbarians—wearied of war, or inspired by some secret spirit more powerful and more potent than that which possesses them—brought back the French captives, and afterward asked that their prisoners be given back to them. This request was accompanied by a formal protestation that, according to their word, they would never attack the French any more; but that they would continue the war against the Algonquins and the Hurons, and would massacre all whom they should meet above the French fortified Village called Three Rivers; that, moreover, they would never appear in arms below that Village.

This agreement having been arrived at, Father Simon le Moine went with one Frenchman to their country,—not only to take back the prisoners whom we had captured from them, but also to cement that peace, as well as it can be cemented with Infidels who are allied to Heretics.

While these events were passing, there came to Kebec some Onnontaeronnon Iroquois who inhabit the upper country, toward the source of the great river Saint Lawrence. These Ambassadors not only confirmed and ratified the peace which they had commenced in the previous year, but they also asked for and obtained two Fathers of our Society—namely, Father Joseph Chaumonot and Father Claude Dablon—to go and commence a Mission in their country. And having learned that the Agnieronnon Iroquois had refused to join in the general peace, they upbraided them; and after reproaching them with their perfidy, they loudly protested that they no longer wished for war, against either the French, the Algonquins, or the Hurons. *Populus qui tedeat in tenebris, vidit lucem magnam.*

That is not all; even the Iroquois who are the farthest away, who are called the Sonnontoeronnons, also came to Kebec to declare that they desired peace.

This is an act of prudence on their part, for they are molested by a Nation whom our French have called the Cat Nation, and they did not wish to have so many enemies on their hands at the same time. It is true that all those upper nations are displeased with the insolence of the Agnieronnon Iroquois, and that open commerce with the French is more agreeable to them than the difficult roads that they have hitherto followed in passing through the country of the Agnieronnons to seek the Dutch. This is what we have learned from some Letters, and from the mouths of those who have recently returned from New France. We now come to the two Letters which we promised to give. It will be easy to understand them, after what we have just said.

**JR, 41:223** [*\*Father le Mercier reports peace on all sides with the Iroquois.*]

[\*October 17th 1655] For some days contrary winds have detained in our Roadstead of Kebec the Ship that was to leave here at the beginning of this month. It will sail to-morrow morning, on saint Luke's day, the eighteenth of October; and to-day, just at nightfall, a Canoe of Sonnonteroanon Iroquois has arrived, bringing us news of peace on all sides. Their chief object is to assure us—by a special Embassy, and by the presents that they bring—that they wish only for peace, and that they will never go to war against us. On their way they met some Onontaeronons, who are carrying in their Canoes Father Chaumonot and Father Dablon to their country, there to commence a new Mission. They assure us that those people are full of affection and of respect for their guests. At the same time some Hurons who have come from the Iroquois of the lower country, called Agnieronnons, also tell us that they saw on the way Father Simon le Moine, with his company; and that their Agnieronnon Guides manifested a Friendly spirit toward them, such as they showed to us during their Embassy. These same Hurons say that, on their departure from the Iroquois Villages, news had already been received of the Fathers' approach, and of the peace made with us. This had been received with such public rejoicings that men, women, and children, Warriors and Captains, and the Elders of the country—who are, as it were, the Councilors of State—had uttered exclamations of joy. These cries dispelled the sorrow that would have been caused them by the news, which they received at the same time, of the capture and death of some of their people, who were burned by the Hurons and the Algonquins. Thus you see that what I stated at the beginning of this letter is true, that news of peace comes to us from all sides,—that is to say, from all the Iroquois Nations....

**Father Jean de Quen. 1657. Relation of what occurred in the mission of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, in the country of New France, in the Years 1655 and 1656. From Quebec, September 7th, 1656.**

**JR, 42:33** [*\*71 Hurons killed or captured on the Island of Orleans.*]

The Onontaeronon Iroquois, who had come to visit us, exulted with joy

on seeing us favor their purpose; and their delight, as shown in word and look, overflowed into our own hearts. But this joyous mood soon became clouded by the massacre or capture of seventy-one Christian Hurons, killed or seized by the Agneronon Iroquois on the Island of Orleans, two leagues from Quebec.

Toward the end of the month of August, we perceived fifty Canoes and two hundred and fifty Savages approaching, laden with the treasures of the country. They were coming to trade with the French, and to ask for Fathers of our Society to go and teach them in their dense forests, five hundred leagues distant from Kebec. In the face of so pleasant a day, we forgot all the unpleasant nights of the past. Two of our Fathers and one of our Brethren embarked, with thirty Frenchmen; but the Agneronons—whom we call the lower Iroquois, and who have never consented to make peace with our Allies—cut the thread of our hopes in a moment by attacking these unfortunate people, on their return, and killing one of the two Fathers who were going to preach the Gospel to them in their country.

*JR, 42:37* [\*Fr. Le Moyne visits the Mohawks.]

In the Summer of last year, 1655, it was thought necessary to send a Father of our Society into the country of the Agnieronnon Iroquois, in order that we might, by this show of friendship and confidence, confirm the peace with them. The lot having fortunately fallen upon Father Simon le Moyne, he left Montreal on this errand, on the seventeenth day of August, with twelve Iroquois and two Frenchmen....

The Father reached the village of Agniée on the seventeenth of September, and was received with extraordinary cordiality, being presented at the outset with three porcelain collars. The first was to check any possible bloodshed on the way, which might alarm him,—that is, he was not to fear death by treachery. The second was to cheer his heart, and prevent any emotion from disturbing his rest. Finally, they must needs anoint his feet with a precious balm, to allay the fatigues of so long a journey; and such was the purpose of the third porcelain collar.

On the following day, when all the people had assembled in the public place, the Father displayed the presents brought by him from Onnontio, Governor of the Country. Instead of beginning this ceremony with a song, as is their custom, he invoked God in a loud voice and in the language of the country,—calling him to witness the sincerity of his heart; and entreating him to take vengeance on those who should violate their faith, and break a promise given so solemnly in the sight of the Sun and of Heaven. This greatly pleased these people.

One of the Iroquois Captains exhibited, in his turn, some very rich presents, in answer to the various articles of peace proposed by the Father. The first and finest of these presents was a large image of the Sun, made of six thousand porcelain beads,—its purpose being, as he said, to dispel all darkness

from our councils, and to let the Sun illumine them even in the deepest gloom of night.

These Nations are composed only of rogues, and yet we must trust ourselves to their fickleness, and surrender ourselves to their cruelty. Father Isaac Jogues was killed by those traitors while they were showing him the most love. But, since Jesus Christ sent his Apostles as Lambs among wolves, to convert them into Lambs, we should not fear to lay down our lives in like circumstances, for the sake of establishing Peace and the Faith where war and infidelity have always held sway.

**JR, 42:41** [*\*Tribe near Manhattan in conflict with the Dutch.*]

After this council, which passed in many exchanges of courtesy, the Father determined to push on as far as New Holland, ten or twelve leagues beyond....

The Father was received with great demonstrations of affection by the Dutch, who had recently met with a serious disaster. Some Savages living near Manathe, the chief town of New Holland, in a quarrel with a Dutchman had come to blows, and had fared ill, leaving two or three of their men upon the spot. To revenge this grievance, the Savages rallied, to the number of about two hundred, and fired a score of small Farms scattered here and there, slaughtering those who resisted, and carrying the rest—men, women, and children, about a hundred and fifty in all—into captivity. We do not know how the affair terminated.

**JR, 42:43** [*\*Mohawks pursued by a band of Algonquins.*]

A Huron Christian, captured a year before by the Iroquois, suffered something worse than fear; his head was split without ceremony, upon a mere suspicion that he had revealed to the Father certain purposes of theirs which they wished to conceal from him.

The occurrence did not hinder the return of the Father and of the two Frenchmen, his companions, three Iroquois joining them as escort and guides. As the Winter was far advanced, much suffering was experienced, especially after meeting with some Agnieronnon Iroquois, who had been pursued by an Algonquin band that had captured three of their companions. This fear of the Algonquins, whom they dreaded to encounter, compelled our travelers to abandon their canoes and almost all their baggage, and to take refuge in a pathless fir forest, where they found nothing but marshes of stagnant and half-frozen water. Unluckily, the Sky became clouded; and, as the Sun, the universal compass and guide of these peoples, was hidden, they utterly lost their way in the woods. Night compelled them to halt at the foot of a tree, but for whose roots and a little moss they would have lain in the water. This was on the ninth day of November.

**JR, 42:49** [*\*Onondaga peace delegation asks for arms and settlers.*]

At the time when Father Simon le Moyne was sent to the Agnieronnon

Iroquois,—who are nearer Montreal and Kebec, and who, while making Peace with us, have never desisted from their hostile designs on the Algonquins and Hurons,—the Onontaeronnon Iroquois, who are more distant, came on an Embassy representing all the upper Iroquois Nations, to confirm the Peace, not only with the French, but also with the Algonquins and Hurons.

The delegation consisted of eighteen men, who came to Kebec by way of Montreal and three Rivers, to see Monsieur de Lauson, Governor of the country, and also the Algonquin and Huron savages living here.

A great crowd assembled on the date fixed for the council,—Sunday, the twelfth of September, 1655, at noon. In the midst of this assembly the chief Ambassador, who acted as spokesman, displayed twenty-four collars of porcelain—the pearls and diamonds of this country, in the Savages' eyes.

The first eight presents were designed for the Hurons and Algonquins, whose foremost chiefs were in attendance. Each gift has a separate name of its own, according to the impression which they wish to produce upon the minds and hearts of others.

"You have wept too much," said the Ambassador to the Hurons and Algonquins; "it is time to wipe away the tears shed so plentifully by you over the death of those whom you have lost in war. Here is a handkerchief for that purpose." Such was his first present.

The purpose of the second was to wipe away the blood which had crimsoned mountains, lakes, and rivers, and which was crying for vengeance against those who had shed it.

"I wrest from your hands hatchet, bows, and arrows," said he, exhibiting his third present; "and, to strike the evil at its root, I take away all thoughts of war from your hearts."

These people believe that sadness, anger, and all violent passions expel the rational soul from the body, which, meanwhile, is animated only by the sensitive soul which we have in common with animals. That is why, on such occasions, they usually make a present to restore the rational soul to the seat of reason. Such was the purpose of the fourth present.

The fifth was a medicinal draught to expel from their hearts all the bitterness, gall, and bile with which they might still be irritated.

The sixth present was to open their ears to the words of truth and the promises of a genuine peace, in the knowledge that passion stupefies and blinds those who yield to it.

The seventh, to give assurance that the four upper Iroquois Nations were Peacefully inclined, and that their hearts would never be divided.

"There remains only the lower Iroquois, the Agnieronnon, who cannot restrain his warlike spirit. His mind is ever inflamed, and his hands delight in blood. We will take the war-hatchet out of his hands, and check his fury; for the reign of Peace must be universal in this country." That was the eighth present, and the last of the words addressed to the Algonquins and Hurons.

The following were for the French, being addressed to Monsieur our Governor, whom they call Onnontio; one, to dry the tears of the French; another,

er, to wash away the blood that had been shed; another, to soothe our feelings; and the last, to serve us as a medicine, and as a draught sweeter than sugar and honey.

The thirteenth present was an invitation to Monsieur our Governor to send a company of Frenchmen to their country, in order to make but one people of us, and to confirm an alliance like that formerly contracted by us with the Huron Nation during our residence there.

The fourteenth was a request for some Fathers of our Society, to teach their children and make of them a thoroughly Christian people.

They further asked for French Soldiers, to defend their villages against the inroads of the Cat Nation, with whom they are at open war. That was their fifteenth present.

The object of the sixteenth present was to assign us a place in the center of all their Nations, where we hope, if God favor our undertakings, to build a new sainte Marie, like that whose prosperity we formerly witnessed in the heart of the Huron country.

But, that the annoyances commonly attending the founding of a new settlement might not deter us, they spread out a mat and some camp-beds for our greater comfort and repose.

The eighteenth present was a May-tree, which they erected in front of that new house of sainte Marie, so high that it reached the clouds. By this they meant that the center of the Peace, and the place for general reunions, would be in that house, before which should be erected this great May-tree, so lofty that it could be seen from every direction, and all the Nations, even those most distant, could come to it.

The purpose of the nineteenth present was to fix the Sun high in the Heavens above this May-tree,—so as to shine directly down upon it, and admit of no shadow,—in order that all councils held and treaties concluded there might take place, not in the obscurity of night, but in open day, lighted by the Sun, which sees all things and has only abhorrence for treasonable plots, which court darkness.

They next lighted a fire for all who should visit us in that place.

The twenty-first present strengthened Onnontio's arms,—that is, as Monsieur our Governor had hitherto cherished the Algonquins and Hurons in his bosom, with all the love of a mother holding her child in her arms, he now extended to the Iroquois also a Father's care and love. "Thou, Onnontio," they said to Monsieur the Governor, "hast sustained life in all the Nations that became thy allies and took refuge in thy arms. Clasp them more firmly, and weary not of embracing them; let them live, within thy bosom, for thou art the Father of the country."

The twenty-second present assured us that the four upper Iroquois Nations had but one heart and one mind in their sincere desire for Peace.

After that, they asked for weapons against the Cat Nation.

Finally, the last of the presents was offered by a Huron Captain, formerly

a captive of the Iroquois, and now a Captain among them. This man, rising after the Chief of the Embassy had finished, addressed the Hurons as follows: "My brothers, I have not changed my soul, despite my change of country; nor has my blood become Iroquois, although I dwell among them. My heart is all Huron, as well as my tongue. I would keep silence, were there any deceit in these negotiations for Peace. Our proposals are honest: embrace them without distrust." Thus speaking, he gave them a collar, as the seal of his pledge, and to assure them that they were not deceived.

A response in kind to all these presents would have been necessary, had we not purposed sending to their country two of our Fathers to enlist their more cordial support, and to spare no effort in promoting so important an enterprise. This blessed lot fell on Fathers Joseph Chaumont and Claude Dablon, of whom the former knows the language and commands the sympathies of the Savages; while the latter has recently come from France, with heart and soul bent upon this Mission.

Our minds had been greatly divided regarding the propriety of exposing our Fathers to this new risk before the return of Father Simon le Moyne, who was still in the hands of the Agnieronnon Iroquois. For nothing would have been more in accord with the disposition of those Nations,—treacherous as they are, and having such an advantage over us in the possession of men whom they well knew to be dear and precious to us,—than to fall upon us and our Hurons and Algonquins, when we were no longer fearing them and when thoughts of Peace had, in most minds, displaced hostile distrust. Nevertheless, Monsieur our Governor was of opinion that we must risk all for the sake of winning all, as it was to be feared that, if we allowed this opportunity to pass by, our course would cause a rupture of the Peace, as showing too evident distrust on our part. His council agreed with him; the Fathers, likewise, upon whom this blessed lot had fallen, doubted not that it was their duty to depart upon this Mission, since they were undertaking it for the glory of God and for the salvation of souls whose Angels were calling us to their aid, and in whose behalf the charity of Jesus Christ must solicit our help.

Finally, on the nineteenth of September, our Fathers and these Ambassadors left us. I cannot more faithfully set forth the successive events of their journey, and the fruits which God has reaped therefrom, than by giving the journal sent us by Father Dablon.

**JR, 42:73** [*\*Various victims of Iroquois attacks and captivity.\**]

The Father met here Otohenha, the host of the late Father Garnier and of Father Garreau, when they visited the Tobacco nation. He was so overjoyed at seeing the Father that at first he could not speak, and was obliged to defer until another time the narration of his adventures, which were as follows: When, with all his family and Ondoaskoua, daughter of the good René, he was on a journey,—conveying a canoe laden with skins, and bearing presents from two Captains of his country, who asked for a dwelling-place at Kebec,—he



unluckily met with the Onontaheronons. His entire family was captured, and scattered in different cabins. A woman of their number, being secretly warned that the relatives of him for whom she had been given intended to burn her, fled into the woods with her child, after René had Baptized it.

No less sad was his account of the death of that famous Marthe Gohatio, whose piety is so well known. It was God's will to try her very severely. Having gone to war last year, our narrator said, against the Cat nation, in company with the Onontaheronons, upon taking and sacking a Village, he found the good René Sondiouanen among the dead, and his daughter among the prisoners, together with this Marthe of whom we are speaking. It was an occasion for mutual encouragement to keep their promise to God and to die in the profession of the Faith. Poor Marthe, who, because of a swollen knee, and a little child, whom she had much difficulty in carrying, was hardly able to keep pace with the victors, was cruelly burnt on the way. Two of her children escaped, indeed, from the Onontaheronons; but they have never been heard of. It is pitiful to hear these poor people tell about their servitude. Many were killed, even by those who had given them their lives,—only a slight disobedience or an illness being necessary to provoke a hatchet-stroke on the head.

**JR, 42:75** [*\*Sixty Oneida heading out to fight the Amikwa.*]

On the 30th [\*of October, 1655], we left the water, and prepared for our trip overland to Onontagué. In the afternoon, there appeared 60 Oneoutchoueronon Warriors, on their way to fight the so-called Neds percés, beyond the rapids. They were led by Atondatochan, the same who came to Montreal in the second Embassy sent by the village of Oneout. He is a man of fine appearance, and an eloquent speaker. He begged us to stay here one day longer, that he might learn our errand.

These Warriors having all assembled on the 31st, Father Chaumonot, after the ceremonies customary on such occasions, addressed Atondatochan; he said, first, that he congratulated himself and thanked God at seeing that great man, whose voice had rung out so loud at Montreal that it was still to be heard there, so great was its strength. In the second place, he said that he was led to visit that country in order to secure the fulfillment of his promise, to speak from that time but the same language, to have but one Sun, and one heart,—in short, to be thenceforth brothers. These two clauses were received with the customary applause, and the faces of all showed how much they enjoyed this speech. In the third place, as the report had spread hither that peace had been concluded between the French and Annieronons without including the Algonquins and Hurons, the Father added that he had come to negotiate a genuine peace between all parties. And, in the fourth place, he presented 1500 porcelain beads, in order to solicit kind treatment for the two Frenchmen who were among those whom they were going to fight. He also prayed the maker of all things to watch over Atondatochan's expedition. We had determined to make him a considerable present to induce him to stop his soldiers; but learned

privately that we would certainly have been refused, because of their keen resentment at the loss of some of their number, which they were bent on revenging at any cost. After the Father had spoken for half an hour, the Chief began the song of response; and all commenced to sing, in wondrous harmony, in a manner somewhat resembling our plain-chant. The first song said that it would take all the rest of the day to thank the Father for so good a speech as he had made them. The second was to congratulate him upon his journey and his arrival. They sang a third time to light him a fire, that he might take possession of it. The fourth song made us all relatives and brothers; the fifth hurled the hatchet into the deepest abyss, in order that peace might reign in all these countries; and the sixth was designed to make the French masters of the river Ontiahanagué. At this point the Captain invited the salmon, brill, and other fish, to leap into our nets, and to fill that river for our service only. He told them they should consider themselves fortunate to end their lives so honorably; named all the fishes of that river, down to the smallest, making a humorous address to each kind; and added a thousand things besides, which excited laughter in all those present. The seventh song pleased us still more, its purpose being to open their hearts, and let us read their joy at our coming. At the close of their songs, they made us a present of two thousand porcelain beads. Then the Father raised his voice, and told the Chief that his fine powers of speech would ever increase in volume; that, hitherto, they had resounded through all the confines of Lake Ontario, but, in future, they would speed across the greatest of all Lakes, and be heard as thunder throughout France. At this the Captain and all his followers were extremely pleased. They then invited us to the feast which concluded the ceremonies.

*JR, 42:85* [*\*Peace talks at Onondaga.*]

On the 5th of November, 1655, as we were continuing our journey, a Captain of note, named Gonaterezon, came a good league to meet us. He made us halt, pleasantly congratulated us upon our arrival, put himself at the head of our Company, and gravely led us to a spot a quarter of a league from Onontagué, where the Elders of the country awaited us. When we had seated ourselves beside them, they offered us the best dishes they had, especially some Squashes cooked in the embers. While we were eating, one of the Elders, a Captain named Okonchiarennen, arose, imposed silence, and harangued us a good quarter of an hour. He said, among other things, that we were very welcome; our coming had been earnestly desired and long awaited; and, since the young men, who breathed only war, had themselves asked for and procured peace, it was for them, the Elders, to lay aside their arms and to ratify and embrace it in all sincerity, as they did. He added that only the Agnieronnon was bent on darkening the Sun, which we made so bright by our approach; and he alone generated clouds in the air, at the very time when we dissipated them; but all the efforts of that envious one would fail, and they would finally have us in their midst. Courage, then; we were to take posses-

sion of our domains, and enter our new home with all assurance. After the speaker had dilated upon this theme, and spoken in what seemed a rather affected manner, the Father made answer, that his speech was a very agreeable draught to us, and took away all the fatigue of our journey; that he came on Onnontio's behalf, to satisfy their demands; and that he doubted not that they would be content when they learned his errand. All the People listened with attention and admiration, delighted to hear a Frenchman speak their language so well. Then he who had introduced us arose, gave the signal, and led us through a great crowd of people,—some of whom were drawn up in rows to see us pass through their midst, while others ran after us, and still others offered us fruit, until we came to the Village, the streets of which were carefully cleaned and the cabin-roofs crowded with children. At length, a large cabin which had been prepared for us received us, and also all the people it could hold.

After resting a little, we were invited to a feast of bear's meat, but excused ourselves on the plea that it was Friday. This, however, did not prevent us from being treated, in different places, all the rest of the day, to beaver and fish.

Very late in the evening, the Elders held a Council in our cabin, where one of them, after greeting us on behalf of all the nation, made us two presents. One of these was 500 porcelain beads, to wipe our eyes, wet with tears shed over the murders committed in our country that year; and, as grief causes loss of voice, having, he said, clearly perceived our weakness of utterance upon our arrival, he added a second present of 500 beads, to strengthen our lungs, to remove the phlegm from our throats, and to make our voices clear, free, and strong. The Father thanked them for their good will, saying that Onnontio and Achiendasé—the names of Monsieur the Governor and of the Father Superior of our Missions, respectively—had their eyes turned toward Onontagué, in order to see our condition from Kebec. He then presented to them 2000 beads, that they might open the door of the cabin where they had lodged us, in order that all the French might see the kind treatment we received, the beautiful mats upon which we reposed, and the pleasant faces greeting us. They were delighted with this compliment.

On the following day, November 6th, we were invited at dawn to various feasts, which lasted all the morning; but this did not prevent the Father from visiting some sick persons, who promised to receive instruction if they recovered.

On the 7th, Sunday, a secret Council of 15 Captains was held, to which he was called, after he had directed the prayers of 20 persons who presented themselves to him. In this assembly, they said to the Father: 1. That Agochiendaguete—who is, as it were, the King of this country—and Onnontio had voices of equal power and firmness, and that nothing could sever so suitable a tie, which held them in such close union. 2. They would give some of their most active young men to conduct home the Huron Ambassadors who had come with us to treat of Peace. Thirdly, they begged that Onnontio might be informed that, even if some one of their own people should be ill-treated or

even killed by the Annieronnons, yet that would not hinder the alliance; and they desired the same assurance on Onnontio's part, in case any ill befell the French from the same quarter. In the fourth place, as they had learned that the most acceptable thing they could do, in Onnontio's eyes, would be to inform him that Autumn that they had erected a Chapel for the Believers, they said that, to please him, they would take steps to that end at the earliest moment. In reply to this Clause, the Father took the word, and told them that they had discovered how to win the heart and the entire good will of Monsieur the Governor. All gave a shout of approval, with which the Council ended.

Toward evening, conversing familiarly with the Father, they asked him to tell them a little about France; and he, embracing an opportunity so favorable to his designs, showed them that France had formerly been subject to the same errors as themselves, but that God had opened our eyes through the mediation of his Son. Then, in explaining the great mystery of the Incarnation, he refuted all the calumnies current in their country against the Faith. So skillfully and agreeably was this done that, though he spoke for a good hour and a half, they showed no sign of weariness. The council was followed by a feast, and an apology for the inferiority of Onontagué's entertainment compared with that given to their Ambassadors at Kebec. The day closed with a large gathering of people who came, some to pray to God, and others to satisfy their curiosity.

#### *The Fathers Treat with These Peoples.*

All the first day was spent, partly in feasting, partly in negotiating peace for the Algonquins; and, as this was the most difficult matter, it demanded the most serious deliberation. For that reason, the Father notified the Elders that he had a private communication to make to them. When they were assembled, he addressed them to the following effect: 1. The Huron question being closed, he said no more about it; but he assured them that the Algonquins would send an Embassy the next Spring, if they saw their minds inclined to peace. 2. When the Hurons should have planted their Villages near us, the Algonquins also would wish to visit us. In the third place, in order to be fully assured of the Onnontaeronnons' desire for peace, the Algonquins hoped to see some of their captive nephews returned, since they themselves had so freely released their prisoners, at the request of the Governor of Montreal, and had sent them back with presents,—to which, however, no response had been made. In the fourth place, if they wished the peace to be general, they must cease to raise the hatchet against the Nation of the Nez percez. The answer was, that they would deliberate on these four Points.

*JR, 42:97* [*\*Erie captive tortured to death.*]

On the 12th [*\*of November, 1655*], a prisoner from the Cat Nation was brought in, to bear the brunt of these people's rage, no quarter being now given between the two tribes. He was a child of nine or ten years, and was to be burnt in a short time, which made the Father resolve to attempt the rescue

of his soul from the fires of hell, not being able to save his body. But, the hatred of these barbarians being so excessive that they are unwilling that their enemies should be happy even in the other world, it required adroitness to instruct and baptize this poor unfortunate in secret. The Father, accordingly, after seeing and speaking with him, feigned thirst and was given some water. In drinking, he purposely allowed some drops to run into his handkerchief,—one was enough to open Heaven's gates,—and baptized the boy before he was burnt. He was only two hours in torment, because of his youth; but he displayed such fortitude that not a tear or a cry escaped him from amid the flames.

**JR, 42:111** [*\*1200 Iroquois victorious over 3,000–4,000 Eries.*]

They added that what made them believe was partly their last victory over the Cat Nation, their enemies, when they were only twelve hundred against three or four thousand: and, as they had promised, before the battle, to embrace the Faith if they returned victorious, they could not now retract after so successful a triumph.

**JR, 42:121** [*\*Onondaga preparing for war against Eries.*]

The fourth and last present was little in comparison with the preceding, its purpose being merely to inform the Father that the kettle of the war against the Cat Nation was over the fire; that hostilities would be opened toward Spring; and that the Huron Ambassadors would be dismissed the next day, with an escort of fifteen of the Country's leading men.

**JR, 42:137** [*\*Erie captive publicly murdered; a typical occurrence.*]

The Father was sent for, but too late, to confer this sacrament upon a poor captive girl of the Cat Nation, who was cruelly murdered by order of her Mistress, whom she displeased by her occasional obstinacy. On the twenty-seventh of December, her Mistress took a notion to get rid of her; therefore, without much deliberation, she commissioned a young man to kill her. Taking his hatchet, he followed this poor victim on her way to the woods; but he changed his mind, and came back to do the deed in the sight of all. Accordingly, he allowed her to return, and, when she was at the entrance to the Village, struck her on the head with his hatchet, felling her to the ground, apparently dead. Yet, she was not mortally wounded, and was therefore carried into a neighboring Cabin to have her wound dressed. When, however, the murderer was taunted with his want of skill in head-splitting, he returned, snatched his prey from those who held her, dragged her away, and gave her more blows which killed her. This murder did not startle the children playing near by, or even divert them from their game, so accustomed are they to the sight of these poor captives' blood. Toward evening, the murderer, or some one else, went crying aloud through the streets and cabins, that such and such a person had been put to death; whereupon all began to make a noise with their

feet and hands, while some beat with sticks the bark of their cabins, to frighten the soul of the departed and drive it far away.

*JR, 42:175* [*\*The Reason for the Erie war.*]

If these juggleries do not produce an impression upon the mind, they at least caused an admirable display of courage last year, in the engagement which occurred with the Cat Nation. The reason for that new war follows....

The Cat Nation had sent thirty Ambassadors to Sonnontouan, to confirm the peace between them; but it happened, by some unexpected accident, that a Sonnontouahronnon was killed by a man of the Cat Nation. This murder so incensed the Sonnontouahronnons, that they put to death the Ambassadors in their hands, except five who escaped. Hence, war was kindled between these two Nations, and each strove to capture and burn more prisoners than its opponent. Two Onnontageronnons, among others, were captured by the men of the Cat Nation; one of them escaped, and the other, a man of rank, was taken home by the enemy to be burnt. But he pleaded his cause so well, that he was given to the sister of one of the thirty Ambassadors who had been put to death. She was absent from the Village at the time; but the prisoner was nevertheless clothed in fine garments, and feasting and good cheer prevailed, the man being all but assured that he would be sent back to his own Country. When she to whom he had been given returned, she was told that her dead brother was to be restored to life, that she must prepare to regale him well, and then to give him a gracious dismissal. She, however, began to weep, and declared that she would never dry her tears until her brother's death was avenged. The Elders showed her the gravity of the situation, which was likely to involve them in a new war; but she would not yield. Finally, they were compelled to give up the wretched man to her, to do with him as she pleased. All this occurred while he was still joyfully feasting. Without a word, he was taken from the feast and conducted to this cruel woman's cabin. Upon entering, he was surprised at being stripped of his clothes. Then he saw that his life was lost, and he cried out, before dying, that an entire people would be burned in his person, and that his death would be cruelly avenged. His words proved true; for, no sooner had the news reached Onnontagué, than twelve hundred determined men started forth to exact satisfaction for this affront.

We have already observed that the Cat Nation is so called from the large number of Wildcats, of great size and beauty, in their Country. The Climate is temperate, neither ice nor snow being seen in the Winter; while in Summer it is said that grain and fruit are harvested in abundance, and are of unusual size and excellence.

Our Warriors entered that Country, remote though it was from Onnontagué, before they were perceived. Their arrival spread such a panic, that Villages and dwellings were abandoned to the mercy of the Conqueror,—who, after burning everything, started in pursuit of the fugitives. The latter numbered from two to three thousand combatants, besides women and chil-

dren. Finding themselves closely followed, they resolved, after five days' flight, to build a fort of wood and there await the enemy, who numbered only twelve hundred. Accordingly, they intrenched themselves as well as they could. The enemy drew near, the two head Chiefs showing themselves in French costume, in order to frighten their opponents by the novelty of this attire. One of the two, who had been Baptized by Father le Moine and was very well instructed, gently urged the besieged to capitulate, telling them that they would be destroyed if they allowed an assault. "The Master of life fights for us," said he; "you will be ruined if you resist him." "Who is this Master of our lives?" was the haughty reply of the Besieged. "We acknowledge none but our arms and hatchets." Thereupon, the assault was made and the palisade attacked on all sides; but the defense was as spirited as the attack, and the combat was a long one, great courage being displayed on both sides. The Besieging party made every effort to carry the place by storm, but in vain; they were killed as fast as they advanced. They hit on the plan of using their canoes as shields; and, bearing these before them as protection, they reached the foot of the intrenchment. But it remained to scale the large stakes, or tree-trunks, of which it was built. Again they resorted to their canoes, using them as ladders for surmounting that stanch palisade. Their boldness so astonished the Besieged that, being already at the end of their munitions of war,—with which, especially with powder, they had been but poorly provided,—they resolved to flee. This was their ruin; for, after most of the first fugitives had been killed, the others were surrounded by the Onnontaguehronnons, who entered the fort and there wrought such carnage among the women and children, that blood was knee-deep in certain places. Those who had escaped, wishing to retrieve their honor, after recovering their courage a little, returned, to the number of three hundred, to take the enemy by surprise while he was retiring and off his guard. The plan was good, but it was ill executed; for, frightened at the first cry of the Onnontaguehronnons, they were entirely defeated. The Victors did not escape heavy losses,—so great, indeed, that they were forced to remain two months in the enemy's country, burying their dead and caring for their wounded.

**JR, 42:187** [*\*René Tsondihouannen killed during sack of Rigué.*]

René Tsondihouannen, she said, who was killed the taking of Rigué, prayed to God morning and evening during his captivity, and every Saturday reminded those whom he could of the approaching Sunday, in order that they might observe the day.

**JR, 42:187** [*\*Son of a Huron captive is killed by the Susquehannocks.*]

This same Aatio [*\*sister of René Tsondihouannen*] showed that the Faith was deeply graven on her heart, as she never wavered amid the severest trials that could assail her. On the contrary, although each day was for her a fatal day, she failed not to consecrate it to God by her prayers, in which she always

persevered with a constancy worthy of a Christian Maccabee. Her son, Tehannonrakouan, having been killed by the Andastogueronnons, there remained to her in her captivity only her twins.

**JR, 42:189** [*\*Deputy from Oneida calls a council.*]

On the eleventh of February [\*1656], a Deputy from Onneiout came to treat of the general affairs of the country. He told the Father, among other things, that the peace between the French and the Anniehronnons was a permanent one, and so well compacted that there was nothing to fear on either side. But I would not place much confidence in it.

He caused a council to be held, and, when the Deputies of the other Nations had assembled, with the Elders of the Village, the Father was invited to attend, for the sake of learning this Deputy's errand. He went, and, addressing the representatives of Onneiout and Oiogoen, he told them that he was glad to see them, enjoined union upon them, and begged them not to give ear to the slanders of the envious. His speech ended with a present of a thousand beads to each Nation.

The Deputy from Onneiout rose, and brought forward a handsome collar of two thousand beads, which he presented to the Father, to wipe away the blood shed by the Anniehronnons since the first negotiations for peace. He gave him another, a similar one, to thank him for adopting them as his children and compatriots, exhorting him to be a veritable Father, not only in word, but also in reality, as indeed he was expected to be. The third present was to encourage him in the enterprise, which he and Agochiendaguesé had so happily begun and nearly completed. Then, to attest his joy at being adopted by Onnontio, he sang, and made his companions sing. That done, he spoke for a full half-hour, declaring his sentiments upon his adoption, and naming all the relatives he had at Kebec, at three Rivers, and at Montreal. Never Actor played his part better than this man did, especially when he undertook to entertain the company for more than two hours with his Countrymen's deeds of prowess, portraying, by voice and gesture, battles, assaults, exploits, victories, defeats, the dead, the living,—and all with a grace and simplicity beyond conception.

**JR, 42:191** [*\*Adoption and torture of an Erie captive.*]

Toward evening of the same day, three Soldiers of this Village arrived with three scalps, taken from some people of another language than that of these Regions, and of a country far distant from here. They also brought home two young men of the Cat Nation, well formed, well dressed, strong, and between twenty and thirty years of age. Whether because the Onnontaguehronnons had not taken them in regular warfare, or because they, in despair of escaping, had given themselves up voluntarily, they thought that they ought not to be treated as captives; and, indeed, upon their arrival, they were assigned to two of the most honorable families, to take the place of two deceased members. The younger and handsomer one, a Nephew of the other,



was given to the greatest warrior of the Country, named Aharihon, a Captain famous for his warlike exploits, but as arrogant and bloodthirsty as he is brave, as will presently appear.

One of his brothers having been recently killed by the Cat Nation, he was replaced by this newly-adopted man. The cruel Captain held his brother in such high esteem that he had already made him a sacrifice of forty men,—causing them to be burned, since he did not believe that there was any one worthy to occupy his place. When, accordingly, this young man was given him as a substitute for the deceased, he presented to him four dogs, upon which to hold his feast of adoption. In the middle of the feast, while he was rejoicing and singing to entertain the guests, Aharihon arose, and told the company that this man too must die in atonement for his brother's death. The poor lad was astounded at this, and turned toward the door to make his escape, but was stopped by two men who had orders to burn him. On the fourteenth of February, in the evening, they began with his feet, intending to roast him, at a slow fire, as far up as the waist, during the greater part of the night. After midnight, they were to let him rally his strength and sleep a little until daybreak, when they were to finish this fatal tragedy. In his torture, the poor man made the whole Village resound with his cries and groans. It was fearful to hear him shrieking in the dead of night. He shed great tears, contrary to the usual custom, the victim commonly glorying to be burned limb by limb, and opening his lips only to sing; but, as this one had not expected death, he wept and cried in a way that touched even these Barbarians. One of Aharihon's relatives was so moved with pity, that he advised ending the sufferer's torments by plunging a knife into his breast—which would have been a deed of mercy, had the stab been mortal. However, they were induced to continue the burning without interruption, so that before day he ended both his sufferings and his life.

**JR, 42:195** [*\*A late-returning warrior has a vision relating Iroquois conquests.*]

On the twenty-fourth [*\*of February, 1656*], while the Honnaouaroria—of which we spoke above, in connection with dreams—was being held, there arrived three Warriors, returning, after more than a year's absence, from the war against the Cat Nation. One of them announced, on his arrival, that he had a matter of very great importance to communicate to the Elders. These having assembled, he told them that, while seeking the enemy, he met a Tortoise of incredible size; and, some time after, he saw a Demon in the guise of a little Dwarf, who is said to have already appeared to others. They call him Taronhiaouagui, which means "he who holds up the Sky." This Dwarf or Demon spoke as follows: "I am he who holds up the Sky, and the guardian of the earth; I preserve men, and give victories to warriors. I have made you masters of the earth and victors over so many Nations; I made you conquer the Hurons, the Tobacco Nation, the Ahondihronnons, Atiraguenrek, Atiaonrek, Takoulguehronnons, and Gentaguetchronnons; in short, I have made you what

you are; and, if you wish me to continue my protection over you, hear my words, and execute my orders.

“First, you will find three Frenchmen in your Village when you arrive there. Secondly, you will enter during the celebration of the Honnaouaroria. Thirdly, after your arrival, let there be sacrificed to me ten dogs, ten porcelain beads from each cabin, a collar ten rows wide, four measures of sunflower seed, and as many of beans. And, as for thee, let two married women be given thee, to be at thy disposal for five days. If that be not executed item by item I will make thy Nation a prey to all sorts of disasters; and, after it is all done, I will declare to thee my orders for the future.” So saying, the Dwarf vanished. This vision the man immediately related to his companions, who witnessed, as they affirmed, its verification that very day. Seeing by chance a Stag, he called it from a distance, and bade it come to him. The Stag obeyed, approaching and coming up to receive its death-stroke from our Visionary. Though the whole story was probably only a fiction of these three Warriors, who invented the dream to cover their shame at returning empty-handed after so long an absence, still it is certain that the man was as wasted, pale, and depressed, as if he had spoken with the Devil. He spat blood, and was so disfigured that one scarcely dared to look him in the face. The Elders did not fail to offer the sacrifice as commanded, so prompt are they to obey whatever resembles a dream.

*JR, 42:225* [*\*Mohawks attack a departing Ottawa party; Fr. Garreau is killed.*]

While these People were doing their small trading, thirty young Frenchmen equipped themselves to bear them company to their Country, and to bring back furs. I gave them, as guides in the paths of their salvation, Fathers Leonard Gareau and Gabriel Dreuillettes, trained Gospel Laborers, and well versed in the Huron and Algonquin tongues. They were delighted at being the first ones chosen to carry Jesus Christ to a Country abounding equally in Crosses, in darkness, and in death. A Brother of our Society, named Louys le Boësme, wished to be one of the party, as assistant to the Fathers, whom also three young Frenchmen joined, firmly resolved to live and to die with the Preachers of the Gospel.

On the day fixed for departure, this squad joined the main body, composed of Savages; the canoes were launched, and the men quickly embarked; paddles were set in motion, and the last Farewell resounded from the cannons' mouths. But alas for the mutability of all things human! Full of joy in the morning, a man dies of grief before night. Scarcely had this Fleet of more than sixty Vessels accomplished one day's voyage on the great river, when it met two French Soldiers in a Canoe, who had been sent by the Governor of Three Rivers to give warning that the Agneronon Iroquois, bitter enemies Of the Algonquins and Hurons, were in the field, and would be sure to lay an ambuscade for them on their journey. As a matter of fact, they had concealed themselves behind a point, in order to surprise our Savages as they passed; but this

time they were Outwitted. Our men, mustering their courage, plied their paddles with such strength and skill, that they passed swiftly in the darkness without being seen, and arrived safe and sound at the Village of Three Rivers.

Our thirty Frenchmen, who had equipped themselves at short notice for a journey of five hundred leagues, seeing, from the experience of twenty-eight leagues already accomplished, that their Canoes were poor,—several leaking already,—and that their provisions were scarcely sufficient for so long a journey,—knowing, besides, that they would be forced to resort to weapons if the Agneronons, with whom we had at least the appearance of peace, should attack their Fleet,—thought best to postpone their expedition until the Spring of the following year.

Our two Fathers, though clearly perceiving the dangers before them, were also well aware that the traffic in Souls, in which they were about to engage, was nobler than that in skins, which our Company of Frenchmen was abandoning; and they were unwilling to turn back. They embarked with the Brother and the three Frenchmen who had joined them, holding their lives of no account as compared with the salvation of those peoples to whom they had, for the love of Jesus Christ, given themselves.

Behold them, then, on their way, with two hundred and fifty Savages, all Algonquins except a few Hurons escaped from the wreck of their former country. They turn Barbarians with the Barbarians, so to speak, in order to make them all God's children.

The Agneronon Iroquois, who numbered only about six-score, seeing that the enemy had slipped by, followed them stealthily with all speed. They proceeded by night, in close order and without noise, hiding in the woods by day, and sending out Spies to reconnoiter the Algonquins. Soon they discovered them; for these unfortunate men, though cautioned to be on their guard, were constantly making a great noise. Many of the young men, who had bought firearms of the French, having never handled them before, took a singular pleasure in the mimic thunder made by their arquebuses in the echoes of the forest. It was even said that a young Iroquois, a friend of peace, came and warned them to proceed quietly, saying that his companions were on the lookout to surprise them. But these young hotheads, trusting in their courage and their numbers, had ears only for the noise made by themselves, halting very often to fire at game encountered on the way.

The Iroquois went ahead and seized a very advantageous position on the great River, in the path of the Algonquins. First, they intrenched themselves on a slight eminence covered with trees, which they soon felled. The Sentinels, posted very advantageously for commanding a long view of the great river, gave their Captain warning when the fleet appeared, and he placed a large number, of brave Fusileers, among the rushes and tall shrubbery, on a Point by which our men would pass. Six Canoes of Hurons, and some Algonquins, preceding the main body by about fifty or sixty paces, heedlessly rushed into the snare, and received so prompt and fierce a shower of lead,

that many were killed without knowing who dealt the blow. The Iroquois had no sooner fired their pieces than they burst from their ambush like Lions from their lair, rushing upon those who were still alive, and dragging them into their fort. Father Leonard Gareau, who was in this advance-guard, was wounded by a musket-shot which broke his spine.

Those who followed, upon seeing the state of affairs, seized their arms, leaped ashore, and pursued the enemy, but soon came to an intrenchment, or fort, which opened fire on all sides. They surrounded and attacked it, and many were killed or wounded on both sides; the Iroquois, however, maintained so strong a defense, that the Algonquins could neither take the fort by storm, nor draw them out to open combat. They well knew their enemy's inferiority in number, and that, the Lion's skin failing him, he had very wisely assumed that of the Fox.

Our men, seeing this, took their hatchets, and soon constructed a fort at no great distance from that of the Iroquois, for shelter and recuperation. They waited for the latter to leave their Fort, that they might pursue them; but they held themselves under close cover. The Algonquins, as the season compelled them to hasten their return Homeward, parleyed with the Iroquois and made them a present, to induce them to decamp, themselves retiring first in order to leave the way clear. But the others refused to listen and rejected the present, being resolved to attack our party once more. They were outwitted, however; for the Algonquins, feigning that they wished to strengthen their fortifications, for the purpose of awaiting the Iroquois' departure, made a noise like that of felling trees with heavy strokes of the hatchet. During this din, and under cover of the night, the Captains had their men file softly to their Canoes; and thus they made their escape, leaving in their fort Father Gabriel Dreuillettes with his Companion, and the three Frenchmen who had joined them. The Father wished to accompany them, but no one would take him into his canoe. He who would be a stanch preacher of the Crucifix must expect only Crosses.

#### *Of Father Leonard Garreau's Death*

In the devastation of the Country of the Hurons, those poor People were scattered in all directions,—some joining the neutral Nation, a large company taking refuge in the bosom of the French at Kebec, and others seeking a retreat in the Country of the Algonquins called Outaouak, of whom we have just been speaking. A part of these poor fugitives had come down to Kebec with the Algonquins; and, as they had known Father Leonard Garreau in their own Country, and had already received some tincture of our Faith from him, it was very easy for them to obtain their former Pastor upon request. He was more eager to preach Jesus Christ to them than they were to receive him. Accordingly, he joined them, resolved to give his blood and his life for the Gospel, and seeing almost inevitable death in the dangers of an undertaking as holy as it was arduous. He expected either to be slain on the way,—as was the case,—or to perish with hunger in a Country five hundred leagues distant from

the French, or to meet his death because of some Barbarian's dream. But none of these prospects frightened him.

On Wednesday, August thirtieth, of this year, 1656, the Iroquois, firing from their ambuscade upon six Canoes of Hurons, who were in the van, as we have described in the preceding Chapter, mortally wounded this good Father. He fell back into the Canoe that bore him, his spine broken by a bullet. Forthwith, the Iroquois dragged him like a dog into their fort, stripped him naked, taking away even his shirt, and leaving him only a small pair of drawers. They turned him over and over, to remove the ball from his body, and gave him a drink, by way of medicine, which he would not take. Three days he lay flat on the ground, bathed in his own blood, without food or drink, without Physician or Surgeon, and with no help but that of Heaven. Though wounded on Wednesday, he was not taken to Montreal until Saturday morning, when they offered two wretched little presents, according to their custom. One of them was to show their regret at the accident that had happened, and the other to dry our tears and assuage our grief. All the people of Montreal esteemed and honored this poor Father as an Apostle and Martyr, giving him their heartfelt compassion.

## **Section Two**

# **“To Carry War Very Far Beyond the Country of the Cats”**

## **Attacks on the Upper and Western Algonquians**

**1655–1659**

*The Iroquois followed the invasion of Erie country with attacks on the Algonquian-speaking tribes to the west, called by them the Ontouagannha. Few details are provided on this phase of the war, but by 1660 the tribes of Michigan Lower Peninsula—the Potawatomi, Sauk, Fox, Kickapoo and Mascouten—had fled into Wisconsin where they nevertheless continued to be attacked. The Upper Algonquins were also raided during this period but managed to hold their ground: the Iroquois raid a number of Ojibwa tribes and prepare a large invasion of the Ottawa country in 1658.*

*Despite competing overtures from both the Mohawks and Onondaga for French and Hurons to settle in their country, and a peace with the Upper Iroquois, calls for military aid from France began to grow again as tensions mounted over continual raids and a reluctance to release prisoners. The Mohawks attacked an Ottawa trading party, and kept up their raiding on the Saint Lawrence against the Algonquins, Hurons, Montagnais and French. Even the Confederacy itself is strained when Mohawks ambushed parties containing Onondaga and Seneca ambassadors, an act which almost causes a war.*

### **Journal of the Jesuit Fathers, October 25 to December 27, 1656.**

**JR, 42:255** [*\*Mohawks making peace with Hurons & Algonquins.*]

5 [\*November, 1656]. Father le Moine Arrived at quebec with Father St. Jaques, a soldier, from his journey to the Agniengeronons, bringing us News that the peace was continuing between them and the french; that they were making peace with the hurons; and that, if the algonquins would send embassies to Them, they would make it also with them.

**JR, 42:255** [*\*Algonquins making peace with Mohawks.*]

17 [\*November, 1656]. I received letters from three Rivers, by which I learned that Father Ragueneau had made the following gifts to the oneiotchronons:...

5th. To reprove them because they left quebec in a false dread of the Algonquins, who, having only thoughts of peace, are not disposed to commit a hostile act, especially in the bosom of onontio. A collar.

6th. To let them know that The Onnontaeronon, when he negotiated a peace with Us in the name of the four Upper Nations, included therein the Hurons And Algonquins; And that they should, therefore, fear nothing from That quarter.

7th. To place a mat in their country,—where they have already kindled a fire,— when the french, Hurons, or Algonquins shall choose to go and visit it. A Collar.

8th. Of 8 beavers, to exhort them to go to the chase without fear, wherever it be; and that, if they should meet the Algonquins, they shall prepare a kettle, and give one another meat.

9th. A moose-skin, to let them know that, the Algonquins having recently spoken to the Agnieronon, There is peace on all sides.

The Algonquins have Contributed the following presents.

The 7th, the 8th the 9th, And the 3rd, which make 4 presents.

All has been Well received by The Oneiotchronon, who has promised An Inviolable faith.

**JR, 42:261** [*\*Huron ambassadors meet with the Mohawks.*]

26 [December, 1656]. At 3 o'clock in the evening, The huron Ambassadors who had been sent to Agniè Returned to quebec. They are accompanied by 5 Agnieronons, 4 of whom have come to quebec; the 5th remained at 3 Rivers. The result of their embassy was, that next spring the Agnieronons will come in force, to seek the hurons at quebec.

**JR, 42:263** [*\*Death of Brother Liegeois.*]

The Iroquois had already killed or burned fathers Daniel, de Brebeuf, Lallemand, and Buteux; They had murdered Father Jogues, with two donés,—La Lande, and robert, called “The good.” Until Then, they seemed to have spared our brother Coadjutors, although these accompanied our fathers wherever they went. But in The year 1655 they extended Their cruelty even to them; they killed One of them, near Quebec, and wounded The other with two balls, toward The platon sainte Croix. This latter was Brother Louis Le Bœsme, And The other, Brother N. Liegeois;—both french by nation, And worthy of a sort of martyrdom.

The Iroquois, bent on The destruction of the Christian Algonquins and hurons, whose shattered remnant we preserved in The fort of Sillery, were incessantly prowling about this Village, in order to lay Ambushes for Them, and for those who furnished Them an asylum. On the 29th of May, A band of seven or eight agniez, having perceived our Brother Liégeois in The fields Near Sillery,—where he was usefully and courageously engaged in the service of the Missionaries And of Their Neophytes, in very dangerous times,—all

at once surrounded Him, took Him without resistance, pierced His Heart with a gunshot, and stretched Him dead at Their feet. One of them Carried off His Scalp, and The other cut off His head, which he Left on The spot.

On the Next day, The algonquins found his body and brought It to Sillery, whence it was conveyed in a shallop to Quebec....

Brother Liégeois spent many years in Canada, And rendered good service to The mission.... During The height of the war with the Iroquois, He was sent to Sillery, to aid or direct The Savages in The Construction of a new fort which they were making in The Fields. It is there that he found The recompense of his labors,—I mean, a precious death,—while he was laboring to protect our neophytes from the Outrages of The Iroquois.

### **Journal of the Jesuit Fathers, in the year 1657.**

*JR, 43:33* [*\*Mohawks offer presents to the Hurons.*]

[\*April 1, 1657] In the morning, two agnieronons arrived from Montreal, to make presents to the hurons...

*JR, 43:35* [*\*Onondagas arrive at Quebec and trade presents.*]

[\*April 25, 1657] We had news from Montreal that a canoe of Five Onontaeronons, passing by montreal, had said that they—a part of 50 Onontaeronons—were coming to quebec, To war against the hurons And Algonquins.

28. This news was Confirmed from three Rivers; it was added that a huron woman was wounded at lake St. Pierre by one of the five Onontaeronons, Who said that he was followed by 3 other bands. This canoe brought no News of the french at Onontagè....

[\*May] 6. Eight Onontaeronons Entered the fort of silleri in the morning, finding The gate open, in order to gain an opportunity to treat with the french or the hurons.

On the Same Day, about noon, The Onontaeronons killed a Cow belonging to pierre bivil, called “the Swiss,” on the strand, opposite his dwelling. He fired a swivel-gun at the Onontaeronons, but without Effect. They also killed a sow with farrow, belonging to the same man

On the same Day, Father le Moine went to Sillery; and, of the 8 Onontaeronons who were there, he brought three to Our house at quebec, to talk with the Hurons And Alguonquins. That created a great stir, There were 40 Onontaeronons Lodged in 4 cabins opposite Sillery, on the other shore of the river; Jean peltier went to see them. *Item*, ten others, who entered Monsieur thomas hayot’s house, on the shore of the River. *Item*, some others, who, at 2 o’clock at night, were at Monceaux, to enter the House. A frenchman fired a gun at them, to frighten them, and they fled.

7. A Council was held in our hall to hear the Onontageronon, And to learn from his lips what he came to do here; all that he said amounted to nothing,—



*Meræ ambages, Meræ tenbræ.* This assembly was composed of Onontageronons, Agnieronons, hurons, Alguonquins, Montagnais, and french. Monsieur Charni was present.

The onontageronon spoke first, And made 6 presents of porcelain Beads, which all said the same thing, to wit: "I throw away my hatchet; I am thy brother, thou frenchman, thou Alguonquin, and thou huron, who comprisest three nations." And to The Agnieronon he said: "I do nothing in Secret. Thou shalt tell thy people in thy country what thou hast seen me do."

Immediately thereupon, after the Song, the Anieronon also made six presents of porcelain beads, which all Said the same thing. To the frenchman, to the alguonquin, to the three huron Nations: "I rejoice that you kindly receive my elder brother, the Onontageronon." And to the onontageronon: "I rejoice that thou dost carry peace everywhere."

On the evening of the same day, a second assembly was held at the same Place and by the same persons, at which each nation responded, in the 1st place, to the presents of the Onontageronon; and, in the 2nd place, to those of The Agnieronon. The frenchman spoke 1st to the onontageronon, and said to him, with A brasse of porcelain beads: "Keep thy word; do not again take up thy hatchet against the huron." 2nd: The huron said: "It is well that thou comest to visit thy Friends, and that thou hast thrown away thy hatchet." 3rd: The Alguonquin said: "We are brothers from all time; I keep my word, as well as the frenchman."

The frenchman Answered the Agnieronon: "It is well that you are both content,—thou, Agnieronon, and thou, Onontageronon. It will depend only on you that the land be united."

10, Ascension Day. Father le Moine, being at Sillery, held a Council with The huron and The Onontageronon, to wit: whether the huron should give himself to the onontageronon. The Council was disturbed by the News that an Onontageronon had been Slightly wounded by a gunshot in the thigh, by Monsieur le Mire, who Wished to repress The insolence of the said Onontageronon and of his companions, who were acting Insolently and as thieves in his house.

The Captain made his complaints. Father le moine applied a plaster, in the shape of a porcelain collar, upon the wounded man. The Captain likewise made a present to the frenchman, who was dissatisfied with the Youth of Onontage. *Item*, a second present, to pay for the cows killed by the Young men. Finally, a 3rd present, to pay the frenchman to open his arms wide, and release all the hurons who Might wish to go to Onontage. Then, in Secret, the Captain made a present of a fine Collar to the huron of the nation of Arendageronon, in order to attract him to Onontage. The present, instead of being concealed, was produced by the huron at quebec, on The evening of the Day when he returned from the Council held at sillery, in The assembly of the Alguonquins And hurons.

11. In the morning, the huron responded to this collar of the

Onontageronon with two presents, through The mouth of Atsenha, called le plat ["the dish"].

On the same Day, the 11th, The alguonquin made 5 presents to the huron, of 10 mooseskins. 1st: "I restore to thee The head which the agnieronon has often cut off for thee." and: "I wipe away thy tears." 3rd: "I give thee a drink." 4th: "We are brothers; let us always run the Same risks." 5th: "Do not go away at once to Agnie, nor to Onontage; wait a little. Do not start until thou hast learned news of the french who are at Onontage, And of thy brothers who are at Agnie."

The huron forthwith responded to these presents orally. 1st: "Thou givest me life." 2nd: "I shall see the sun more easily." 3rd: "My Heart is well disposed." 4th and 5th: "I will think of what I have to say."

12. At 8 o'clock in the evening, a huron, nephew to Anotaha, was killed by an Onontageronon near Monsieur de Mores's mill. The Captain pretended not to approve the deed, and gave two presents to a huron who had gone to see the Onontageronons in their fort. 1st: "Carry thy head whole; go peaceably to quebec." 2nd: "Go and say to Onontio and to the Alguonquins that I am grieved at what has happened."

14. Father Druillettes left for tadousac, whence he returned to quebec on the 27th.

15. At 7 o'clock in the morning, the Onontageronons returned To their own country with three huron ambassadors.

22. On Tuesday in whitsun-week, sieur Cousture returned to quebec from Three Rivers, bringing as News that the Agnieronons who were at three Rivers had prevented two of the three Huron ambassadors from going to Onontage with The Onontageronons.

**JR, 43:45** [*\*The Mohawks ask the Hurons to come to their country.*]

[\*May 28, 1657]. Toward noon, a canoe arrived from three Rivers, despatched to give us warning of 24 Agnieronons at 3 Rivers, and 80 at Richelieu, ready to come down to quebec to carry away the hurons.

Four hours later, 4 Canoes arrived, with 25 Agnieronons.

29. At 8 o'clock in the morning, the Council was held in our hall, at which were present Onontio, the Father Superior, the Agnieronons,—who had asked to hold a council,— the Hurons, and 2 Alguonquins.

Thearihogen, an Agnieronon, made 3 presents to Onontio, of 4 Beavers Each. 1st: "Onontio, open thy arms; let thy children, the hurons, go to Agnie; thou hast already promised me this." 2nd: "I know that thou lovest the faith; we will Believe with The hurons." 3rd: "Lend them shallops, in which they may embark."

At 7 o'clock in the evening, a Canoe arrived from Montreal, which brought us the letters from our Fathers of Onontage; the Onontageronons, Coming to wage war Against the hurons and The Alguonquins, had hidden these in the vicinity of Richelieu, then recovered them again on returning from

quebec, And carried them to Montreal. The news contained in these letters was good.

30. A Council was held at the same place And by the same persons as on the 29th. The frenchman Responded to the Agnieronon with three presents, namely, three mooseskins.

We learned that The Agnieronon who was at three Rivers had led astray two of the three Huron Ambassadors who, along with some Onontageronons, were going up with presents to Onontage; that other Agnieronons at Montreal had also prevented the third from going up; And that this ambassador had Secretly fled, and had put into father du Peron's hands the presents which he was bearing on the part of the Hurons, The onontageronon having refused to take Charge of them.

1st: "Onontio is coming from france, And has written that he wishes to see the hurons before they leave for Agnie."

2nd: "Thou sayest, Agnieronon, that thou wilt pray to God with the huron. Thou wilt do nothing of the kind; if thou dost, it will be in appearance only."

3rd: "All the french shallops have gone to meet the governor. Thou knowest well how to make canoes; thou makest them when thou comest to split the huron's head, and thou shalt make some to come and bring him."

**JR, 43:49** [*\*Some Hurons leave for the Mohawk country.*]

[\*June 2, 1657] 14 huron women, with several little Children, embarked in 7 Agnieronon Canoes, in order to go and live at agnie. Here begins the destruction of the hurons.

**JR, 43:51** [*\*Nation of the Rock leaves for Onondaga.*]

[\*June 16, 1657] At 6 o'clock in the morning, the hurons of the nation of the Rock embarked at quebec in three shallops, manned with frenchmen, to convey them to Montreal, whence these hurons intend to go to Onontage, to dwell there.

**JR, 43:51** [*\*The Onondagas pick up the Hurons at Montreal.*]

[\*July 22, 1657] 10 Canoes of onontageronons arrived at montreal, who came to meet The hurons waiting there.

**JR, 43:53** [*\*Some Hurons leave Quebec for Mohawk country.*]

[\*August 9, 1657] 20 agnieronons arrived at quebec, to carry away the rest of the hurons. Their band numbered 100, from whom these 20 detached themselves. The 10 Canoes of onontageronons—of whom mention is made above, under July 22—have returned, seeing themselves weaker for their undertaking than the Agnieronons. . . . The 80 agnieronons remained at Montreal waiting for the 20 who came down to quebec.

11. At ten o'clock in the evening, Monsieur bourdon arrived before que-

bec, from his journey to the north. Two hurons, whom he had taken with him, were killed by the savages, and a frenchman was wounded....

21. Some hurons left quebec with the Agnieronons, to live at Agnie.

**JR, 43:57** [*\*Onondagas offer presents to entice Hurons.*]

[\*September 2, 1657] The Onontageronons arrive at Eustache's Cabin, and two of them at quebec. After having been welcomed with 3 Presents in the name of our 3 nations, and having promised that the next morning they would speak, they returned at the appointed time, saying that they had no Presents. The same day, 2 others came back to say that all, as many as they were, wished to come to Kebec. The Algonquins and hurons represented to them that, if any one of them should become drunk, some disagreeable accident to the onontageronons was to be feared; that the french would bind and plunder the Young onontageronons who should steal the pumpkins, as they do with the Algonquins and the hurons; finally, that the Algonquin Ambassador would be very much grieved if any of them were ill-treated here. Thereupon, the onontageronons grew vexed, saying that they would not come at all, but would, on the morrow, cross the River, and, on the following day, go up again. In fact, The next day, they returned to their Spring fort, near Master Nicolas'. But finally, upon second thought, they commissioned 4 of their men to come and talk with the hurons especially, saying that they had already parleyed with the Algonquins the past summer at 3 Rivers. We gave them 8 or 10 sacks of corn.

6. The onontageronons make special Presents to the hurons, of 3 collars, besides some strings of Porcelain,—with the result that they invite the latter to join their band, on account of a Father and of Kahikwan, the Algonquain Ambassador, who are to go with them to Onontaghè.

**JR, 43:59** [*\*Hurons are killed by Onondaga youth; the Onondagas offer presents in reparation.*]

[\*October 6, 1657]. Boquet arrived in the evening with 8 frenchmen, from onontage, without savages, and brought us news of the murder committed on the 3rd Day of august, 4 Days' journey above montreal, by the Onontageronons Upon the Hurons of quebec, who were going up with Father Ragueneau to Onontage....

16. A shallop arrived from 3 Rivers, which brought us the news that for 8 days a band of 10 Onontageronons or Oneiotchronons had been prowling about three Rivers and quebec, in order to kill some Alguonquins and hurons; and that, at the cap a labre, they had robbed 2 frenchmen who were hunting....

[\*October 20] Monsieur d'alliboust, governor, complains of me for the little Confidence which I have in him, saying that I do not Impart to him the matters which concern the mission of onontagé; and 1st, that I did not convey to him the 2 presents which Father Ragueneau had sent to me from onontage. These presents were addressed to Onontio, and offered by the Onontageronons, who said: "Onontio, We do not approve the murder com-

mitted upon the Hurons by our Youth, on the Way. Onontio, we pay for the damage which our Youth have done to the french settlements through robberies and killing the cattle.” Father drüillettes conveyed on my behalf the 2 Collars to Monsieur d’alleboust, 2 Days after.

21. Monsieur the Governor held an assembly of the habitans, at which it was Resolved, by common consent of all the habitans and of the Sieur Governor, that the french should defend themselves against the Insolence of both the upper and lower Iroquois; And that no one should be allowed to commit a Theft or robbery or any other act of hostility, under pretext of peace....

24. At 4 o’clock in the evening, news arrived from three Rivers that 9 algonquins have gone to war against both the lower And the upper Iroquois, having learned that the Iroquois were the first to come thither; that two canoes of the latter had been seen in lake St. Pierre, and An Encampment on the three Rivers; and that some Iroquois have plundered two frenchmen at l’arbre a la Croix.

24. Monsieur the governor assembled at the fort the Algonquins And hurons, in order to present to Them the 2 collars sent from Onontage by Father Ragueneau. These 2 collars said: 1st, that the Elders had not had a hand in the treachery committed against the Hurons; 2nd, that they were intended to pay for the damages and the wrongs which the Youth of Onontage had done to the french in their settlements.

The savages asked how they should Conduct themselves toward the upper and lower Iroquois. The answer was: 1st that they would be free to defend themselves or to attack first; that it would, nevertheless, be proper for them not to make their attacks near our settlements. 2nd, that the french will Defend the Hurons And algonquins within sight of the french houses. 3rd, that the french will not be the first to strike the blow, and will not first break the peace. 4th, all the french agree in everything, as stated above.

25. At 6 o’clock in the evening, three Agnieronons robbed Monsieur Pinguet, senior, Even to his shirt, while he was fishing for eels a little above Cap rouge. A huron of this band, taken at the island of Orleans two years ago, escaped and betook himself to quebec. (That was found false.)

25. We learned from two frenchmen, at 10 o’clock in the evening, that the Agnieronons were in force, and that they were making a fort at cap rouge. (That was found false.)

**JR, 43:67** [*\*Murders at Montreal—11 Mohawks held captive.*]

[\*November 1, 1657] In the morning, A canoe arrived at quebec from Montreal, which brought the news that The Onontageronons or other savages had killed three frenchmen,—to wit, Monsieur Nicolas godet, St. pere, And his servant. This was on the 25th of October...

[\*November 3] At 9 o’clock in the evening, sieur la Meslee brought 5 Agnieronons from three Rivers to Monsieur the Governor, in order to learn from them who were the murderers of the three frenchmen killed at montreal.

These 5 agnieronons, with 6 other agnieronons, were taken by the french of three Rivers, who had obliged them all by subtlety to enter the village, and seized them there. One of them defended himself Against Monsieur le barbi-er, who, finding himself not strong enough to stop him, laid hold of his sword and struck the said Agnieronon with the point, which merely grazed the skin. The 5 mentioned above are lodged with Monsieur Cousture, and are shackled together, two by two.

3. At the same time, we learned that the alguonquins, 9 in Number, who had gone to war against the Onontageronons, toward the islands of Richelieu, had returned with an Onontageronon Scalp.

4. At 7 o'clock in the morning, Monsieur d'Alliboust, Governor, gave me word of this News. He told me that he was of opinion that 2 agnieronons of the 11 prisoners should be Sent into their country, to warn their people of their detention and of the cause of it,— which was the murder of 3 frenchmen by the savages,—And to learn definitely who were the murderers. About 11 o'clock in the morning, he assembled the principal habitans (none of our fathers was called, any more than to the other assemblies), and set before them the purpose of their meeting. The Conclusion was, that it was necessary to send two Agnieronons etc.,—*Ut supra*.

5, 6, 7. Monsieur the governor communicates to the savages at the fort his resolution to send two of the prisoners to agniee, in order to apprise their people of the reason for the imprisonment of their Companions. The savages approve this design. 6. Two prisoners are brought To us; they are told that we are sending them to Agnie. 7. The next day They started in a shallop for three Rivers.

17. A shallop arrived from three Rivers, full of savages from the inland, who bring news that their people have arrived there. They came to learn What was going on at quebec.

19. Monsieur the governor takes counsel with the savages, to send for them and invite them to come and winter at quebec.

At Noon, a canoe capsized before quebec; one of the two frenchmen who were in it was drowned.

20. We learned by letters from three Rivers that the three Agnieronons, whom we were sending to their own country in behalf of the above-mentioned affairs, left three Rivers on the 13th of november. They went in Company with some frenchmen, who escorted them in a shallop as far as the first sault in the River of Richelieu, for fear of a hostile encounter. This same Day, the 13th of November, 60 Canoes from the interior and 30 of ordinary alguonquins arrived at three Rivers,—the same of whom I have written above. 30 more canoes are expected before freezing weather.

**Father Paul le Jeune, ed. 1658. Relation of what occurred most remarkable in the missions of the fathers of the Society of Jesus, New France in the years one thousand six hundred and fifty-six and one thousand six hundred and fifty-seven. College of Clermont, December 1st, 1657.**

*JR, 43:99* [*\*Seneca delegation is thwarted by the Mohawks.*]

We have frequently stated in our Relations of the past years that there are five Iroquois Nations, of whom the three principal ones are the Sonnontoeronns, who are the most numerous, and the most distant from the French; the Onnontoeronns, among whom we have lately commenced a good Mission; and the Agnieronns, who trade with the Dutch, neighbors to new England. On the 19th of September of the year 1655, Father Joseph Chaumont and Father Claude d'Ablon started from Quebec, to reconnoiter the country of the Sonnontoeronns, who urged us to go and teach them, and to establish a French settlement in their country. Their journey was fully described in last year's Relation. Shortly after their departure from Quebec, three personages of importance arrived from Sonnontoan, the country of the Sonnontoeronns; they informed us that the minds of their nation were inclined to peace, and that next winter they would come in good number to contract an inviolable alliance with us, and with the Hurons and Algonquins. A mutual interchange of presents took place, according to the custom of these peoples, after which one of the three resolved to spend the winter with us, to serve as a hostage for their fidelity. The two others set out at the beginning of November of the same year, 1655, in order to carry more promptly to their own country the happy news of the welcome that they had received.

These two Ambassadors were killed on their return journey, as we learned when, three or four leagues above Montreal, one of the dead bodies was found, all covered with wounds and blood. Suspicion of this murder could fall on none but the Agnieronnon Iroquois, who are jealous of the friendship which the other Iroquois nations seek to form with us, and endeavor to thwart it by every possible means.

This did not prevent us from seeing here, at the beginning of the month of January, 1656, the Embassy of which word had been sent us.

It consisted, altogether, of ten men, the chief of whom was one of the leading Captains of their entire country, from fifty to sixty years of age,—a wise man, and one skilled in such matters, eloquent beyond expectation, whose heart was entirely French, and who was already won over to the faith.

Of the twenty-one presents that he gave, the richest and most striking was the one by which he loudly proclaimed that his entire nation wished to be instructed; that, for that reason, they asked for some of the Fathers of our Society, and desired those blessings which are enjoyed only after death, and of which the many Christian Hurons who were living as captives with them spoke with such esteem that the hearts of many among them were already Christian before they themselves had become Christians.

The designs of Heaven are no less adorable than they are hidden. This Captain—upon whom, after God, our hopes were resting—was snatched from us in an instant. These Ambassadors had gone, for sport, to hunt the Beaver between three Rivers and Quebec, while awaiting the end of the winter to set out on their return journey. A band of Agnieronnon Iroquois, who came at the same time to hunt men, chanced upon their tracks, and, surprising that Captain in a lonely place, without approaching him closely enough to recognize him, killed him with a gunshot which pierced his heart.

After this blow, which was sufficient to cause war between those two Iroquois Nations, they both retained the confidence which they had in us; for they knew that our hearts were open to all the tribes of these countries, and they regarded our French as a neutral Nation and our settlement as a place of safety. In fact, a band of Algonquin warriors happening to be at three Rivers at the same time as the Agnieronnon, their mortal enemy, they conversed peaceably with each other, joyfully regaled themselves together, and, to behold them, one would have thought that they were friends....

*Design of the Agnieronnon Iroquois Against the Huron Colony  
on the Island of Orleans.*

On the twenty-fifth day of the month of April, 1656, two Agnieronnon Iroquois slipped through the woods below Quebec, at a place where there is an abundance of water-fowl; two Hurons landed from a canoe, and were each received with a gunshot. One fell dead on the spot; the other, though severely wounded, had nevertheless sufficient courage and strength to push his canoe into the water, and was fortunate enough to escape.

On hearing news of this, twenty Hurons embarked at once, to cut off at some place the murderers, who had fled by land. At a distance of over twenty leagues from there, they found some tracks on the bank of our great River, and overtook their prey; but, as these two fugitives had separated from each other, only one was captured. He was taken to the Island of Orleans, where he was condemned to death and to the fire, which doubtless he richly deserved. We did, by gentle means, all that could be done to have his life spared, in order that he might be made use of to turn away a band of three hundred Agnieronnon Iroquois, by whom we knew that the Huron Colony on the Island of Orleans was threatened. But their minds were too hot with resentment at a crime which they had so recently seen committed before their very eyes, and for which the father and mother of the deceased urgently demanded justice. They were the wealthiest people of all the Huron village, and were weeping at the loss of their only son, who was a young man, full of good qualities, destined for the office of Captain; within two years he had spared the lives of five Agnieronnons, whom he had made prisoners of war.

On the same day, while they were burning that Iroquois prisoner,—who was fortunate in his misfortune, inasmuch as he received Baptism and died a Christian,—some Frenchmen from three Rivers met, at a distance of ten or



twelve leagues from there, the three hundred Agnieronnons who were coming to fall upon the Hurons. Those warriors treated our French kindly; they gave them some of their game, and on parting they presented them with some Porcelain beads, in order that information of their expedition might not be sent from three Rivers to Quebec.

On the following day, three of their Captains came themselves to three Rivers, to learn where it was desired that they should camp, and to protest that they wished to continue the Peace with us.

In order to check them on the way by gentle means, the Governor of three Rivers gave them three fine presents, begging them to return to their own country, because, as they were at peace with us, and as the Hurons were likewise our allies, we must spare the blood and the lives of both.

The Iroquois replied with eight presents of Porcelain beads, the four most remarkable of which were as follows.

Their Chief showed a great collar of Porcelain beads, and said: "Here is an iron chain, larger around than the trees that grow in our forests, which shall bind the Dutch, the French, and the Agnieronnons together. The thunder and lightning of heaven shall never break that chain."

With another present he said: "I know Onnontio's mind. I know that the Frenchman is truthful in his promises. If I see any one of my people killed on the River, I will have no suspicion that it was through the treachery of the French. I beg thee also to believe the same of me; and, if any Frenchman be found killed in a secluded place, do not accuse the Agnieronnon Iroquois of it. Our hands will be innocent of it, and will not betray our hearts, which breathe but Peace."

"Whenever any misfortune," he said with another present, "shall happen to the French or to the Agnieronnon, we will mingle our weeping and our tears, and our hearts shall have the same sentiments; for I have henceforth but one heart with thee."

With the last of these presents he said: "I obey Onnontio. I return to my own country, and this time my hatchet will not be reddened with the blood of the Hurons. But I also wish the Frenchman to obey me in one thing; that is, to close the doors of his houses and of his forts against the Onnontageronnon, who wishes to be my enemy, and who is hatching some plot of war against me."

The giving of these presents was over, but the meeting had not yet dispersed, when three canoes were observed coming from above. It was Jean Baptiste Ochionagueras, an Onnontageronnon Captain, who had embraced the faith two years before, and, as his heart had become quite French, had vigorously aided in securing the Peace between us and the upper Iroquois Nations.

When the Agnieronnon Iroquois saw that captain—whom they knew to be a man of great renown, and a distinguished warrior—they begged our French not to let him know anything of the present which they had just made,—asking us to close our doors against the Onnontageronnons and not to enter into an alliance with them.

On the following day, we received information at Quebec of all that was passing at three Rivers through special messengers, who accomplished thirty leagues in one day, with such good luck that they eluded all the vigilance of the Agnieronnon Iroquois, who had stationed pickets on all the roads to bar the way.

It was considered necessary for the public welfare, to send one of our Fathers to meet those three hundred Agnieronnons, in order to check their advance; for we suspected that, contrary to their word, they would persist in their design to push on as far as the Island of Orleans, and would avenge the death of the Agnieronnon Iroquois who had been burned there within the past few days.

Father Simon le Moyne, who loves the Iroquois and is tenderly beloved by them, was fortunately in Quebec at the time, and in less than an hour he was ready to start without delay. At midnight, he meets on his way some Iroquois canoes which guard the approaches and watch for whatever may happen. He is taken into a palisade, about half a league distant, where the main body are camped. He gives them ten presents, to induce them to abandon their design and retrace their steps. After protracted deliberations, they tell him that his voice has an all-powerful effect on them; and, to convince him of it by deeds more than by words, they utter a yell in the camp which disbands all the troops,—that is to say, it is a signal for the small bands, which usually consist of ten or twelve men, to scatter. Some go one way, to hunt for moose; others go in another direction, to hunt for beaver; some, to the number of three or four, pretend to go on a hostile raid, to strike a blow in some isolated spot. The majority, they say, return to their country.

This news caused joy in Quebec, and gave some assurance to the Hurons on the Island of Orleans; it did not, however, dispel all their fears. They still felt some distrust of the treacherous spirit of the Agnieronnon; would to God that it had been greater.

#### *The Hurons on the Island of Orleans Attacked by the Agnieronnon Iroquois*

On the 18th of May, 1656, those perfidious foes concealed themselves in the woods, ten or twelve leagues above Quebec, where they could see without being seen. They allowed a band of French and Savages to pass, who were on their way to the country of the Onnontoeronnons. But their hands itched, and, their habituation to massacre goading them on, they fell upon some canoes that formed the rear-guard; they wounded, they captured, they pillaged, they ill-treated those who were in the canoes. But, finally, when the Onontoeronnons and the French began to threaten them, those treacherous assailants pretended that they had made a mistake. As we shall see in the following Chapter, they gave up their prisoners, but on the condition that they should continue their journey, and that not a single one of them should be allowed to go down to Quebec.

When this storm had passed, our People pursued their voyage along the great River Saint Lawrence. But, on the night of the nineteenth to the twenti-

eth of the same month of May, those wretches, under cover of that very dark night, descended the river noiselessly, and passed before Quebec without being perceived. They landed, before daylight, below the Huron village; and, after hiding their canoes in the woods, they scattered in all directions, stationing themselves at the approaches to the fields that were then being sown with Indian corn.

In the morning, all the Christian Hurons attended Mass according to their custom, and, happily, most of them confessed themselves. A party issued forth to work; the enemies in ambush fell upon them, massacred some on the spot, and carried off others as prisoners. The remainder took refuge in our House, which is surrounded by a palisade, easily defended, and fortified for such emergencies.

After this defeat, the enemies withdrew toward the South. They had about forty canoes which appeared on our great river, taking, on their return, the same route that they had followed during the night to strike that unfortunate blow. Our loss consisted of seventy-one persons, including a large number of young women who were the flower of that Colony.

The French on the Island of Orleans, who were encountered by those Barbarians, were not made prisoners; for the Iroquois said that they were at Peace with us. This did not prevent them from pillaging some abandoned houses, for which they have since offered excuses, condemning on the one hand the insolence of their young men, who throughout the earth are difficult to restrain when heated by victory; and, on the other hand, accusing those of our French who had abandoned their houses, because, they said, they had taken fright unnecessarily. It is true that the Iroquois respected the places which they found inhabited, even by women alone, and behaved there with all possible gentleness. This misfortune happened on Saturday, the twentieth day of May,—if, indeed, the ills of this life be misfortunes when God derives from them his glory and the salvation of his elect.

Among the captive Hurons there were eleven members of the Congregation who, in the extremity of their misery, did not lose the spirit of piety. One of them was Jacques Oachonk, then the Prefect of the Congregation, and the most fervent of all our Christians.

When that good Christian found himself a prisoner, instead of singing of his warlike achievements, according to custom, he took for the subject of his song what he had most at heart. “Do not pity me,” he said; “do not consider me unfortunate: I shall be happy in heaven. I fear not fires which my blood can extinguish; I fear the fire of hell which never dies out. This life is nothing to me, when my thoughts carry me to Heaven.” He sang this chant in so powerful a voice, that he made himself heard at a distance of nearly half a league, and the water and wind bore his words to our ears. He consoled the others, and encouraged them to bear their sufferings. While he was being burned in every part of the body—with hatchets heated red-hot in the fire, and with blazing firebrands—he uttered not a cry, or any complaint of the cruelty which made

him suffer death a thousand times before dying once. He prayed to God in the midst of the flames, and said aloud that, when he raised his eyes to Heaven with the words, "Jesus, have pity on me," he felt each time an alleviation of his pains, with an increase of strength and courage.

We have learned all the particulars from another Christian who was a captive with him, named Joachim Ondakont. He was himself in the flames with Jacques, and admired his constancy and his truly Christian spirit amid the tortures.

This Joachim was the principal man among all those who had been taken captive; he was a great warrior, and his life had been but a series of victories and combats, in which his bravery had very often saved him, contrary to all expectations. On this last occasion, he had already been burned up to the waist, his fingers had been cut off, and he was all covered with blood. On the night which was to be his last, he was awaiting the dawn of the day on which his torture was to be ended. The cabin in which he had been burned was filled with as many executioners as there were Iroquois in it, of whom more than fifty were guarding him. Sleep overcoming them, he was fortunate enough to break his bonds, and to make his way out. Finding himself at liberty, with his body all naked and torn, without food, without weapons, and without assistance, he walked for fifteen entire days, through devious paths, to find safety in losing himself. His strength was exhausted when he reached the shores of the great lake of the Iroquois, where, by good fortune, he met the band of French who were going to Onnontage. Had it not been for them, he would have died; with their help, his life was saved. They gave him some food, a canoe, and a young man, a Huron, whom they detached from their party, and with whose assistance he was enabled to finish his journey and come to Quebec.

Previous to his misfortune, this man's fervor had relaxed, and he seemed to be only half a Christian, even glorying in showing that he had no esteem for the Faith or for the Christians. But, when he saw that in God alone can consolation, patience, and joy be found, even in the midst of tortures, his sentiments became so happily changed that he cannot sufficiently bless God, or sufficiently praise the Christians, in whom he has observed, in this emergency, examples of a virtue beyond reproach.

One of the Fathers of our Society happened to be at Three Rivers when the Iroquois passed on their return, and was fortunately impelled to go and visit those good Christians in the bonds of their captivity in the enemy's camp. He was so greatly consoled thereby, that he wrote of it in the following terms:

*"Bene omnia fecit.* In truth, my Reverend Father, the judgments of God are wonderful. I have seen the flower of the Huron Congregation carried away into captivity by the Infidels, with many others whose devotion would appear extraordinary even in a Cloister. Praise be to him forever, since *bene omnia fecit.* You may judge how deeply this has afflicted me, since I had so great an affection for that poor nation. I had the happiness of visiting them three times

in the Iroquois camp, about half a league from Three Rivers. I confessed them all, after making them pray to God. Assuredly, faith reigns in their hearts; never have they been more fervent or bold in manifesting their devotion, than on that occasion, in the presence of all the Iroquois. And these showed no aversion to prayer; for, when I seized the opportunity on five or six occasions, in various cabins, to say a word about Paradise and Hell, they always listened to me with great respect.

"I found among them a young woman, eighteen years of age, named Agnes Aoendoens, who was baptized by the late Father Jean de Brebeuf, and whom I heard in Confession. Truly, I have never seen any one more innocent; a person shut up in a Cloister could not preserve her piety better. In short, I cannot find words which would express to you all that passed on that occasion." That is what the Father has written to us.

Not more than eight days had elapsed since he had left those good Christians on the Island of Orleans, where he had dwelt with them for a year; and his obedience took him away from them solely that he might join those who were going to Onnontaghe.

**JR, 43:129** [*\*The Hurons decide to settle among the Onondaga.*]

A captive Huron, who had escaped from the village of Onontaghe, made his appearance while we were in the midst of our deliberations. He assured us that he had studied the minds of those people and had penetrated their thoughts, and that their sole design was to attract to their country as many French and Hurons as possible, and then to kill them in a general massacre. He advanced such strong arguments in support of his opinion, that his Huron countrymen, who had resolved, and had promised the Onnontoeronnons, to go to their country and to accompany us thither, retracted their word. They told us that zeal for the Faith would cause our death, and conjured us, by the love that they bore us, not to cast ourselves into so manifest a danger.

In addition to this cause of fear, the Agnieronnon Iroquois, with whom we had recently concluded a treaty of Peace, manifested a jealousy almost verging on fury, because we wished to dwell with those people; for it was greatly to the benefit of their trade, that the Onnontoeronnons should always be compelled to pass through their country....

However, we paid no heed; we resolved to grant to those people what they so urgently asked, and to establish ourselves in the heart of their country, whatever might betide. Here are the reasons that induced us to do so.

One was grounded upon the authority and the opinion of Monsieur our Governor, who saw very well that it was necessary to perish in order not to perish; and to expose oneself to dangers of all kinds, in order to avoid all dangers. We had been warned that, if we rebuffed those Barbarians by refusing what they so urgently demanded, they intended to unite at once with the Agnieronnons, to fall upon the French, to wage endless war against them, and, if possible, to exterminate them entirely. We were not at that time in a position

to withstand the revolt of all those tribes, without running a greater danger than that of exposing a handful of French, whose resolution might exercise some restraint over those peoples in their own country....

Finally, the conclusion was reached, in consideration of the above and of many other reasons, that it was necessary to take the field and to give the Onnontoeronns the satisfaction which they demanded. No sooner said than done....

We started from Quebec on the 17th of May, 1656. Our Main body comprised four Nations,—some French; some Onnontoeronns, who had come for us; some Sonnontoeronns, who had come to contract an alliance with us; and some Hurons. We filled two large shallops and several canoes....

Our shallops had anchored at night, twelve leagues or thereabout above Quebec, near a place called the Point of Sainte Croix. We all resolved to land there on the following morning, for the purpose of celebrating Holy Mass. Our Sailors forgot this resolution; they raised anchor before daylight and thus obliged us to continue our journey. The danger was very great; for, at the same spot, three hundred Agnieronon Iroquois lay hidden, who could have captured us without a fight and without resistance, because our People would have landed unarmed, believing that those Treacherous foes had returned to their own country, as they had promised to our French at Lake Saint Pierre, above three Rivers. We escaped that danger without knowing it. The Barbarians did not show themselves, although they saw us very well; but they fell upon our canoes that were separated from us. They upset one into the River; they slightly wounded one of our Brethren with two gunshots; they tied and bound the Hurons; they ill-treated the Onnontoeronns, both by word and deed, for they could not brook our alliance with them. But, in the end, fear of becoming involved in a war with that people, who manifested their just indignation, cooled their anger, and compelled them to have recourse to apologies; they alleged that they thought at first that the canoes were filled only with Hurons, with whom they are not at peace. Afterward, they set every one at liberty, including the Hurons. Those who had escaped at the beginning of the fray, ran naked through the woods, overtook our shallops, and informed us of what was passing. Every one immediately rushed to arms. We observed twelve canoes, rapidly paddling toward us, and thought that they were the Advance-guard of the enemy, but, as we were preparing to receive them, we saw that they were our own People who had not much reason for satisfaction at having separated from our shallops.

We reached Three Rivers on the 20th of May, and left there on the 29th. On the 31st, we arrived at the settlement of Montreal, whence a canoe was despatched on the first day of June, to give notice of our coming to the Village of Onnontaghé.

On the eighth of June, we embarked in twenty canoes; the shallops could no longer be of use beyond Montreal, on account of the rapids and Falls which are encountered on leaving that settlement. We had not proceeded two leagues,

when a band of Agnieronon Iroquois saw us from afar. Mistaking us for Algonquins and Hurons, they were seized with fear, and fled into the woods; but, when they recognized us, on seeing our flag—which bore the Name of Jesus in large letters, painted on fine white taffeta—flying in the air, they approached us. Our Onnontaeronnon Americans received them with a thousand insults, reproaching them with their treachery and brigandage; then they fell upon their canoes, stole their arms, and took the best of all their equipment. They said that they did this by way of reprisal; for they themselves had been pillaged a few days before by the same tribe. That was all the consolation gained by those poor wretches in coming to greet us....

Toward evening some hunters perceived us, and, on seeing so many canoes in our company, they fled, leaving behind them some booty for our People, who seized their weapons, their beaver-skins, and all their baggage. But, capturing one of those hunters, we found that he belonged to the tribe of the Andastaeronnons, with whom we are not at war. Our French, therefore, gave back to them what they had plundered; this, however, did not induce our Savages to display the same civility.

On the 26th, at about nine o'clock in the evening, we heard a human voice, loud, indeed, but wailing. We suspected that it must proceed from some escaped captive. Monsieur du Puis, a brave Gentleman who commanded our French soldiers, ordered the drum to be beaten, to show him that we were French. The poor man, who had not dared to approach us, ran toward us as fast as he could, on hearing the noise. He was a Huron, named Joachim Ondakont, of whom we have spoken in the third Chapter. He was nothing but skin and bones. He had escaped half burned from the country of the Agnieronons, and had walked for seventeen days amid the woods and rocks, with no other food than some small wild fruits. Our people made him drink a certain beverage to prepare his stomach, that he might eat without danger after starving so long. We gave him a canoe and some provisions, to enable him to go down to the French settlements.

On the 29th, after traveling night and day because our stock of provisions was getting very low, we met three canoes of Annieronons returning from man-hunting, who brought back with them the scalps of four Savages of the Neds-percez Nation, and a woman and two children as captives.

On the first of July, we perceived and gave chase to a canoe; when we overtook it we found that it belonged to the village of Onnontaghe. We were told that we were expected there, and that Father Joseph Chaumont, who had remained there alone, was in good health.

**JR, 43:147** [*\*Seneca given presents to confirm alliance with French.*]

The Sonntoeronnons left us here. We gave them two presents of a thousand Porcelain beads; one, to prepare the way to their country for us; the other, to enable them to forget the trouble and fatigue that they had undergone in coming to seek the alliance of the French, and to induce them to receive us

well when we should go to see them. We privately gave two coats and some other small presents to the chief men, to gain their good will.

**JR, 43:167** [*\*Senecas ready to go to war with Mohawks over a Captain's murder.*]

After that meeting, we employed ourselves some days in visiting and winning over the various nations that were at Onnontaghe; they were arriving there daily, in order to be present at the decision of two weighty matters, and at the great council of war which is usually held in that village.

When the envoys from Sonnontouan and Oiogouan arrived, we went to greet them. The former, mourning the death of one of their Captains named Ahiantouan, who had been killed by the Annieronnons in the vicinity of Three Rivers, filled the air with their lugubrious chants. We gave them a present to allay their grief; but, when the time came to reply, the Oiogouanonnon spoke, and said that the wound received by the Sonnontoueronnonns had changed their joy to tears, and their voices to sighs and mournful songs.

When all the nations had assembled, it was necessary, before the council was held, to propitiate the Village on account of the death of a Captain, which had taken place during the previous night. Most fortunately for him, he had received holy Baptism two days before, after good and holy instruction. This propitiation was made by means of two presents, one of which served to wipe away the tears of the Onnontagheronnon, and to restore his speech, of which death had deprived him; the other was to clean away the blood that might have fallen from the dead body upon the Council Mat. The Onnontagheronnon replied with two other presents; one was to promise that the body should be buried, and the other to state that the Council would afterward be opened.

These people had called together all the States of the country, or rather all the allied Nations, to reconcile the Annieronnons with the Sonnontoueronnonns, who were on the point of going to war on account of the death of the Captain whom we have just mentioned; to treat of our establishment in the heart of the country; and to invite all those tribes to put something into the war-kettle,—that is, to consult together about the means of attacking and defeating their enemies, and of contributing toward the general expenses.

That great council was held on the 24th of the month of July, when all the Nations placed in the hands of Achiendase (who is our Father Superior) the settlement of the difficulty between the Sonnontoueronnonns and the Annieronnons, which was soon ended. They then, with manifestations of extraordinary good will, agreed that we should establish ourselves and reside in their country.

**JR, 43:179** [*\*Mohawks at war with Mahicans and Susquehannocks.*]

When, on the 26th [*\*of July*], the Annieronnons asked us for Letters to take to the Dutch, with whom they trade, we in truth praised their Elders, who seem inclined to peace; but we strongly blamed their young men for having



pillaged several houses in the neighborhood of Quebec. We told them that such bad conduct had entailed upon them a war with the tribe called Mahinganak, and with the Andastahoueronnonns; and that the same misfortune might happen to them with regard to the French.

**JR, 43:181** [*\*Onondaga want peace, but call Mohawks treacherous and beg French to fortify themselves.*]

On the 30th [\*of July], the eve of the feast of saint Ignatius, the chief men of Onnontaghé came to see us; they gave us some presents, to unite us so closely with them that we might be thereafter but one people, and to warn us not to place any confidence in the Annieronnon, because that Nation was deceitful and treacherous. They also begged us to fortify ourselves well, and to make our house large enough to receive and shelter them from their enemies in case of necessity.

**JR, 43:187** [*\*The Huron Nation of the Bear joins the Mohawks.*]

After the defeat of the Hurons on the Island of Orleans, which we related in the third Chapter, those who remained sued the Agnieronnon Iroquois for peace. It was granted to them last Autumn, on condition that, in the following Spring, they should all go up to Agnie (that is the name of the country of the lower Iroquois), in order that in future they might inhabit but one land, and be but one people with them. The Agreement was concluded, and, to ratify it, three Hurons bore it to the elders of the Iroquois country. They signed it in their fashion with fine presents, which they gave to all the Hurons through their Ambassadors; they promised to come and get them in their little gondolas, and sent word to warn them to be prepared for it without any further excuse or postponement. When the time specified had elapsed, a band of a hundred young and very resolute warriors started from their country to carry out that design. The main body halted three or four days' journey above Quebec, and thirty were detached to present themselves before the Hurons and summon them to keep their word. On the day following his arrival, the Captain of this band asked for an audience, at which he explained to the assembly of French and Hurons the object of his Embassy, and frankly stated that he had come for the Hurons. He harangued them in these terms: "My brother, it is to thee that my words are addressed. Four years ago, thou didst beg me to take thee by the arm, to raise thee and bring thee to my country; thou didst sometimes withdraw it when I wished to comply with thy request; that is why I struck thee on the head with my hatchet. Withdraw it no more; for I tell thee in earnest to get up. It is time for thee to come. Here, take this collar to assist thee to arise" (this was a present of porcelain beads that he gave him). "Fear not; I no longer look upon thee as an enemy, but as my relative; thou shalt be cherished in my country, which shall also be thine. And, that thou mayst not doubt it, take this other collar of porcelain beads as a pledge of my word."...

When the council was over, each withdrew to his own quarters to think over the answer that he should give. The Huron, doubtless, would have liked to retract his word; but it was no longer possible to do so,—the fault had been his, and he had to bear the consequences. It was no longer time to delay; he must go, or die by the hand of the Iroquois. The whole night was passed in consultation. Opinions were divided; the Nation of the Cord, one of the three who composed the Huron Colony, refused to leave Quebec and the French; the Nation of the Rock turned its thoughts toward Onontaghé; and the Nation of the Bear resolved to place itself in the hands of the Agnieronon. When this decision had been reached, and when the Captain of that Nation, called le Plat [“the Dish“], had informed his people of it in the morning, the Council once more assembled, and Father le Moyne opened it in the name of Monsieur the Governor...

When the Captain of the Nation of the Bear found that he was called upon to speak and to state the decision that he had made during the night with his Nation, he began his short harangue in a loud tone and a powerful voice. “My brother,” he said to the Agnieronon, “it is decided; I am at thy service. I cast myself, with my eyes shut, into thy Canoe, without knowing what I am doing. But, whatever may betide, I am resolved to die. Even if thou shouldst break my head as soon as we are out of range of the cannon here, it matters not; I am quite resolved. I do not wish my cousins of the two other Nations to embark this time with me, in order that they may first see how thou wilt behave toward me.”

**JR, 43:199** [*\*Conflict between Onondagas and Mohawks concerning where the remnant Hurons will settle—The Huron Nation of the Rock goes to Onondaga.*]

The Upper Iroquois, whom we call Onontageronnons, wished to have, as well as the lower Iroquois, a share in the remnant of the Hurons of Quebec. To carry out their ends, both took the same way, and made use of the same devices, employing force where address failed them. For three years the Onontageronon had urged the Huron to side with him, and to retire to his country, in order to form but one people with him. In the year 1655, he came down to Quebec for that purpose, and gave the Huron, in the presence of the French and the Savages, very fine presents, which were heartily accepted. The Huron promised to go and take up his residence forever in the village of Onontaghé, provided he could also bring the Black Gowns there. The Fathers did, in fact, go there. But the Huron, yielding to the presents and threats of the Agnieronnon, gave himself up to him, thereby breaking the promise which he had given to the Onontageronon. This stroke of cunning and of barbarian policy on the part of the Agnieronon, who had thus outbidden his neighbor, and the imprudence of the Huron in giving himself to two Masters, aroused jealousy in the mind of the Onontageronon, and made him resolve to prevent that which he thought he already possessed from being snatched from him; at the

same time, it inspired him with a desire for revenge upon the Huron, by whom he thought that he had been deceived. With this design, one hundred warriors set out from Onnontaghé, resolved to remove the Hurons from Quebec, either with their consent or by force. They made their appearance on our frontiers at the beginning of Spring. They prowled about in every direction to strike some evil blow; but, as all were on their guard, they could not accomplish their design. After enduring toil and fatigue for ten days, some of the band, pressed by hunger, entered the fort at Sillery, and asked to speak to Ondesonk—that is, to Father le Moyne—and to the Hurons, to hold a council with them on a matter of importance. The Father explained to them that the Hurons were at Quebec, that that was the place of Council, and that they must go there if they wished to transact any business; that, moreover, he would take them there in safety, promising them that they would be favorably received. They went there with that safe-conduct, without delaying till the following day. The Council met, at which they first excused themselves for having come for the Hurons, their brothers, with arms in their hands; the news which they had heard last Winter, that the Huron had retracted his word and had changed his mind, had compelled them to take these measures. But, having since learned from the mouth of Ondesonk that this rumor was false, they were quite prepared to lay down their arms, and to behave as brothers toward the Hurons. Ondesonk replied to the Onontageronon in the name of Onontio, and said to him: “Thou art to be praised, my brother, for appearing here unarmed and with a mind inclined toward peace; but thou shouldst have started from thy country with the same equipment and in the same disposition. Thou hast too readily believed the false reports made to thee against the Huron; that hasty belief has led thee to take up arms too soon. Thou shouldst first have sought information from the French who are with thee, and who, by means of the Letters that they receive, would have shown thee the falseness of the rumor that has spread in thy land. When I see thee stealthily pass by our settlements, with a hatchet in thy hand, without any Letter from our French, what else can I think but that, after ill-treating us in the upper country, thou comest to ill-treat us also down here? Hast thou forgotten the fine present that I made thee in thy own country three years ago, which said to thee that the Huron, the Algonquin, and the Frenchman were no longer more than one head, and that whosoever struck one, wounded the other?” When the Father had finished these reproaches, he gave him a fine collar of Porcelain beads, to make him receive them more peacefully, and to strengthen the promise which he had given to think no longer of war.

In fact, the Onnontageronnon took in good part the friendly words which had been said to him: and, relying upon the assurance which he had received that the Huron had not changed his mind, he said but two words to him with two presents. These he gave him at the meeting on the following day. “My brother,” he said to him, “since thou hast resolved to come with me, I need not invite thee any more. I tie this cord to thy Canoe, to help thee to haul it. I know

well that Onontio will not detain thee; here is a collar, to make him open his arms and let thee go." To this the Huron had nothing but thanks to return. "Thou consolest me, my brother, because thou hast pity on me, on our women, and on our children. Be not offended, however, if I do not embark to-day in thy Canoe. It is a war-Canoe, and it frightens me; the knife that thou hast left in it might wound my children, and our women would tremble at the sight of the hatchet that thou hast not yet removed. As thou hast come, and art about to return, with arms in hand, it would be said that thou art bringing prisoners, and not thy friends and brothers. But, as soon as some Canoe belonging to the French who are in thy country comes down here, I am at thy service, and thou mayst take me wherever thou wilt."

At this stage of the proceedings, an incident occurred which nearly ruptured the treaty. A young Onontageronon struck a Huron with his hatchet and killed him on the spot; the news of this murder alarmed the Hurons, and they detained in a cabin, as prisoners, two Onontageronnonns who had gone there to pay a visit. On the other hand, the Onontageronon did his best to prevent any bad feeling on this account; he disapproved of the murderer's deed, condemned him as insane, and made satisfaction. But, finally, seeing that the Huron, who would yield only to force, was seeking a quarrel with him, he seized two Canoes full of his people, who were on their return from hunting, and took them into his fort, where he detained them as prisoners. Matters would have become serious, had not Father le Moynes happily intervened and checked their course by his care and diligence. He managed so well in his interviews with both parties, that he restored everything to its former condition; he caused the prisoners to be surrendered on both sides and calmed the minds of all. Then the Onontageronnon repeated his demand. He urged the Huron to embark with him, while the Huron persisted in excusing himself, on the ground that it was not becoming for him to embark in a war-Canoe, and that he must wait for a peace-Canoe. "From that moment, I am at thy disposal," he said to him. "Here is an earnest of my word and my affection, in the presents that I give thee. And, if this be not sufficient to prove that I have given myself to thee, three of my people shall keep thee company and bear to the elders the assurance of my good will. We shall go to Montreal to await thee. When thou hast reached thy own country, send thy young men for us." The Onontageronon was satisfied with his promise; he embarked in his little gondola and paddled away, while the Hurons of the Tribe of the Rock, the one which had given itself to the Onontageronon, prepared themselves for their journey to Montreal, and bade adieu to Onontio, to the Fathers, and to the Savages who still remained at Quebec. Then, on the 16th of June, they embarked in three French Shallops, which, favored with a light wind from the Northeast, landed them in a few days at Montreal. There they awaited those who were to take them away.

*JR*, 43:209 [*\*Young Mohawks foment war.*]

The Mission of the lower Iroquois, which we call that of the Martyrs, is as yet but a flying Mission; we hope some day to see it stationary, me like the other Missions, Father Simon le Moyne began it in the year 1655, when he made his first journey thither; he recommenced it in the year 1656, and is preparing for it again this year. His superiors might truly have said to him each year when they sent him thither, what our Lord said to his Apostles when he sent them to preach his Gospel throughout the world,—namely, that they were sending him like a Lamb among Wolves; for a Jesuit, a Preacher, a Missionary among the Iroquois is a Lamb among ravenous Wolves. It is a marvel to see a Lamb among Wolves without being eaten by the Wolves; but it is a greater marvel to see Wolves changed into Lambs by Lambs. We have witnessed the first marvel in the person of Father le Moyne; I know not when we shall see the second. We trust that God, through his infinite mercy, will enable us to see it when he shall bring all the Iroquois into the fold of Jesus Christ. We go to their country once every year, to prepare the way for the Gospel, gently to dispose the hearts of those Barbarians to receive the seed of Christian doctrine, and to apply the blood of Jesus Christ by baptizing the children, the aged, and the dying. We go there in the interest of the public welfare, and for the preservation of the peace, which is so frail a matter among these peoples, that the mere omission to pay a visit which they expect from their allies is sufficient to break it. We go there to seek every means to make that peace general among all the Nations. Finally, we go there to prevent the jealousy which might arise between the upper and the lower Iroquois, if, while residing with the former, we failed to visit the latter.

In view of all those considerations, should we not expose ourselves to labors, to sufferings, and to dangers of death?

When Father Simon le Moyne made his first journey to Agnie in the year 1655, he promised to make another in the following year, if the opportunity presented itself. He had pledged his word, and it must be kept; for a man who is found to be a liar loses his credit and his authority among those peoples, as he does among the most honest in Europe. But, just as the Father was about to start, an incident happened which made it doubtful whether the journey could be undertaken. A band of Iroquois, who had come down to Quebec, attacked the Hurons. Another band prepared an ambush for the upper Algonquins when they were returning from Quebec to their own country, fired a volley at them, routed them, and killed with a gunshot one of the two Fathers who accompanied them that he might pass the winter with them and show them the way to Heaven. This misfortune placed us in a rather disagreeable perplexity; by not making the journey, we would irritate the arrogant minds of the Iroquois, who would suspect that the Frenchman intended to revenge the death of his brother, and would try to forestall him; on the other hand, to go there seemed to be seeking almost certain death. We preferred to undergo the danger rather than break our word; the Father undertook the journey, and arrived in the country

with presents in his hand, for one never speaks otherwise on matters of importance among these peoples. He assembled the Council, and spoke to the elders as follows: "My brother, I know not where thou hast placed thy mind; it seems that thou hast lost it completely. I come to see thee with presents in my hand, and thou always visitest me in anger, and with a face full of fury. Quite recently, thou hast killed the Huron at Quebec, and thou hast just broken with gunshots the head of my brother, the Black Gown. Thou didst promise that thou wouldst come for me, and thou hast not kept thy word. Thou shamest me everywhere, and I am reproached that I love a man who causes our death. Of what thinkest thou? Here is something to recall thy mind which has wandered away. Thou sayest that Onontio detains the Huron at Quebec, that he prevents him from coming to thee to form but one country. Thou complainest that the Huron will not speak to thee when thou goest to Quebec to negotiate with him. I come here to undeceive thee. Onontio has already opened his arms to let his children go where they wish; they are free; he detains them not by force. If the Huron will not speak to thee, it is through thine own fault. How can he speak to thee, when he sees thee always with a club in thy hand to break his head? Lay aside thy hatchet, and thou shalt see that his ears are open to listen to thee, and his heart to follow thee; and, that thou mayst not doubt it, here is a collar which he presents to thee through my hands."

One of the elders addressed the Father and said to him: "Be not angry, Ondesonk; I am thy brother. Our young men have no sense; they strike blindly and heedlessly. Take this plaster which I give thee" (this was a collar of porcelain beads); "place it on thy heart, and, as thy anger will pass away, thou shalt be cured. Assure the Huron of my good will; tell him that I have already spread out his Mat to receive him in my Cabin, and that I send him this collar to draw his Canoe hither." After this discourse, the young men, who had intended to go down to Quebec to make a last effort to carry off the Hurons, abandoned their warlike designs, and resolved to go hunting.

**JR, 43:263** [*\*Iroquois waging war past the Erie country.*]

The character of all these [*\*Iroquois*] Nations is warlike and cruel; and, as they have no neighbors to fight, because they have subjugated all of them, they go to seek new enemies in other countries. Not long ago, they went to carry war very far beyond the country of the Cats, to peoples who have as yet no knowledge of Europeans, by whom they are equally unknown.

**JR, 43:263** [*\*How the Iroquois wage war.*]

The chief virtue of these poor Pagans being cruelty, just as mildness is that of Christians, they teach it to their children from their very cradles, and accustom them to the most atrocious carnage and the most barbarous spectacles. Their first expeditions are undertaken merely for the purpose of shedding human blood and of signaling themselves by murders; and their infantile bands, armed with hatchets and guns which they can hardly carry, do not fail

to spread fear and horror everywhere. They go to war at a distance of two or three hundred leagues from their country, over inaccessible rocks and through vast forests, provided solely with hope, and leaving in their Villages, for whole years at a time, only their women and little children. But a few scalps that they bring back, or a few prisoners of war, destined to be butchered by them, are the trophies with which they consider their labors happily rewarded.

Nevertheless, these victories cause almost as much loss to them as to their enemies, and they have depopulated their own Villages to such an extent, that they now contain more Foreigners than natives of the country. Onnontaghe counts seven different nations, who have come to settle in it; and there are as many as eleven in Sonnontouan. Thus, their ruin, caused by their conquests, gives us the advantage of preaching the Faith to a number of various Nations, whom we could not visit and instruct each in its own country.

**JR, 43:293** [*\*Types of captives among the Iroquois.*]

The Iroquois have three classes of captives. The first are those who, having willingly submitted to the yoke of the conquerors and elected to remain among them, have become heads of families after the deaths of their Masters, or have married. Although they lead a tolerably easy life, they are looked upon as slaves, and have no voice, either active or passive, in the public Councils. The second class are those who have fallen into slavery after having been the richest and the most esteemed in their own villages, and who receive no other reward from their Masters, in exchange for their ceaseless labor and sweat, than food and shelter. But the fate of the third class is much more deplorable; it consists chiefly of young women or girls, who, because they have not yet found a husband among the Iroquois, are constantly exposed to the danger of losing their honors or their lives through the brutal lechery or cruelty of their Masters or Mistresses. Every moment is one of dread for them; their rest is never free from anxiety and danger; the only punishment for even their slightest faults is death; and their most harmless and most holy actions may be considered as faults. When a Barbarian has split the head of his slave with a hatchet, they say: "It is a dead dog; there is nothing to be done but to cast it upon the dunghill."

**JR, 44:29** [*\*Plots rumored in Oneida against the French.*]

We were preparing to start on the journey to Onneiout, when we received word that it was not safe to go there, and that plots were being laid to kill the French. The following was the foundation of this rumor. A warrior, but recently returned from Three Rivers where he had treacherously killed some Hurons, was reproached with that deed by his people. Some said that he might as well have killed the French, because the Frenchman and the Huron were so closely allied that they were but one and the same; thereupon, the Brave replied that, if that were all, he would soon find means to kill some, and that the French Ambassadors could not escape him.

**JR, 44:49** [*\*The Iroquois carry war to Algonquin-speakers beyond the Erie.*]

For our Iroquois have discovered, beyond the Cat Nation, other and numerous Nations who speak the Algonquin language. There are more than thirty villages whose inhabitants have never had any knowledge of Europeans; they still use only stone hatchets and knives, and the other things that these Savages used before they began to trade with the French. Since the Iroquois carry fire and War thither, why should not we carry to them the fire and the peace that Jesus Christ has brought into the world?

**JR, 44:63** [*\*Fr. le Mercier opines it is better to be opposed by Mohawks than all five nations of Iroquois.*]

[\*in a letter by Fr. François le Mercier, from Montreal, June 6th, 1656.] It is true that the stumbling-block which might hinder our design lies with the lower Iroquois, called Anniengehronnons with whom we do not go to dwell. They may presume that, if we unite ourselves so closely with the four Upper Nations, it will be to place ourselves in a position to fear them no longer. But, even if they should oppose our establishment, we far prefer to have them alone for enemies than the four Nations together; these would become irritated if we refused them our friendship, and—seeing themselves disappointed in their just expectations, and so manifestly deceived after such solemn promises, so frequently reiterated both here and in their country, to go and settle in their land—they would make us experience the baleful effects of that vexation. Thus, a refusal or delay would be followed by the total ruin of this new France, which, after being reduced to extremities by a single Nation, could not long withstand the efforts of the five together, if they conspired against her.

**JR, 44:69** [*\*Hurons attacked by Iroquois Captain, allegedly with French complicity.*]

[\*letter from Fr. Paul Ragueneau, on the road from Quebec to Onondaga, August 9th 1657.] Since our departure from Montreal on the 26th of July, in company with fifteen or sixteen Sonontoerronnons, thirty Onnontagheronnons, and about fifty Christian Hurons,—men, women, and children,—the road to Onontaghé has been sown with crosses...

The misfortune that befell our Hurons came from the very Onnontagheronnons to whom they had confided themselves, and who had promised them such inviolable fidelity in so many parleys for peace, in so many embassies from both sides, and by so many and such solemn presents.

On the third day of this month, between four and five o'clock in the evening, our canoes reached an Island where we were to stop. A Captain who was in the last canoe began the first Act of that Tragedy, by splitting from behind, with his hatchet, the head of a Huron woman, because she had persistently refused to consent to his lewdness after having been solicited to it for four days. When the news reached the spot where we were, the Onnontagheronnons stood to their arms, as if they intended to fight the



Sonnontouerronnons and avenge that murder. That lascivious Captain of the Onnontagheronnons ranged the Hurons—men, women, and children—amid his people, going from one side to the other as if to calm their minds. I also came and went,—now to one party, now to the other,—after warning our French not to interfere in the matter, but to remain quiet. That Captain and I had very different designs; I endeavored to allay the storm, while that wretch excited it, and maliciously disposed everything for it. But finally the lightning that had caused the thunder shot forth from the cloud in which it lay hidden, and fell on those poor innocent victims, who were massacred before the eyes of the women and children. Seven Christians were killed with hatchets and knives; the women and children were made captives, and were despoiled of all their goods, their beaver Robes, their Ornamented Moose-skins, their collars of Porcelain beads, and the presents that had been given them at Kebec. My eyes were compelled to gaze on this spectacle of horror, and my heart was pierced by it....When night came, I assembled the Onnontagheronnons and the Sonnontouerronnons in a public Council, to speak to them about what had happened. I told them openly that the blows that had fallen on the heads of the Hurons had rent my heart, and that I could not restrain my tears at so pitiful a sight; that a father and a mother could not see their children massacred and reduced to slavery without sharing their sufferings. I added that I wished them distinctly to know that I had the heart of a Father and the tenderness of a mother for those poor Christian Hurons, whom I had had under my charge for twenty years, who loved me, and for whom I retained a friendship that could be severed by death alone. “Yes,” I said to them, “kill me, burn me, and let them live, if by my death I can bring them back to life. But, since such wishes are vain, I have three words to carry to you:

“The first is, that you stay your fury and your hatchets, and that you do not continue to vent your cruelty on those who remain. Already too much innocent blood has been shed. God, who has witnessed it, will take vengeance for it if you irritate him any more.

“The second, that you treat kindly those poor captive women and children, and consider them not as a nation different from yours, but as being the same people with you.

“The third, that we continue our journey as if nothing had happened.” I used for this six thousand Porcelain beads. They replied that they would pay heed to what I said.

But that wretched and treacherous Captain had the effrontery to tell me publicly that Monsieur the Governor, Father Mercier, and Father Chaumonot had empowered them to perform that act of cruelty. I loudly replied to him that it was a falsehood, and that such treacheries were as far from our minds as heaven from earth. He had no answer to make except that I did not know all that he knew.

We were secretly informed that on that very night they would finish the last act of the tragedy on our own persons. Everything seemed to be prepared

for it, and we were ready; but God has so far been pleased to be content with our willingness. It will come when it pleases him; but we see on all sides tempests gathering and storms that seem as if they would burst only upon us, who are but too happy to spend our lives in the service of God and to die for his glory; for in life and death we belong altogether to him.

### **Journal of the Jesuit Fathers, in the year 1658.**

*JR, 44:85* [*\*The Mohawks want their countrymen released.*]

[\*January 31, 1658]. La rose arrived from Montreal with three agnieronons, who bore letters from Father le Moine, and came for their prisoners.

#### *February [\*1658]*

4. The 3 Iroquois ambassadors delivered their presents at the fort, in the presence of Monsieur the Governor, of the Fathers, and of the habitants. There were 7 for Onontio, and 2 for the savages. The object of all of them was only the surrender of the prisoners.

12. The same ambassadors were called together. Monsieur the governor sternly rebuked Them; he told Them to choose war or peace, in accordance with what father le Moine had told them in their own country, and had written to the sieur Governor; and he did not let them know whether he would send them back or not.

When the Agnieronons saw that there was no hope of returning, and that the Council of Algonquains and hurons was about to disperse, they gave a present of two collars to say, 1st: "I assure thee once more that I know not the murderer; that I learned at Montreal that it was the oiogeronon with The oiotchronon." 2nd: "If thou wilt permit two or three of us to go and inform our elders of the state of our affairs, thou shalt See in the spring Ondesonk and the murderer come to give thee satisfaction. I wipe away in advance the blood with which the ground is Covered."

Onontio's harangue was in these terms: "I think that thou considerest me a child. If I speak to thee, thou feignest to listen to me. Thou Imaginest that thou wilt kill me whenever thou likest, as thou dost with a captive. Thou treatest me as one treats a dog; when it is beaten with a stick, it howls and runs away; If it be given a piece of bread, it fawns upon those who have beaten it. Thou killest the frenchman; he cries out: 'I have been killed.' Thou Throwest a collar mockingly, and sayest: 'Be silent; we are friends.' Know that the frenchman never forgets thy continual treachery. He will take revenge for it; he will no longer suffer thee to despise him. There is but one word; make reparation, or name the murderer. I will say no more. Thou art not a man; thou never keepest thy word. I know very well that thy army is in the field. Thou thyself didst say so to the onontaerronon who is at montreal, and to thy brothers who are at 3 Rivers. And yet thou seekest to beguile me with a collar. The blood of my brothers cries out very loud. If I be not soon appeased, I will

give satisfaction to their souls. It is Ondesonk whom I wished to see; he does not appear. His writing that thou bearest is so old that I no longer recognize it. . . . Thou askest that the hatchets and kettles be restored to thy people; hast thou brought back the things that thou didst pillage in the french houses 2 years ago?" etc. "There is but one word: make war or Peace, and be no longer treacherous. The frenchman fears nothing when he is resolved on war.

"Thou askest the Algonquain and the huron what each has in his heart, Thy brother the Onontaeronon betrayed the huron, who had given himself to him; and, as to thee, thou didst and dost now come to break the head of the Algonquain. Both one and the other suffer me to save thy life; it is because they obey me. The collar that thou gavest them in making that request would have been used by them to strangle thee, did they not respect me."

15. The same Agneerronons, when ready to depart, received 3 presents from Onontio. 1st: "I speak to thee for the last time. Thy treachery and perfidy deserve that I should drive thee away, and trample on thy gifts. Go and tell thy Elders that thy people are coming, and that the purpose of the irons which thou sawest on their feet is to give them sense, and not to make them die; for I do as much to my true brothers, the Algonquains and hurons, When they are sometimes foolish."

2nd: "Tell thy elders that I wish to know the Montreal murderers. Let them open their eyes and their ears, and look toward Montreal; everything there is still covered with blood, which cries out for full satisfaction against those who have disturbed the whole earth."

3rd: "I wish to see Ondessonk himself, in person; his brothers wish to see him," etc. They replied that he would come as soon as canoes could be made.

**JR, 44:95** [*\*The Onondaga mission is disbanded.*]

[\*April 23, 1658]. The mission of onontage was broken up. All our fathers, brethren, and frenchmen who were there arrived at quebec, about 5 o'clock in the evening.

**JR, 44:95** [*\*The governor releases Mohawk prisoners.*]

[\*May 20, 1658]. We received news at quebec by the algonquin warriors that Father simon le moine had arrived at three Rivers with 3 Agnieronons, one of whom was an elder. Those warriors brought the scalp of an agnieronon, whom they had killed.

21. About noon, father le Moine came with three agnieronons, who brought him back, and 6 hurons of montreal; these had left the army of 200 who were to go to tadoussac.

22. Father Le Moyne brings back the voice of the Agneerronons, who, on the 19th of April, in the presence of the most notable among the dutch of man-atte, gave him 7 Presents. 1st: "I wipe away the sweat from thy brow, and the mud from thy shoes."

2nd: "I give thee 3 of my people, one of each nation, to take thee back.

My brother will take my place as thou takest that of onontio, who comes not to see us.”

3rd: “Thou seekest a quarrel; and say not that it is I. I brought Marguery back to thee, and Thou didst tell the onontagherronon to kill me.”

4th: “I have nothing crooked in my thoughts. I wish to be thy Brother. We who are men of wisdom say to thee, ‘Take heed of what thou hast done.’”

5th: “That the Algonquins, on whose account our nephews are being detained, may let them go.”

6th: “Thou shalt not put me in irons. If on another occasion thou be killed, how can I help it?”

7th: “Do like the dutchman, who interferes not in the wars of the Wolves,” etc.

8th: “Ye dutch, be witnesses that I tell the Frenchman that he commences the 1st.”

Onontio replies,—

1st: “To grease the feet of the conductors of Father ondesonk”—3 coats.

2nd: “I unbind thy nephews.”

3rd: “I dispel the fear of the elders, who are afraid to come to us.”

4th: “The Algonquins and hurons obey us perfectly. It is I who was killed at montreal, it is I who put thy nephews in irons, and it was neither the huron nor the Algonquain.”

5th: “Thou art the 1st to irritate me; never have I commenced war. When with one hand thou givest me back the late Marguery and Normanville, with the other thou didst kill my brother, the Algonquain.”

6th: “I remove the brushwood from the road that the elders will take.”

7th: “Those of thy nephews who shall remain here will keep up the fire that thou didst formerly kindle here for thyself.”

8th: “I speak not; thy voice is still lost with thy presents. When the elders shall come here, I will speak.”

After the council, one of the 3 Ambassadors divided a collar in two. With one half he said: “It is the oneioutchronon who has killed thee; he is thoughtless, and sometimes does the same to me, who am his Father.” With the other, he gave thanks that his nephews had been unfettered.

25. The Iroquois returned to their country.

**JR, 44:101** [*\*The Hurons make war on the Iroquois—three Frenchmen are captured.*]

[\*June 1658] 15. 23 hurons set out for war against The iroquois in three Canoes, in the iroquois fashion.

17. The montreal boat arrived at quebec, and brought news that last Thursday, the 13th of the above month, three frenchmen were captured by a Canoe carrying 6 Iroquois, at 5 o’clock in the morning, at the first river. Their names are: Adrien Joliet, fouquet, and Christophle.

**JR, 44:101** [*\*Raids on allies near Montreal.*]

[\*July 13, 1658]. A Montagnais woman was killed by the Iroquois in Monsieur de repentigni's field; two other Algonquin women were wounded, and 2 little girls escaped.

On the same Day we learned by letters from Montreal, brought by some hurons, that the Iroquois had been Valiantly repulsed there.

**JR, 44:103** [*\*Governor gives arms to his allies.*]

[\*August 2, 1658]. Monsieur the governor gave a feast of 7 Kettles to all the savages.

3. He replied to their presents by three presents to the Algonquins and 3 to the hurons, which had the same meaning for both. 1st: "I wipe away the tears that you shed because your people have been killed,"—12 livres' weight of powder and 30 of lead to the algonquins; and to the Hurons 12 Swords. 2nd: "I give you a beverage to restore your voice when you have to exhort the Young men to battle,"—12 Swords; and, to the hurons 200 iron arrow-heads. 3rd: "I exhort you to believe, and to do what you are taught; above all, to avoid polygamy and drunkenness, which I will not tolerate,"— 2 guns; and, to the Hurons, 12 hatchets.

**JR, 44:105** [*\*Two are captured by Iroquois.*]

[\*August 21, 1658]. At night, the Iroquois made their appearance at cap rouge; they captured Jean hayot who succeeded, by cunning, in escaping from their hands.

30. A huron, who was going for wood, was captured by 4 Iroquois in the fir grove on this side of our mill.

**JR, 44:107** [*\*Councils with the Mohawks and Onondagas.*]

[\*September 4, 1658]. A shallop from three Rivers brought to quebec 7 agnieronons, who had been caught by stratagem by the french at three Rivers. 7. Atogwatkwann, called La Grande cueilliere ["The Large spoon"], chief of the 7 Annieyer'onons captured at 3 Rivers, gave, in the presence of Onnontio, the hurons, and the Algonquins, these gifts,—

1st: "I come to lay my head at the feet of Onnontio, in full confidence that what Achiendase said on his behalf to all our Iroquois nations is true—namely, that false rumors could never alter the thoughts of peace between Him and us."

2nd: "This is to dispel The distrust that we might feel toward each other."

3rd: "I Come to see if our people whom You have put in irons are still Alive."

4th: "I clear the minds of the hurons, that in future they may not circulate false rumors, either on one side or on the other."

Onnontio Replies,—

1st: "Although I have so often invited thy Elders to the council, still they do not appear; but, in place of them, thou comest to break our heads. What else

shouldst thou deserve but fire, were we as cruel and as Vindictive as thou? On the contrary, we grant life to thee and to thy people, and we Wish that two of your band should go and give information of it in your country, and tell the Elders that the others live—those who were last as well as those who were first captured; and that The french, the hurons, and the algonquins, who are inseparable, have so decided.”

2nd: “Thou hast promised to snatch the hatchet from the hands of all the Iroquois nations. Then do so at once; for we french, Algonquins, and hurons desire peace, either with all or with none. And, to show that thou hast done so, bring us back the Captives of all the nations, namely, french, Algonquins, and hurons.”

3rd: “The place of the council shall be at 3 Rivers, whither The Ambassadors shall come with heads erect to deliver the usual harangues, and no one shall come secretly and through The brushwood; otherwise, if he be caught, he shall be condemned to the fire.”

16. At 6 o'clock in the morning, the boat from Montreal arrived, bringing us Father le Moine and Monsieur Suart, with abundant News, both good and bad. Garaconké, chief of the Onontageronons, had Come to Montreal with presents, etc.; two frenchmen, taken prisoners at 3 Rivers, had been brought back; 11 Onontageronons had been taken prisoners at Montreal; 2 Onontageronons had been killed; the huron called “le Roy de Suede” had escaped; 9 Canoes of Outawak, loaded with furs, had arrived at Montreal, etc. *Vide infra* A....

25. At 9 o'clock in the evening, The shallop arrived from three Rivers, bringing Five Oneioutcheronon Iroquois who had, by stratagem, been taken prisoners by the french, a short distance above 3 Rivers. Three others were killed in the fight, and a sixth was allowed to go; he was sent on an embassy to his own country, with presents, to tell what was happening.

A. Here are the presents that our guest Harakontie hung up for us on the pole at Montreal, in bringing back to us two of our Frenchmen, Jolyet and Chretofle, who had been captured at Three rivers by those of onneiout.

“After having wiped away thy tears, opened thy throat, and washed away the blood,”—

1st: “I come to clean the places where blood has been spilled.”

2nd: “I give thee a beverage to calm thy heart.”

3rd: “I wipe away the shame that those of Onneiout have cast upon my face.”

4th: “I do the same once more.”

5th: “I bury the three companions of Achiendase, who were drowned with him while they were going down to Kebeq.”

6th: “I throw Sand on all the graves where Blood has been spilled.”

7th: “I desire that thou shouldst say a kind word to me.”

8th: “I replant at Montreal the tree already planted for the transaction of affairs.”

9th: “The Sun has become eclipsed there; I reattach it.”

10th: "I rekindle thy council fire."

11th: "I spread the mat for those who will there speak of affairs."

12th: "I clear out the whole river, removing the rocks that are in it."

13th: "I beg thee to receive my nephews here as hunters."

14th: "A tie that shall bind you tightly with our 4 Nations."

15th: "Return to my country, and teach me to pray to God, as thou didst."

16th: "I assure thee that thy house at Gannentaa is still standing."

17th: "The Agnieronnons have already assured thee that they have rebuked those of onneiout."

18th: "I break the fetters of my Nephew Atiohonchiot, who has been thy guest for 9 months."

19th: "I assure thee that I complained at Agnienge of the murder committed here."

20th: "I regret that my name has served those from Onneiout to capture three frenchmen at Three rivers."

21st: "Think not that I feel any resentment for the death of two of my nephews, whom thou hast just killed."

22nd: "I place stones on their grave, so that no more may be said about it."

23rd: "Let me pass, when I shall come to kill the Algonquin."

24th: "Let us seek an expedient, that I may kill the Algonquin."

25th: "I bring thee back thy two Nephews, as I have already done formerly."

26th: "I inform thee that two hundred of my nephews are going to war against the nation of Fire."

Father le moyne gave him three presents, on the evening of the same day, in the name of the black Gowns. *Secretò*.

1st: "We did not leave thy country *inimico animo*; we could have ravaged thy village.

2nd: "What decided us to do so was, that the murder at Montreal remained unpunished, and that bands of warriors started every day for Kebeq, of which the French believed us to be the cause.

3rd: "The black gowns are ready to return to thy country when matters shall be thoroughly settled on all sides."

**JR, 44:117** [*\*Presents are traded with the Iroquois at Quebec.*]

On the 28th of September [\*1658], Father Chaumonot gave presents at Montreal, by order of Monsieur The Governor, to 2 Onnontageronnons, who were sent back to their own country. One was named A,enhia; and The other, Otchiondi, was a huron adopted by Jean Baptiste Achioñagras.

1st : To weep for The two huron Captives of Onnontage killed by The french When they Tried to detain them as prisoners, saying that, if they had been willing to wait for Gara'kontie, they would not have been ill-treated.

2nd: To unite his voice to that of Gannonchiase, in order to thank

Gara'kontie for having brought back his nephews, and for having given such fine presents.

3rd: To inform the Elders of Onnontage that, if they wish to get The Fathers back again (as they say they do), they must bring us little girls to be placed with The Ursuline Mothers.

4th: That The Place of the council will be at 3 Rivers.

A fifth present was given to Sokenda'ti, a huron Captive of Onneiout; he was sent back to that country, to tell the Elders that Gandouta're, Te gannon-chiogen, Agonnon'rentonnion, Agannen'raiesa, and Garhagonha, who were captured at 3 Rivers, are alive.

[\*October.] 20. Three Agnieronons, who were going to war at Tadousac, broke their canoes below Cousture's house, and were compelled to take refuge there. Word was sent to Monsieur the governor, who had them brought to The fort at night. They were put with the other prisoners.

28. In the evening, there appeared before the bastion at cap rouge 7 Iroquois, who asked nopee for peace, and for news of their people who were prisoners in Kebec. They told him that they could have killed him had they wished to do so. They took 4 or 5 minots of peas in Monsieur Gautier's Barn, and then returned in their canoes to their people on the other side....

29. Monsieur the governor went to Sillery, to fort st. Xavier, and to cap rouge, accompanied by 25 frenchmen and two fathers, to see if anything could be discovered.

### *November*

8. We learned from Montreal, by a canoe that arrived at Quebec from there, that the eleven prisoners of onontage had all escaped from their prison through the window, after breaking two iron bars, on the 19th of October, 1658.

10. We learned from three Rivers, by a canoe that arrived at quebec at 7 o'clock in the morning, that, on the 5th of this month, twelve Agnieronon Iroquois had taken prisoners 4 frenchmen, who were making hay on the other side of the River opposite three Rivers; also, four other frenchmen toward lake St. pierre, who were on their return from hunting. The same Iroquois sent one of the 8 prisoners back to three Rivers to inform the Captain of their capture; and to tell them that they were taking the others to Agnie, to bring them back only in the spring, with the elders of the country, to treat for peace....

20. Six Agnieronon ambassadors arrived at quebec with Father le Moine, who was at 3 Rivers; and with them A Dutchman from New Holland, to assure them that the french would do them no harm. Their object is to obtain the release of their people who are prisoners, and to make peace (so they say) with all Alguonquins And hurons. They brought back our 7 frenchmen, who have been taken prisoners within the past 15 Days, and left them as they passed by three Rivers.""

In the first place, they were taken to the fort, where Onnontio gave them



2 small presents, each of a great brasse of porcelain beads, The first was to open their eyes, and The second to clear their throats.

They replied at once with 3 small presents, each of a brasse. The first, to wash away blood; The second, to wipe away Tears; The 3rd, to clear the throat.

They asked to speak on the following day; they were told in answer that we wished to let them rest on The Morrow; but that, on The Day after, we would listen to Them. To this they agreed.

Presents of the Iroquois, Te Garihogen and others,—

22. 1st: “Onnontio, thou hast sent word to us that thou wishest to speak to us. We have listened to thy voice; all our 3 nations—namely, of the Bears, of the Wolves, and of the turtle—have sent us. It is on their behalf that I speak.”

2nd: “I know not what it is to chain men. I beg thee, Onnontio, to cast away thy irons and thy fetters.”

3rd: “I have brought back thy 7 Nephews, who were being taken to my country.”

4th: “I replace the sun, to enlighten the depths of our thoughts.”

5th: “I thank thee that thou makest me see my nephews again.”

6th: “I am a woman, and carry the hurons and Algonquins upon my braid of hair.”

7th: “We are 7 allied nations,—The sonnontwerronnon, The oiogwen, The onnontageronnon, The frenchman of Gannentaà, The onneiout, The Anniege, The Mahingan, and the dutchman. Withdraw not from our alliance.”

8th: “All our allies have deputed me to come and get thy opinion.”

9th: “Again I put The river in order; we and our children will hereafter be able to navigate it in peace.”

10th: “Otsindiakhon, namely, the Captain of new holland, is my companion in this embassy.”

11th: “Onnontio and myself, during the 5 years in which we have had peace, have held each other by the arm.”

12th: “Usually troubles arise among The allies of various nations.

“The onneiout, my child, has been the cause of the difficulties that we have had to settle; but he has given up The 3 frenchmen whom he had taken at 3 Rivers.

“In the spring, you will see again him whom they had placed into Our hands that we might bring him back to you; he is in new holland.”

13th: “As to the 5 Onneiouts whom You keep in irons, I do not tell you to give them up to me; I only beg You to unchain them.”

14th: “I leave You to seek The means of establishing a firm peace.”

15th: “I appoint my country of Anniege as the place of the council, at which I shall gather all our nations. I beg thee, Onnontio, to speak well, so that I may not be ashamed to carry back thy Voice.”

16th: “I request thee to give us some canoes in which we may return, and some guns with which we may kill animals for food on the way.”

Onnontio’s thanks for those 16 presents.

25. 1st: He gave 6 coats and a piece of stuff 2 ells in length to the Ambassadors.

2nd: With a handsome collar, he thanked them for the first 4 presents, especially because they had brought back our 7 frenchmen.

3rd: With another collar he gave thanks for The 4 other presents, especially for that which said that they still looked upon us as their allies.

4th: He gave thanks for the next 4 presents with a collar, dwelling on the fact that he had taken The dutchman as his Advocate with us.

5th: He gave thanks for the 4 last presents with another collar, explaining to Them how The Onneiouts had been too hasty in coming down here before there was news of The coming of Gara'kontie, who had brought back The 2 frenchmen to Montreal. (This is incorrect.)

Onnontio's presents to be carried into the country of the Iroquois.

1st: "Onnontio speaks in the name of the french, the hurons, and the Algonquins. He has come from france to procure peace throughout all these countries, so that the Preachers of The gospel may have free access to them."

2nd: "Since You leave to me The means of securing peace, here is one that I find. Father ondesonk will go to your country to negotiate peace with all Your nations."

3rd: "The Algonquin will go next spring on an embassy to Your country. At present, he has nothing to give to the Ambassadors whom he would send."

4th: "I am sorry that your young men are not more obedient. I would give You back all Your nephews; but the little faithfulness that they show compels me to keep 4 of your people here, to assure The Life of the Father who goes with You."

5th: "I do not wish peace for two or three years only, I desire an eternal peace; and the way to make it eternal is to unite our country with yours. Come, therefore, and dwell among us, and we will dwell with you; and, at least, bring us girls when you come to get Your Nephews."

6th: "I wipe away The blood shed at 3 Rivers and at Montreal." An Arquebus.

7th: "I remove The irons from the Onneiouts, and send back one of them with You, that Garontagwann may know that I am a better Father than he is a child."

8th: "I turn away the muzzles of Your firearms from the bodies of men, and turn them toward animals." An Arquebus.

9th: "Take care of Father ondesonk." Some lead and powder.

10th: "All The nations shall be gathered together, to hear my Voice from the mouth of Ondesonk." After these presents, Te Garihogen gave the 2 following,—

1st: "I cast into the depths of the earth all mutual reproaches," etc. "Let us speak no more of them."

2nd: "I beg Onnontio to take care of the 4 hostages whom he detains."

26. A portion of the Agnieronons, and the released prisoners, started for their own country.

**Relation of what occurred most remarkable in the missions of the fathers of the Society of Jesus in New France, in the years 1657 and 1658.**

*JR, 44:149* [*\*The French decide to leave Onondaga.*]

True though it be that the Iroquois are subtle, adroit, and arrant knaves, yet I cannot persuade myself that they possess so much intelligence and address, and are such great politicians, as to employ, for the sake of destroying the French, Hurons, Algonquins, and their Allies, the, subterfuges and intrigues imputed to them.

For several years they solicited with incredible urgency, with marks of very special affection,—and even with threats of rupture and war if their friendship were slighted, and their request rejected,—they urged, I say, and begged that, as a sign of peace and alliance with them, a goodly number of Frenchmen should go up to their country—some to instruct them, and others to protect them against their enemies.

As the Agneronnons were bent on thwarting this design, the two sides fought with each other until the ground was stained with blood and murder. Some believe that all this was a mere feint to mask their game the better; but, it seems to me, the game is hardly a pleasant one in which bloodshed and human lives are involved, and I greatly doubt whether Iroquois policy can go so far, and whether Barbarians, who have little dependence on one another, can so long conceal their intrigues.

I rather believe that the Onnontagueronnon Iroquois were sincere in asking for Frenchmen, but their views in doing so were widely different. The Elders, finding themselves involved in great wars against many Nations whom they had provoked, asked for some Hurons, as for men who could swell their forces; while they desired some of the French for the sake of obtaining firearms from them, and having them mend such as should be broken. Furthermore, as the Agneronnons sometimes treated them rather roughly when they passed through their Villages to go and trade with the Dutch, they wished to free themselves from this dependence by opening commerce with the French. And that is not all. As they were constantly at war, they asked our Frenchmen to build a large Fort in their country, to serve as a retreat for themselves, or at least for their wives and children, in case their enemies should press them too hard. Such were the views of the Iroquois politicians. The common people did not penetrate so far; curiosity to see strangers from such a distance, and the hope of realizing some little personal gain from them, inspired a desire for their coming. But the Christian Hurons captive among these people, and those who approved their lives and the discourses which they sometimes held on our faith, longed for nothing in the world so much as for the coming of the Preachers of the Gospel, who had caused them to be born again in Jesus Christ.

But—as soon as the Captains and Elders saw themselves masters of their

enemies, having subdued all the Nations whom they had attacked; as soon as they believed that nothing could further withstand their arms—the remembrance of the wrongs which they claimed to have suffered from the Hurons in times past, and the glory of triumphing over Europeans as well as Americans, made them resolve to wreak vengeance on the latter, and to destroy the former. Consequently, as soon as they saw the Cat nation, of whom they stood in fear, subdued by their arms and by the forces of the Sonnotoueronns, their Allies, they would have laid violent hands on all the French at Onnontague, had they not intended to use them as a bait to attract some of the Hurons, whom they purposed to murder, as they have done. And if, at that time, regard for some of their own number who had remained at Kebec had not stayed their hands, the road from Onnontagué would have served as a tomb for the French as well as for the Hurons, as will be shown hereafter. From that time our People, having discovered their conspiracy and recognized that their own death was resolved upon, took thought about making their retreat, as will be related in the following letter.

*Letter from Father Paul Ragueneau to Reverend Father Jacques Renault,  
Provincial of the Society of Jesus in the Province of New France*

[\*Quebec, August 21, 1658] This is to inform Your Reverence that we have returned from the Iroquois Mission laden with some spoils wrested from the powers of Hell....

The Devil, enraged at seeing us reap so fair a harvest, and enjoy so fully the fruits of our undertaking, made use of the Iroquois' fickleness to expel us from the heart of his Estates. For those Barbarians, without other cause than their own restless humor, resumed war against the French. They also inflicted the first blow on our good Huron Christians who, toward the end of last Summer, were going with us up to Onnontagué, and who, by the most flagrant treachery imaginable, were cruelly murdered in our very arms and bosom. Their poor wives were then made prisoners; and some were even burnt at slow fires, together with their children three and four years of age.

This bloody execution was followed by the murder of three Frenchmen at Montreal, by the Onneiotchronns, who took their scalps and bore them in triumph into their villages, in sign of a declaration of war.

This stroke of barbarous cruelty compelled Monsieur Dailleboust, then in command over this country, to order to be arrested and put in irons, at Montreal, three Rivers, and Quebec, a dozen Iroquois—partly Onnontague-ronns, but mostly Agnieronns—who chanced to be in those places at the time. Both of these Iroquois nations became irritated at this detention of their men, claiming that it was unjust; and, in order to take cruel vengeance, they convoked a secret council, in which they formed a plan of implacable warfare against the French. Nevertheless, they deemed it expedient to dissimulate for some time, until, by sending back Father Simon le Moyne, who was then at

Agniegué, they should have gained the release of their own Men, who were in irons. They counted on venting immediately after this, the chief force of their fury upon us Frenchmen who were at Onnontagué, to the number of fifty or sixty,—imprisoned, as it were, in the very heart of their country, whence they believed it impossible for us to escape.

They even held the view, at this Council, that in our persons they would hold precious hostages, whether for recovering by exchange those of their own Number who were in our prisons, or for obtaining anything that they might desire when, in plain view of our French settlements, they should make us feel the effects of their cruelty. Undoubtedly, sights like these and so fraught with horror, together with the doleful cries of forty or fifty innocent Frenchmen, would have touched with compassion and placed in a difficult position the Governor and the inhabitants of any place whatever. We knew only in secret these wretched schemes of the Iroquois, but saw openly their minds prepared for war. As early as the month of February, various companies took the field for this purpose—200 Agnieronnons on one hand, and 40 Onneiotchronnons on another, while some troops from Onnontagué had already started out in advance, pending the muster of the main army.

Humanly speaking, we could not hope to extricate, from the dangers surrounding us on every side, some fifty Frenchmen had entrusted their lives to us, and for whom we felt responsible before God and men. What caused us still greater anxiety was not so much the fires into which a part of our Frenchmen were to be thrown, as the miserable captivity for which a number of them were destined by the Iroquois, and in which the loss of their souls was more to be lamented than that of their bodies: and this was cause for greater apprehension to the majority, who, regarding themselves as prisoners already, preferred a hatchet-stroke, or even death by fire to such a bondage. They were even determined, in order to avoid that final misfortune, to exhaust every effort and to flee to the woods, each man for himself—either to perish there from hunger and destitution, or to attempt to reach one of the French settlements.

In the midst of these rash plans, our Fathers, myself, and a gentleman named Monsieur du Puys, who commanded all our Frenchmen as well as a garrison of ten Soldiers (nine of whom had already, of their own motion, determined to forsake us), deemed it more advisable to retreat in company, in order either to encourage one another to die, or even to sell our lives more dearly.

To this end, we needed to take our departure without conveying any suspicion of our movements; for the slightest suspicion entertained by the Iroquois of our retreat would have precipitated the disaster we wished to avoid. But how hope to effect our withdrawal undiscovered, situated as we were in the heart of the country and constantly beset by many of its barbarians, who, in order to watch our bearing at this juncture, were always quartered near our house? It is true, they did not think that we would ever have the courage to undertake this move, well knowing that we had neither canoes nor

boatmen, and that we were unfamiliar with the route, which was bordered with precipitous bluffs, where a dozen Iroquois could have easily defeated us. Moreover, the season was unendurable, in the frigid temperature of the icy water, through which, nevertheless, the canoes must be dragged, ourselves immersed sometimes up to the neck, and remaining so for whole hours; and we had never undertaken such expeditions without Savages to guide us.

Despite these obstacles,—which, to them as well as to us, appeared insurmountable—God, who holds every moment of our lives in his hands, inspired us so happily with all that we needed to do that, leaving our house of sainte Marie, near Onnontagué, toward eleven o'clock on the night of March 20th, we were guided by his divine Providence, as by a constant miracle, amid all imaginable dangers, and arrived at Quebec on the 23rd of the month of April. We had stopped at Montreal and at three Rivers before the launching of a single canoe had been possible there, the river being closed to navigation until the very day of our appearance.

All the French settlements regarded us as persons come from the other world; and could not sufficiently marvel at the goodness of God who had, on the one hand, miraculously delivered us from evident peril, and, on the other, freed from uneasiness all the French of Montreal, three Rivers, and Quebec. The latter were feeling almost obliged to bear, at the hands of the Iroquois, things that were unbearable, and had to restrain themselves from checking their excesses of insolence, for fear lest retaliation should fall upon us who were a prey to, and at the mercy of, the common enemy.

And, indeed, we reached our journey's end be-times; for we learned at Montreal that two hundred Agnieronnons, who had come with hostile intent, were near there; and even on the way we had perceived traces of them, and seen the fires of several scattered bands,—who would have given us a rough reception, had we not hastened our progress.

Some other hostile parties also appeared at three Rivers, taking prisoners three young men who had just left the place to go to their work; nor could any attempt at rescuing them be made, though the Iroquois dragged them off in plain sight of all the people of the village.

At Quebec, the same enemy made his appearance in the neighboring fields, killing people almost at our very doors. He pounced upon poor Algonquin women, taking them by surprise in broad noonday, killing some of them on the spot, and leading the rest away captive,—who, however, were afterward recovered. Our Frenchmen, the Hurons, and the Algonquins pursued the enemy, and intercepted him; but the murderers made their escape, disappearing as soon as they had shown themselves and had perceived their inferior strength. They are foxes in their methods of approach, they attack like lions, and, in retreating, they disappear like birds.

We felt under still greater obligations to thank God for such signal protection when, upon our arrival at Quebec, we learned from different sources—both from certain Hurons who had come from Anniegué, where they had been

in captivity, and from others arrived from Onnontagué—that the design of the Onnontaguéronnons had been to massacre all our Frenchmen immediately upon their arrival at Onnontague, in the year 1656; but that its execution had been deferred until the following year, when the Hurons should have been drawn thither by our means; and that upon them they were to exercise the same cruelty. Consequently, all the kind reception accorded our Fathers and our Frenchmen, from the time they reached Onnontague, had been merely a result of this perfidious scheme, and a trick of the Iroquois Elders and Captains. They were secretly conducting their treachery in the hope that, if we were satisfied with their course of action, the Hurons remaining at Quebec would believe that there was nothing for them to fear at Onnontagué; and then, going up thither in this belief, their wives and children would be made prisoners and they themselves murdered. On the third day of August of last year, 1657, this design was cruelly executed upon our good Huron Christians, who were going up with us to Onnontague.

That we were not at that time included in this cruel slaughter was owing to a Divine providence, by which fifty Onnontaguéronnons had gone down to Quebec in quest of the remaining Hurons—what through a presentiment of the disaster that befell us, had been unwilling to go up with us. These fifty Onnontaguéronnons saved our lives without intending to do so, inasmuch as their fellow-countrymen decided to await their return before exercising upon us that final act of hostility. This same Providence which lovingly watched over us did not suffer those fifty Onnontaguéronnons to return to their own country before the news arrived there of the arrest and imprisonment, last year, 1657, of certain Iroquois at Montreal, three Rivers, and Quebec. This intelligence interrupted all their evil designs against us. In the meantime, God had made us acquainted with their intentions, and had given us the courage, the strength, and the means to make a successful escape from the bondage to which we were subjected in the midst of this barbarous and hostile people.

**JR, 44:173** [*\*French abandon their settlement at Onondaga.*]

The fate of all our Fathers and all our Brethren at Onnontagué would have been sealed, had they found themselves similarly situated; but, seeing that their death would be of no service to a poor captive Church which they were forsaking, and that their bondage would not afford it any relief, inasmuch as these barbarians were sure to bind them with cords and take them to Kebec in order to obtain in exchange their own countrymen whom our French were holding in irons,—seeing, I say, that their death and captivity would work more harm than profit to the French Colony, they determined to make their escape, and to exert themselves to save the Frenchmen, who were on the point of throwing their lives away by dividing and separating from one another.

The resolution taken, it was necessary to find the means to execute it. It is easier to give precepts than to follow them. Our Frenchmen found no difficulty in resolving to save their lives and escape death; but the ice, the winds—

the impossibility, in short, of starting—delayed them until the eve of the day fixed upon for their massacre. Not one of them doubted the necessity of retreat, and that at the earliest moment. Let us see now how they set about it: the following Letter will inform us.

*Letter from Father Paul Ragueneau to the Father Procurator for the Missions  
of the Society of Jesus in New France*

Your Reverence will be glad to learn the particulars of our departure from sainte Marie among the Iroquois, in order to join your thanksgivings to those which we owe to the divine Goodness for bringing us out, in a truly marvelous manner, from a place whither his love had not conducted us without miracles. We nearly perished on our way up; death awaited us upon our arrival; our departure was always considered impossible; and yet *ecce vivimus*,—we are alive, and have had the good fortune to place in possession of eternal life many of those who were preparing to drink our blood, and to cast our living bodies into their fires.

The resolution being formed to abandon those regions where God, by our means, had gathered the little number of his elect, the difficulties of its execution, for which we were lacking in all things, appeared insurmountable.

To supply the want of canoes, we had secretly constructed two boats of a new and excellent model for shooting the rapids. These boats drew but very little water, and carried a heavy load,—fourteen or fifteen men, and fifteen or sixteen hundred livres in weight. We had also four canoes of the Algonquin pattern, and four of the Iroquois, which were to complete our little fleet for fifty-three Frenchmen.

But the difficulty was to embark unperceived by the Iroquois, who constantly beset us. The conveyance of the boats, canoes, and all the equipment, could not be accomplished without much noise; and yet, without secrecy, there was nothing to hope for but a general massacre of our whole company, at the moment when it should be perceived that we had the least thought of taking our departure.

Therefore, we invited all the Savages in our neighborhood to a grand feast, where we exerted our utmost skill and spared neither the drums nor the musical instruments, in order to lull them to sleep by an innocent charm.

He who presided at the ceremony played his part with such skill and success that each one was bent on contributing to the public joy. They vied with one another in uttering piercing yells, now of war, now of glee; while, out of complaisance, the Savages sang and danced in the French manner, and the French in that of the Savages. To encourage them more and more in this fine game, presents were distributed to those who best played their parts, and who made the most noise for drowning that made outside by two-score of our men in transporting all our outfit. When the lading of the boats was entirely completed, the feast came to an end at the appointed time; the guests withdrew, and, sleep having soon overcome them, we left our house by a rear door and



embarked with little noise, without saying Farewell to our Savages. They were playing a shrewd part, and thought to beguile us with fair appearances and attestations of good will until the time fixed upon for our slaughter.

Our little Lake, over which we paddled silently in the darkness of the night, froze as we advanced, and we feared that we should be stopped in the ice after escaping the fires of the Iroquois. From this disaster, however, God delivered us; and, after proceeding all night and the whole of the following day, past water-falls and frightful rapids, we at length reached Lake Ontario in the evening, twenty leagues from our starting-point.

That first day's journey was the most dangerous; for, had the Iroquois perceived our departure, they would have intercepted us; and, had they been only ten or twelve in number, it would have been easy for them to throw us into confusion—the river being very narrow, and being also obstructed, at the end of ten leagues, by a fearful precipice. Here we were forced to land, and, for four hours, carry our baggage and canoes through a wilderness covered with dense Woods, which would have served the enemy as a Fort where they could have killed us at every step and fired upon us unperceived.

God's protection manifestly accompanied us during all the rest of the journey. We passed through perils that made us shudder after escaping them, and at night, after spending the whole day in the water and amid blocks of ice, we had no lodging except upon the snow.

Ten days after our departure, we found Lake Ontario, over which we were voyaging, still frozen at its mouth; hence we were compelled to take hatchet in hand to cleave the ice and make a passage—which, however, led us two days later into a water-fall, where all our little fleet was nearly swallowed up....

At nightfall, on the 3rd of April, we landed at Montreal, whence the ice had disappeared only on that very day; it would have blocked our way had we arrived earlier. We found ourselves obliged to tarry there fourteen days, the Rivers farther down being not yet open.

On the 17th of April, we repaired to three Rivers, where the ice had cleared away only on the preceding day. Here we spent the Easter Festival.

We arrived safely at Quebec on Tuesday. A day earlier, we would have been unable to land, there being nothing but one bridge of ice from caste de Lauson, whence the River had been crossed dry-shod as late as Easter.

***JR, 44:185*** [*\*Summation of the settlement at Onondaga.*]

These people having long and urgently requested that some Fathers of our Society be sent to their country, finally, in the year 1655, Fathers Joseph Chaumonot and Claude Dablon were granted them. The Savages took them away by canoe on the 19th of September, and landed them at Onnontague on the 5th of November of the same year, 1655.

In the following year, 1656, as these two good Fathers saw that they were listened to with applause and good will, Father Dablon left Onnontague on the

second day of March, to come to Kebec for assistance. He arrived here at the beginning of April, and took his departure on the 17th of May, in company with three Fathers and two Brethren of our Society, and with a goodly number of Frenchmen, who all turned their faces toward this new country, where they arrived on the 11th day of July of the same year, 1656.

In the year 1657,—as there was promise of a fine harvest in all the Villages of the upper Iroquois, and as the common people hearkened to the good news of the Gospel with simplicity, and the Elders with a cunning dissimulation,—Fathers Paul Ragueneau and François Du Peron, some Frenchmen, and several Hurons started from Montreal on the 26th of July, to go and help their brethren and compatriots.

On the 3rd day of August of the same year, 1657, the Iroquois' perfidy began to show itself through the massacre of the poor Hurons whom they were conducting to their country, after having made a thousand avowals of good will and a thousand oaths,—such as they are wont to make,—that they would treat them as brothers. And, had not a number of Iroquois remained with the French at Kebec to try to carry off with them the rest of the Hurons,—who, distrusting these treacherous rogues, had been unwilling to embark with the others,—the fate of the Fathers and of the Frenchmen who went with them would even then have been sealed; and, soon afterward, the same lot would have befallen all those who dwelt on the shores of Lake Gannantaa, near Onnontagué. But the fear lest the French should take vengeance on their countrymen stayed their project. Our Fathers received secret information of it immediately after their arrival in the country. A Captain, in fact, who knew the Elders' secret, and who had conceived some fondness for the Preaching of the Gospel, upon falling seriously ill asked for Baptism. Having received it after sufficient instruction, he revealed to him who conferred it the wicked designs of his compatriots, and soon afterward went to Heaven.

On the 9th of the same month of August, twenty Agneronnon Iroquois landed at Quebec; and there was emulation as to which party should carry off to its own country the remnants of the poor Huron Nation. Both the upper and the lower Iroquois were inviting them, with the fairest promises in the world, while the sole intention of them all was to destroy these people.

On the 11th appeared Monsieur Bourdon's bark. It had sailed down the great River toward the North, and proceeded as far as the 55th degree, where it met a great field of ice, which made it turn back, after losing two Hurons, who had been taken as guides. The Eskimaux, Savages of the North, had slain them, and had injured a Frenchman with three arrow-shots and a knife-cut.

On the 21st, some Hurons, joining the Agneronnons of whom we have just spoken, embarked at Kebec to go and dwell in the country of the latter, not knowing that captivity awaited them.

On the 26th, Father le Moine followed them with some other Hurons, taking home a young Agneronnon Iroquois who had gone to France, and had been sent back by us to Kebec, whither he had been recalled.

On the 3rd of September, the Onnontaguéronnons, who had lingered around the French settlements, sent two of their Men to the Hurons of Kebec, to urge their adoption of Onnontagué as their country, giving them a thousand assurances that they would be very welcome. There was, as I said, a rivalry as to who should obtain the remnant of this poor nation. Now, although they did not know what had happened to their brethren, they nevertheless tried to induce these Deputies to postpone the expedition until the following Spring. This was a stroke of Divine providence; for that postponement compelled several Iroquois to spend the Winter near the French, in order to wait for the Hurons—which prevented the Onnontaguéronnons from putting to death or seizing our People who were in their country. Through this so special providence, it was God's will to give them the means of escape.

On the 9th of the same month of September, our Fathers at Onnontagué despatched two canoes to bear to Kebec the tidings of the massacre of the poor Christian Hurons, who had been put to death with unheard-of treachery by these Barbarians, as we have noted above under date of August 3, 1657. They were also to deliver Letters explaining the condition of the country, and disclosing the evil intentions of this people's chief men toward the French. Some of this matter we appended to last year's Relation. The Onneiutchronnons, getting wind of the despatch of these two canoes, got ahead of them, intending, as has since been learned, to slay the messengers, and to throw their Letters into the fire; but our Men eluded their ambuscades and pursuit, and finally arrived at Kebec,—

On the 6th of October, not without astonishment on the part of our French people. I leave you to infer whether the poor Hurons, who had been unwilling to follow the Onnontaguéronnons, blessed God at seeing themselves saved from those wolves' clutches. Scarcely a month before, those wretches had tried to betray them. If it needs intelligence to be a knave, these people are not wanting therein.

On the 16th, a shallop brought word to Kebec, that two Frenchmen had been plundered at Cap à l'arbre by the Iroquois. These Barbarians, feeling secure in that they held some of our People in their country, were committing many acts of insolence, pillaging houses and killing the cattle on the French farms. The settlers having very often complained of this, finally,—

On the 21st of the same month, Monsieur Dailleboust, who was then in command, called the chief men together to see what remedy could be applied to these disorders. It was decided, 1st, that we must not take the initiative in irritating the Iroquois, but that we could without difficulty *vim vi repellere*,—repulse their wanton assaults with force; 2nd, that we were always to treat as friends the Hurons and Algonquins, our Allies; and, 3rd, that we must prevent the Iroquois, whether upper or lower, from doing them any injury in sight of our settlements.

He assembled on the same day the Algonquins and Hurons, who asked him how they should conduct themselves toward the Iroquois. He replied that

they might attack them and fight with them out of sight of the French settlements; but that we would protect them only within those limits, and would never violate the peace, unless they first committed some hostile act.

On the 25th of the same month, October, some Onneiotchronnon Iroquois, neighbors of the Onnontagueronnons, shot and killed three Frenchmen at Montreal, taking the scalps of two of them and bearing them in triumph to their own country. Upon the occurrence of these murders, Monsieur de Maisonneuve caused to be arrested and put in irons an Onnontagueronnon Savage, who had for some time been hunting on the Island of Montreal and who most frequently sought Shelter among the French.

On the 29th, three Onneiotchronnons present themselves at the Port of Montreal, asking to speak with Monsieur de Maisonneuve, the Governor. They protest their innocence, and their deep regret at the outrage committed upon our People; while one of them produces seven presents, composed of nine Porcelain collars. These he offers in the following words: *I wipe away the blood shed upon the mat or upon the ground where I stand. I open thy mouth, that thou mayst speak well. I calm thy mind, irritated by this evil deed. I cover the earth, stained with blood; and I shut up that wicked deed in forgetfulness. I inform thee that it was the Oiogueronnon who slew thee. I give thee a drink, to make thee well. I make firm again the May-tree that has been shaken, around which are to be held the Councils of the Iroquois and the French.* Monsieur de Maisonneuve received the presents, not yet having sufficient light upon the treachery of those rogues, who appeared very innocent. He invited them, however, for the sake of observing their movements more closely, to make their abode for some time near our French. But, as they were conscious of guilt, and were accomplices (as is believed) of those who had slain our Men,—and as, moreover, they saw an Onnontagueronnon Savage in irons,—they Stealthily took flight by night.

On the 1st day of November, the canoe Sent by Monsieur de Maisonneuve to Monsieur Dailleboust, to carry him word of these murders, appeared at Kebec after stopping at three Rivers. At the same time, Monsieur Dailleboust ordered the arrest, throughout the French settlements, of all the Iroquois that should present themselves, from whatever quarter they might come. A beginning had already been made with the seizure, at three Rivers, of twelve Agneronnons, a Part of whom were sent to Kebec.

On the 3rd of the same month, some Algonquins, going to the Richelieu Islands to hunt, and to carry on a petty warfare, killed an Onnontagueronnon Savage whom they met, and brought his scalp to Kebec. His companion escaped and took refuge at Montreal, where he was put in irons.

On the 5th, Monsieur Dailleboust assembled the French and our Savage Allies, to announce to them his plan of despatching two of the Agneronnons that had been sent to us from three Rivers, to inform Ondesonk—that is, Father Le Moine, who was at the village of Anié, or, as others call it, Aniegué—to inform him, I say, that three Frenchmen had been killed at

Montreal, and that, following upon this, some Agneronnon Iroquois had been detained in our settlements. The following is a summary of the message that was to be carried to the Elders of the country: 1. Three Frenchmen have been killed at Montreal, the murderers being thirty in number, although so many did not show themselves. 2. The relatives of the deceased wished to take vengeance on the Agneronnons who came to three Rivers soon after the news of this murder reached that place. 3. Opposition to this mode of vengeance was offered by Onontio—that is, the Governor of the French. 4. The men were simply arrested, no harm being done them. 5. We are resolved to hold them during the journey of those whom we send to complain of this outrage to the Elders of the country, and to learn whether it was not committed by their young men. 6. Assurance is given that those who are held in custody will be well treated; and, that there may be no doubt of this, Onontio writes all these articles to Ondesonk, and has explained them clearly to the Agneronnons who are released in order to go and negotiate this matter.

On the 7th of the same month, November, two Agneronnons started from Kebec, and were joined by a third one at three Rivers, to go and carry this message to their country. They were given many letters from different sources to be delivered to Father Le Moine; a part of these were to be sent to our Fathers and our Frenchmen at Onnontagué through the medium of the Agneronnons, who often go to that country.

At about this time, or a little before, Monsieur de Maisonneuve also sent an Onnontagueronnon prisoner to his own country, to convey to our Fathers letters informing them of all that was occurring among the French. He charged this Barbarian to deliver to the Elders of Onnontague very nearly the same message that had been entrusted to the men from Aniegué; but there was bad faith in both instances.

It is true that the Agneronnons delivered the letters faithfully to Ondesonk, because they feared some harm might be done to their Fellows in the custody of the French. But, as for the letters addressed to our Frenchmen at Onnontagué, the Agneronnon who bore them threw them into the river; or, as is probable, gave them to the Elders of the country, and those good people, who wished to get rid of the Preachers of the Gospel and of their assistants, threw the letters into the fire.

The Onnontagueronnon sent by Monsieur de Maisonneuve did still worse; for he told the chief men of his Nation that the French had principally allied themselves with the Algonquins, in order to make war upon them, and that they had killed his companion. It was an Algonquin going to war who killed the latter, as we noted under date of November 3. Nothing more was needed to excite those madmen, who had already determined upon the death of some and the captivity of the others. Yet they wished to act in concert with the Agneronnons, who could not, any more than the others, relish the detention of their Men, thinking it very unjust.

Our poor Frenchmen were meanwhile much surprised not to receive any

authentic tidings from either Kebec, three Rivers, or Montreal. Those Barbarians had cut them off from all such communication, so that Monsieur Dailleboust's orders were not delivered to Monsieur Du Puis, who commanded the Soldiers; nor was any letter transmitted to a single one of the Frenchmen....

*Continuation of the Journal*

I know not when the three Agneronnons sent by Monsieur Dailleboust reached the village of Anniegue, neither do I know the day or the month of the arrival of the Onnontagueronnon despatched by Monsieur de Maisonneuve to Onnontagué; but I know well that,—

On the 3rd of January of this year, 1658, three Agneronnons—not the three that had been sent home—brought to Kebec from Father Ondesonk—that is, from Father Le Moine—a letter of which I give a summary.

First, he said: "The three Agneronnons visiting you bear to Onontio—that is, to Monsieur the Governor—three presents symbolizing the three following articles, which they themselves will state to you. The Elders speak through their mouths and say: 1. 'We have been killed in the persons of the French, whom we come to bury.' 2. 'Ondesonk is alive, and is as free in our country as he would be in yours.' 3. 'We come to ask for our nephews now in your hands.'"

Secondly, the Father added that two hundred Agneronnons had started on a hunting expedition toward Tadoussac; that in the Spring they were to make some canoes opposite that place, on the other bank of the great River, which is fully ten leagues wide there; and that then it was their purpose to surprise all the Montagnais and the Algonquins, who ordinarily return at that season from their great hunting excursions. The two chief Captains of that party were called Aouigaté and Angueiout.

In the third place, another band of 400 Soldiers had also set out to join the upper Iroquois and form with them a body of about 1200 men, for the purpose of invading the country of the Outaouak and wreaking vengeance for the death of thirty of their own People, who were killed in war about a year ago, in those regions far distant from the Iroquois. Teharihoguen was General of that little army.

In the fourth place, he said that the three Ambassadors were only young men who were to have gone to war with the others; but that they had been detailed from the main body and sent to Kebec, to recover the prisoners from the hands of the French; that there were only old men left in the Agneronnon villages, all the young men having gone to war in January; and that, consequently, if their enemies appeared, they would destroy their whole country.

In the fifth place, he deplored the calamity that had befallen the poor Hurons, who had placed confidence in those traitors and had followed them into their country, where they were treated as slaves. The husband was separated from the wife, and the children from their parents; in short, they were serving those Barbarians as beasts of burden. It was a warning to the Hurons who remained and who still dwelt among the French, not to trust themselves

lightly to the Iroquois, unless they wished to lose body and soul. Such, in brief, were the contents of the letter written by Father Le Moine to our Fathers at Kebec. Let us now come to what was said in public after the arrival of these Ambassadors, the oldest of whom was not over thirty years of age, while the other two appeared almost like boys.

On the 1st day of February, Monsieur Dailleboust assembled the French, and afterward the Savages, to communicate to them the tidings brought by these three Iroquois. Audience was given to these,—

On the 4th day of the same month. The eldest of the three produced nine porcelain collars of considerable beauty, of which he presented seven to Onontio and two to the Savages, our Allies, with these words: 1. “Ondesonk is alive and well; he lodges in our cabins.” 2. “The Iroquois and the Dutch are united by a chain of iron, and their friendship cannot be broken; this is to make Onontio enter that union.” 3. “We know not who killed the Frenchmen at Montreal. It must have been the Sonnontoueronnon or the Onnontagueronnon or the Onneiotchronnon, but we know not which of the three; we only know that it was not the Agneronnon.” 4. “I rejoice greatly to see my brothers alive; this is to testify my joy and satisfaction.” 5. “As a proof that I would much like to see them in my country, I make you this present.” At the sixth present he said: “This collar will serve as a hammer to break their irons and set them free.” 7. “And this other will furnish the things needful for their return.” 8. “As for thee, Algonquin and Huron, what I offer thee will show thee that my heart is still in the right place. Tell us in what attitude is thine own.” 9. “Here is an obstacle to prevent thee from wounding me in Onontio’s house. Hide thy hatchet and knife, if thou hast any; for thou wouldst put him to shame by hurting me.”...

On the 5th of February, Monsieur Dailleboust held an assembly of Frenchmen; and, upon the Island, he called together the Hurons and Algonquins. In these two assemblies it was decided what answer should be made to the three Ambassadors or Messengers. Monsieur Dailleboust had the reply written, and gave it to his interpreter, who delivered it in public, as I am about to relate.

On the 12th of the same month, the French, Algonquins, and Hurons having assembled in a great Hall, the three Agneronnons entered, and the French Interpreter addressed them nearly as follows, adapting himself to the peculiarities and customs of the country:

“It is a strange thing that thou, Agneronnon, considerest me only a child. If I speak to thee, thou pretendest to hear me. Thou treatest me as if I were thy captive, imagining that thou wilt kill me when thou choosest. Thou dost not rate me with men, but takest me for a dog. When a dog is beaten, he howls and runs away; but if he be given something to eat, he comes back and fawns on him who beat him. Thou, Agneronnon, killest me; and I, the Frenchman, cry out, ‘I am killed;’ and thou mockingly throwest me a porcelain collar, as if to soothe me. ‘Be still,’ thou sayest to me; ‘we are good friends.’ Know that the Frenchman thoroughly understands war, and will exact satisfaction for thy

perfidy, which has continued so long; he will no longer suffer thee to despise him. There is only one word that fits the case; render satisfaction, or tell who committed the murder. I will not answer thy speech at greater length. Thou dost not act like a man: thou keepest none of thy promises. I am well aware that thy army has taken the field; thou saidst as much to the Onnontagueronnon, upon calling at Montreal, and also to thy countrymen in custody at Three Rivers. And yet thou thinkest to beguile me with a collar of porcelain. The blood of my brethren cries out very loud; and, if I be not soon appeased, I will render satisfaction to their souls. How is it that Ondesonk does not appear here? I asked for him and not for his writing, which is already so old that I no longer recognize it. Thou hast the effrontery actually to dare ask the restoration of some hatchets and rags taken from certain of thy People. Hast thou brought back the plunder taken by thy countrymen, the things stolen during the last two years from French houses? Drop thy treachery, and let us make war if thou wilt not have peace. The Frenchman knows not what it is to fear, when once he is determined upon war.

“Thou askest the Algonquin and the Huron what they have in their hearts. Thy brother, the Onnontagueronnon, has slain the Hurons, and thou camest to murder the Algonquins; dost thou ask them what they have in their hearts? They suffer me to save thy life, because they obey me; but were it not that they respect me, the collar that thou gavest them as a present would serve them as a halter wherewith to strangle thee.” An Algonquin Captain added these few words: “Thou sayest that thou hast not heard of the Frenchmen’s death. Thinkest thou we are such children as to believe that thou didst not see their scalps, which thy People carried to their country? Your people constitute but a single cabin, with five fires; and yet hast thou not seen those trophies? Ondesonk presented to thee thy nephew, whom Onontio and I sent back to thee; hast thou uttered a single word of gratitude for that?” *He referred to the young Iroquois captured in war by an Algonquin, who gave him to Monsieur de Lauson, Governor of the country. The latter sent him to France, where he remained for some time. Then he returned to Kebec in the year 1657, and thence was taken back to his own country by Father le Moine, as we related above.*

The Algonquin continued his speech. “Furthermore, my brother” (said he to the Agneronnon), “be not astonished at seeing thy Countrymen in irons: Onontio, who is our Father, often treats us so when we are drunk.”

In conclusion, the Agneronnon, seeing that the Council was adjourning, and that no one spoke of sending him back to his own country, presented two more gifts. With the first he said: “I do not know the murderer of the Frenchmen. When I called at Montreal, I learned that it was the Onneiotchronnon or the Oiogueronnon; but if, Onontio, thou wilt let two or three of us go and carry word to our Elders of the state of our affairs, thou shalt see in the Spring Ondesonk and the murderers. “With the second present,” (said he) “pending full and entire satisfaction for these murders, I wipe up in



advance the dead men's blood that has been shed on the ground." Let us change the subject.

While these assemblies were being called and Councils held at Kebec, the Agneronnons, in the month of February, held a very secret one, attended by a small number of the chiefs and Elders of all the Nations. It was determined there that, as soon as the Agneronnons and Onnontagueronnons in the custody of the French should be recovered, violent hands should be laid on the men near Onnontague; and that, if Onontio did not release those prisoners, a part of the black gowns and of the Frenchmen should be killed, and the rest placed in confinement, to be exchanged for their countrymen who had been put in irons in the French prisons.

I have been informed that, before this general Council of the Iroquois Nations convened, a special one had been held in Onnontague, where the death of our Fathers and of our Frenchmen was determined upon. The execution of this decree was to have followed soon, had not a Captain, who was a great friend of our Fathers, adroitly stayed proceedings, saying that they must not be hasty; our throats could easily be cut whenever they chose; we could not escape; and, in order to strike the blow with more safety and less danger of loss, they must await the return of the young men who had gone to war.

What, I pray you, were the thoughts of our poor Fathers, to whom this news was told in private? What resolution could be adopted by fifty-three Frenchmen, upon seeing themselves surrounded by enemies on all sides, and learning every day that various bands and companies were on their way down to our French people, bent on massacring them as well as our Savages?

I have also been told (I do not know whether it is true, because I have not received all the memoirs I expected) that our Fathers, in order to arrest these undertakings, made presents to the Elders of Onnontague; but the latter replied that they could not restrain their young men.

It is also said that the murderers of the three Montreal Frenchmen, on being asked why they had attacked the French after making peace with them, mockingly answered: "The French hold the Hurons and Algonquins in their arms; so it is not to be wondered at if, when we wish to strike those of one Nation, the blows sometimes fall upon the others,"

At length our Frenchmen had recourse to God. Fear of the stake and of bondage almost caused a division of their forces; but *incidit illis consilium bonum*,—they all united and adopted a wise plan of action, in pursuance of which—

On the 20th of March, they forsook their house, as we have related in the second Chapter, and departed from that poor and wretched country, shaking the dust from their feet and saying, with the Angels: *Curavimus Babylonem, et non est sanata; derelinquamus eam*.

On the 25th, Father Ondesonk, having repaired from the Iroquois Villages to New Holland, wrote me a Letter which was brought to me from Dieppe, reaching Paris in the month of November of this year, 1658. From it I have

extracted the following: “Our French at Onnontagué do not well know whether we are at peace or at war; for the latest company of our best Huron Christians, who voluntarily went up with them to make their abode in the country of the Onnontageronnons where they hoped their Christian religion would receive additional strength, were all cruelly massacred midway by the Barbarians conducting them,—and that before the faces of their brethren, the French, who perhaps expected to fare no better themselves.

“As for me, I am believed at Kebec to be dead; and the probabilities supporting that conjecture are not inconsiderable. Since my arrival at Agniégué, nearly five months ago, a murder has been committed at Montreal, of three of its principal citizens; the scalps of two and the head of the third were carried off. There have been seen, at Kebec and at three Rivers, bands of Iroquois warriors, proceeding, as they said, against the Algonquins. In this suspicious state of things, Monsieur Dailleboust deemed it best to put a considerable number of them in irons, where they have remained for five or six months.

“This detention nearly caused my death, and here I am to-day with the Dutch, on the eve of consigning myself to a bark which they are fitting out for Kebec. Indeed, I am informed from all sides that the Agneronnon felt nothing but regret at my presence in his country, where, after the imprisonment of his countrymen, I was rendering assistance to our Christian Hurons.

“Furthermore, our poor Algonquins, both upper and lower, are to-day running the risk of total destruction, unless God interpose. For the Iroquois is playing his last stake, having left his country in order to go and exterminate them. A part of them have been in the field for two months, and are not expected to return until next Autumn. Their purpose is to sweep away the large Village of Hurons and Algonquins, whither the late Father Garreau was going, to plant a fine Mission. The remainder left upon my arrival in their country, planning to put to rout all whom they might encounter, whether on the Sagné or at Tadoussac.

“Is it possible that a little handful of unruly men so long oppose a fatal barrier to the propagation of the holy Gospel, and undermine the foundations of Canadas?” [\*New Holland, March 25, 1658.]

**JR, 44:221** [*\*Groundwork laid for a peace treaty; Oneida raids.*]

We saw above, under date of February 12th of this year, 1658, how the Ambassadors from Aniegué promised that the French should see Ondesonk in the Spring; and he did, indeed, land at Montreal toward the end of the month of May. When the Agneronnons conducting him assured Monsieur de Maisonneuve that their countrymen had not broken the peace with the French, he released, upon their petition and that of the Father, two Agneronnons whom he had recently arrested. Upon their arrival at Three Rivers, the Governor of the place put them into a shallop with five Agneronnons, and they were conveyed to Kebec, to Monsieur Dailleboust.

Straightway an assembly of French and of our Savage Allies was con-

voked, to hear these new Messengers or Ambassadors. Those who were present having, in large numbers, slipped from the Hall of the Castle or Fort into a gallery overlooking the great River, this gallery, which was badly decayed, proved not strong enough to support so many people. Consequently it broke down, and all the French and Savages, the free and the captive, landed pell-mell outside the Fort, without having gone out by the door; but, thank God, no one was seriously injured. When all had reëntered, the harangues were delivered and presents offered in the usual manner. I have not learned the details, the account not having reached me. I was merely informed that, as a result of this Council, those who had brought Father le Moine—called Ondesonk by the Savages—returned to their own country with presents and some prisoners, to invite the Elders to visit Onontio for the purpose of concluding a general peace embracing all the Nations. Pending that event, it was decided to retain still a part of the Agneronnons, treating them well. The departure from Kebec was in the month of June; I do not know the exact day.

At this same time Father le Moine, who had paused at Montreal before proceeding to the Agneronnons' country, returned thither at the solicitation of two good and worthy Ecclesiastics dwelling there, and at the urgent request, as I am told, of the inhabitants.

In the same month of June, a band of Onneiotchronnons, who had set out from their country before our Fathers and our Frenchmen had left Lake Gannantaa near Onnontagué, captured three Frenchmen at Three Rivers and carried them off with them to the Island of Montreal. Here, while they were bent on taking some of our People by surprise, one of their own number was killed; which so angered them that they burned on the spot one of the three Frenchmen whom they held captive, carrying off the other two to their own country, where they are said to have been put to death at a slow fire.

**JR, 44:227** [*\*Governor pursues Iroquois raiding party.*]

On the next day, which was the 12th of the same month, July, while he was washing his hands before sitting down at table, the cry arose, "To arms!" and a report came that the Iroquois were killing some people, at a spot so near by that the cries of both the attacking party and the attacked were heard from the neighboring houses. Monsieur the Governor left the company and the dinner, instantly raised 220 men,—without counting the Hurons and Algonquins who joined the party,—and gave chase to these skirmishers. The latter, in order to make their escape, dropped two Algonquin children whom they were carrying away, after leaving as dead three poor Algonquin women; one of these had indeed been killed on the spot, the second died of her wounds some time afterward, while the third recovered.

On the 13th, Monsieur the Governor started forth at daybreak with 250 men; but after a six hours' march they found only the Iroquois' trail, who themselves had retreated. Hence, Monsieur the Governor was forced to lead his men back, determined to march out in good order at the first certain information he should receive of the enemy's approach.

*JR*, 44:229 [*\*Twenty Iroquois are captured posing as ambassadors.*]

Some time afterward [\*August 1, 1658],—receiving information that two Iroquois had come to Three Rivers to make some proposition to Sieur de la Poterie; and believing, with reason, that they were advance-scouts of some army, and were coming to spy out the condition of this place, its defense, and the attitude of its inhabitants,—he started out with 150 Frenchmen and 100 Savages, and went up as far as Three Rivers. But not finding anything in sight, after settling Monsieur de la Poterie as special Governor over that place, he pushed on as far as the Islands of Lake St. Pierre, halted for some time on the old site of Fort Richelieu, and, the wind not permitting him to ascend the river to visit Montreal, returned to Kebec with all his militia.

On the 14th of the same month, a score of Agneronnons who were opposite the Fort of Three Rivers, on the other side of the great River, and who were well aware that Monsieur the Governor had arrived there, went down in the night toward Kebec, and, after prowling stealthily about our settlements to capture some poor Huron or some Algonquin, pounced upon two Frenchmen at Cap Rouge. One was the son of a settler named Haiot, and the other was a servant of Monsieur Bourdon. They were robbed and stripped, but received no farther injury, as they adroitly escaped from the enemy's hands.

Toward the end of August, these twenty hunters of men and beasts went up again by stealth to Three Rivers. A Frenchman who saw some of them stealing like thieves upon their prey, aimed at one of the band, but was balked of his purpose by a young Iroquois who shot him in the arm. As he was not far from the village, he made his escape. These Barbarians, not thinking that he was wounded, divided into two bands; ten remained hiding in the dense woods, while the remaining ten were so bold as to go and present themselves before the French, saying that they came upon Onontio's invitation to discuss a permanent and general treaty of peace.

We have just noted above, under date of the month of June, that the Agneronnon Ambassadors who had restored Father Ondesonk to us had received orders to return to their own country, and to tell their Elders that their prisoners would not be released until they themselves came to arrange for a general treaty of peace between all the Nations. Now, whether those Ambassadors had met on the way these twenty hunters or warriors, or had actually made their report to the country, whereupon these twenty men had started out to come and treat with the French, it is certain that the twenty made every effort to capture by stealth all the Hurons, all the Algonquins, and perhaps all the French, whom they could catch. And, as they found their number too large to make people believe that they came as Ambassadors, they divided, and only ten presented themselves. But they fell into the pit which they were digging for others, and, wishing to deceive us, were themselves deceived; for he who was in command at Three Rivers adroitly effected their capture, and sent seven of them to Monsieur the Governor at Kebec.

These poor wretches barely escaped being murdered by the Algonquins upon landing, even under guard of the French, who were more than fifty

strong, and well armed for conducting them from the river bank to a tower not far distant. Monsieur the Governor not having yet made known his purpose to the Algonquins, they believed that he wished to free these prisoners. Hence they became infuriated against them, remembering the acts of perfidy, treachery, and murder committed upon their poor fellow-countrymen. I believe that they are now well satisfied with Monsieur the Governor's course of action, seeing that he has at heart the interests of the Faith, of Religion, of the Christian Savages, and of all our Allies.

The Captain of this band of Agneronnons—to give further particulars—is called in his own tongue Atogouaekouan, and in the Algonquin, Michtaemikouan, or “the large spoon.” If he is the same one who came to Kebec in 1645, to treat for peace with Monsieur the Chevalier de Montmagny, he is a tall, well-formed man, daring, valiant, deceitful, eloquent, and given to raillery. Such were the fine qualities observed in him even at that time. This, then, was the condition of the country on the 6th of September of this year, 1658, when the first vessel weighed anchor to return to France.

**JR, 44:245** [*\*One hundred Petun are living with the Potawatomi; demographic information about the various Algonquin tribes around the Great Lakes.*]

“Father Gabriel Dreuilletes, from whom we have obtained the greater part of what is contained in this Chapter, conferred the name of Saint Michel upon the first Village which he mentions. Its inhabitants are called, in Algonquin, Oupouteouatamik. In this Village there are computed to be about seven hundred men; that is to say, three thousand souls, since to one man there are at least three or four other persons, namely, women and children. They have for neighbors the Kiskacoueiak and the Negaouichiriniouek. There are in this Village about a hundred men of the Tobacco Nation, who took refuge there to escape the cruelty of the Iroquois.

“The second Nation is composed of the Noukek, Ouinipegouek, and Malouminek. These people are but a very short distance from the Village of Saint Michel, or from the Oupouteouatamik. They reap, without sowing it, a kind of rye which grows wild in their meadows, and is considered superior to Indian corn. About two hundred Algonquins, who used to dwell on the Northern shores of the great Lake or the Fresh-water sea of the Hurons, have taken refuge in this place....

**JR, 44:249** [*\*Onondaga have declared war against the Mascouten.*]

“The fourteenth Nation has thirty Villages, inhabited by the Atsistagherronnons, and is six or seven days' journey Southwest by South from St. Michel. The Onnontagueronnons have recently declared war against them.”

**JR, 44:251** [*\*Many Upper Algonquins have been mistreated by Iroquois.*]

"I do not speak," says the Father, "of the Nations that have long been known." Indeed, he says nothing of the Kichesipiiriniouek, the Kinonchepiirininik, the Ounountcharounongak, the Mataouchkairininik, the Ouaouekhairiniouek, the Amikouek, the Atchougek, the Ouasaouanik, the Ouraouakmikoug, the Oukiskimanitouk, the Maskasinik, the Nikikouek, the Michesaking, the Pagoutik, people of the great Sault, and the Kichkankoueiak. All these Nations, several of whom have been maltreated by the Iroquois, use the Algonquin tongue.

**JR, 44:311** [*\*Flight from Onondaga and the Iroquois' ensuing fear.*]

You will have noted above, in the second Chapter, how our Fathers and our Frenchmen withdrew from their settlement built on the shore of lake Gannantaa, near Onnontague. This was done in the night, noiselessly, and so skillfully that the Iroquois, whose cabins were at the doors of our house, were utterly unconscious of the conveyance of canoes and boats, of the carrying and shipment of baggage, and of the embarkation of fifty-three persons. They were robbed of this consciousness by sleep, in which they were deeply sunk after their lusty singing and vigorous dancing. But at length, night giving place to day, darkness to light, and sleep to awakening, these Barbarians issued from their cabins, walked about our house, which was securely locked, and wondered at the Frenchmen's utter silence. They saw no one come forth to go to work, they heard no voice. At first they thought that all were at prayers or in council; but, as the day advanced and the prayers did not reach an end, they knocked at the door, and the dogs, purposely left behind by our Frenchmen, gave answering yelps. The crowing of the cock which they had heard in the morning, together with the noise of these dogs, made them think that the masters of these animals were not far away, and they recovered their lost patience; but at length, the Sun beginning to decline and no one answering either the voices of the men or the cries of the animals, they climbed into the house to see in what state our people were amid this fearful silence. Here their wonder was changed to alarm and perturbation. They opened the door; the chiefs entered, and went all over the house, ascending to the loft and going down into the cellar; but not a Frenchman appeared, alive or dead. They looked at one another, were seized with fear, and believed that they had to do with demons. Not a boat had they seen, and even if they had, they did not imagine our Frenchmen so rash as to consign themselves to currents and breakers, to rocks and frightful dangers, amid which they themselves, though very dexterous in shooting these rapids and cascades, often lose their lives. They persuaded themselves that their visitors had either walked off on the waters, or flown away through the air, or, as seemed to them more likely, had hidden in the woods. They made search for them, but without success, and then decided, almost as a certainty, that they had made themselves invisible, and that they would come and pounce upon their Villages just as suddenly as they had dis-

appeared. This retreat, miraculous in their estimation, showed them that our Frenchmen were aware of their treachery; and the sense of their guilt and of their murderous intentions threw them into the utmost terror. They were everywhere on their guard, and remained in arms day and night, every moment imagining that the vengeance of the justly-angered French would burst over their heads.

At length, seeing no such manifestation, and observing that everything moved along as usual in their country, they sent some of their forces to the French territory,—a part of them as warriors, and the others as Ambassadors,—to gain tidings of their guests, and endeavor to recover from us their countrymen who had been put in irons.

I learn that those who came in war were roughly used, and that the counterfeit Ambassadors were held in custody. We shall ascertain another year the details of all those events and all those intrigues. I merely relate in passing, and in a general way, what I have learned from those who have returned from that new world by the latest vessels.

They add that a rumor is current in that country, that all the Europeans occupying the long coastline from Acadia to Virginia, incensed against the Iroquois, the common foe of all the Nations, wish to form an alliance for their destruction. *Non vult Deus mortem peccatoris, sed magis ut convertatur et vivat.* I do not desire this people's ruin, but I do desire its conversion.

I am also informed that there are many Agneronnon, Onnontagueronnon, and Oneiotchronnon prisoners at Kebec, three Rivers, and Montreal; and that their countrymen come from every direction to beg Monsieur the Vicomte d'Argençon, Governor of the country, to set them free. I am further told that, as he is a man of discretion and prudence, he refuses to let them go until those Barbarians bring the children of the chief men of the country, to be kept securely confined in the Seminaries and reared in the Christian faith, and to serve the French as hostages against the incursions and undertakings of the Barbarians, who know no law but that of self-interest.

**Father Jerome Lallemant. 1660. Letters sent from New France to Rev. Father Jacques Renault, Provincial of the Society of Jesus in the province of France.**

*JR, 45:31* [*\*Hostilities resume at Three Rivers.*]

[\*Quebec, September 12, 1659] Our joy would be complete if the Iroquois were not troubling it with war, which they have renewed after a very brief suspension of hostilities. During that time, we have done the impossible, in order to win the hearts of these Barbarians. Our Fathers have made three journeys to Onnontagué for this purpose, and four to Agnié; they have scoured all their villages, everywhere conveying to them words of peace and of salvation, and trying to open their eyes by the light of the Faith, which they have published in all their country.

On the other hand,—in order not to irritate these minds, as haughty as

rebellious,—not only have we contented ourselves with a slight satisfaction for the murders which they have committed at Montreal, but we have also released to them those of their people whom we kept in prison,—one after the other, so as constantly to procrastinate, and postpone the misfortune with which we are threatened, After various embassies on both sides,—in which they have always beguiled us with a thousand promises of peace, and with oaths as solemn as can be expected from a barbarous nation,—they have finally taken up arms again with more cruelty than before. They have wreaked their first fury upon Three Rivers, where they have taken eight Frenchmen. They have already caused them to feel the effects of their barbarism; for they have burned away their nails, and have cut off their fingers and hands. This beginning, considered by them merely as child's play, is a preparation for the fire and flames to which they destine them, in recompense for the kind treatment shown to their people, whom we have ever treated well in our prisons, and whom we have at last set free without having injured a single hair of their heads.

We have learned these particulars from a fugitive Christian Huron. Having chanced to be one of a party who were coming here to war, he met the captive Frenchmen in the Islands of Richelieu, led by the Agnieronnons who had taken them at Three Rivers. "I was touched with compassion," he said, "on seeing the unhappy condition of those poor prisoners; and, at the same time, I was delighted with their devotion amid their sufferings. At evening I heard them sing the Litany of the Virgin, and in the morning the *Veni Creator*, with the other prayers. I saw them lift to heaven their mutilated hands, all dripping with blood." The sight made so great an impression on this good man's mind, that he then took the final resolve to leave the Iroquois and cast himself into our hands, in order thus to preserve his Faith, and to reveal to us a part of the enemy's designs.

The Onnontagueronnons have not been more grateful than the Agnieronnons; for they likewise took at Three Rivers three of our French, two of whom happily escaped from their hands. The third, however, was cruelly burned at his arrival in the village of Onnontagué—where, shortly before, our Fathers had practiced inconceivable charities toward their sick people, and suffered all sorts of labors in order to instruct them and open to them the way to Heaven. Recently, the Iroquois have taken still another Frenchman near Kebec, after wounding him with a gunshot; and we learn that they are preparing to burst upon us with an army,—next Spring, at the latest,—in order to sweep away some Village of ours, and spread desolation throughout the country.

**JR, 45:41** [*\*Huron/Algonquin harangues to Bishop Laval for French help in the wars.*]

The first who harangued was one of the oldest Hurons.... "We are now nothing," he said, "O Hariouaouagui,"—this is the name which they give Monseigneur, and which signifies in their language "the man of the great work,"—"we are now nothing but the fragments of a once flourishing nation, which was formerly the terror of the Iroquois, and which possessed every kind



of riches. What thou seest is only the skeleton of a great people, from which the Iroquois has gnawed off all the flesh, and which he is striving to suck out to the very marrow. What attractions canst thou find in our miseries? How canst thou be charmed by this remnant of living carrion, to come from so far and join us in the so pitiful condition in which thou seest us? It must needs be that the Faith, which works these marvels, is such as they have announced to us for more than thirty years. Thy presence alone, although thou shouldst say not a word to us, speaks to us quite audibly in its behalf, and confirms us in the opinion that we hold of it.

“But, if thou wilt have a Christian people, the infidel must be destroyed; and know that, if thou canst obtain from France armed forces to humble the Iroquois,—who comes to us with yawning jaws to swallow up the remnant of thy people, as in a deep chasm,—know, I say, that by the destruction of two or three of these enemies’ villages thou wilt make for thyself a great highway to vast lands and to many nations, who extend their arms to thee and yearn only for the light of the Faith. Courage, then, O Hariouaouagui; give life to thy poor children, who are at bay! On our life depends that of countless peoples; but our life depends on the death of the Iroquois.”

This speech, uttered with warmth, was all the more touching because it artlessly represented the last sighs of a dying nation. The harangue which an Algonkin Captain made thereafter was not less pathetic.

“I remember,” he said, counting on his fingers, “that twenty-three years ago Father le Jeune, while sowing among us the first seeds of the Faith, assured us that we would one day see a great Man, who was to have his eyes ever open (thus he named him to us), and whose hands would be so powerful that by their mere touch they would infuse an invincible strength into our hearts against the efforts of all the Demons. I know not whether he included the Iroquois therein; if that is the case, it is now that the Faith is about to triumph everywhere. It will find no more obstacles to hinder it from penetrating the greatest depths of our forests, and from going to seek, three and four hundred leagues from here, the nations who are confederate with us, and to whose country this common enemy blocks our passage.” He said much more besides, betokening the esteem which he and all those of these lands entertained for the great power possessed by the laying-on of hands. They have so thoroughly persuaded themselves of it that, before starting for war against the Iroquois, the soldiers go to obtain Monseigneur the Bishop’s blessing; and they receive it as a good omen, with great confidence of being powerfully strengthened by it in the war which they are undertaking against the enemy of the Faith and of the country.

*JR, 45:73* [\*Iroquois hamper missionary work.]

The country is beginning to be disquieted by the terror of the Iroquois. They close the door to the salvation of countless nations, who extend their arms to the Gospel; and we cannot carry it to them unless these rebels are subdued.

**Journal of the Jesuit Fathers, in the years 1659 and 1660.**

*JR*, 45:81 [\**Oneidas seek release of prisoners.*]

[\*April 3, 1659] 3. 3 Oneioutes arrived at quebec, to discuss matters with Monsieur the governor, and to deliver their people from prison. *The names of the Ambassadors are Soen'res, Ionnoïwara, and Otarannhont.*

5. The aforesaid 3 ambassadors held a council at the fort. One of them spoke, and gave 24 presents—namely, 22 to the french, 1 to the Alguonquins, and 1 to the hurons. The object of these presents was to deliver the Agnieronon And Oneiout prisoners; otherwise, there would be no peace.

1st: He accused himself of having too long delayed doing his duty—that is, to give satisfaction for the murder of 3 frenchmen, committed at montreal. He said: "I come to tear away the hatchet from those who were killed at Montreal."

2nd, 3rd, and 4th: "I throw a grave-cloth on the dead man." He gave 3 presents for this, one for each dead person.

5th: "I cast those dead men very deep into the ground, in order to stifle all feelings of revenge."

6th: He reminded the french and the alguonquins of the word that they had given to send Ambassadors to Agnee; and told them to do so as soon as possible, for the peace depended upon that.

7th: "I set up the may-tree, the symbol of peace."

8th: "I strengthen the same symbol, so that the wind may not overthrow it."

9th: "I kindle a fire in the shade of that tree, to assemble the french, the alguonquins, and the hurons in council, so that they may deliberate respecting the means of obtaining a suitable peace."

10th: "I give a beverage made from an excellent white root, with which diseases of all kinds are cured in my country."

11th: "Onontio, I prepare thy mind for a lasting peace. Cause the soldiers to lay aside all thoughts of war."

12th: "I replace the sun; we will walk hereafter in full daylight; the clouds and darkness shall be completely dispelled."

13th: "The Agnieronons await Ondesonk and the Alguonquins; here is something to assure them that they have nothing to Fear."

14th: "The Ontageronon reminds thee that you had clasped each other by the arm; that you had bound yourselves with iron bonds. It is thou, frenchman, who hast broken the Bond by departing from my country without my knowledge, and by abandoning thy dwelling."

15th: "The ontageronon takes thee once more by the arm, and renews friendship with thee more strongly than Ever."

16th: "The Ontageronon says to thee, 'I give thee back thy house of Ganentaha; thy lodgings are still standing. An elder resides there to Preserve them. Put thy canoe into the water, and go to take possession of what belongs to thee.'"

17th: "What brings me here particularly is to withdraw the prisoners of Agne."

18th: "Deliver them all up to me; otherwise the minds of our Elders will not be satisfied."

19th: "I also ask thee to free those from my country whom thou detainest in prison."

20th: "Deliver them all to me. Separate them not; all or none."

21st: "The three nations of agnee, of oneout, and of onontage await this; otherwise thou openest not thy heart to them,"

22nd: "Open thy eyes and thy ears, frenchman; see how our people have given thee back thy prisoners all together without doing it two separate times. Imitate them, to show that thou desirest peace as much as we do."

23rd: To the Algonquins, "Algonquins, Fear not to go on an embassy. Let not the want of presents hinder you. Your presence, and not your gifts, will Show that you wish for peace."

24th: "Hurons," said the ambassador who spoke, "cease to hoot at Iroquois Strangers who may Come on an embassy, or to trade in your country." By this he meant that they were to receive them kindly.

6. At night, one of the ambassadors privately gave a present of a handsome Collar to father Chaumonot, to beg him to press matters, that an answer might be given as soon as possible to the requests that they had made to Onontio, and that they might not be long detained.

**JR, 45:87** [*\*Councils with Oneida and Algonquins.*]

[April 18, 1659]. At 9 o'clock in the evening, a canoe with 3 Algonquins arrived at quebec from 3 Rivers. It brought the News that 14 agnieronons had taken prisoners Mitewemeg and his sister, both Algonquins, on lake St. pierre, near the Richelieu river, called the river of the Iroquois; but that tegar-ihogen, the ambassador of the Iroquois, who was then hunting in those islands, had Brought back Mitwemeg and his sister to three Rivers.'

As the Algonquins whose arrival was awaited to answer the Onneioutronons delayed too long in coming, Onnontio gave a present of a coat to each of the 3 Ambassadors, to assure Them that They were delayed for no other abject than to give Them some Algonquin to take back with them on an Embassy as soon as Noel should return.

On the 26th, Noel, the Algonquin, returned from his hunt; and 2 days afterward a conference was held with the Onneioutronon Ambassadors.

28. The Ambassadors were answered by 7 collars, as thanks for their 24 presents, until such time as ondesonk should make A full answer in Their country.

The answer to the first 5 presents was as follows: "If thou hadst acknowledged thy fault sooner, we would not have had so many misunderstandings, The Fathers would still be at Kannentâ, and thy people would not have been imprisoned. At last I am pleased that thou dost acknowledge It."

To the next 5 the answer was, that The french and the Algonquins would go on an embassy.

To the 3 following the answer was, that it would be desirable that The Iroquois Young men should obey the Elders as The french obey Onnontio.

To the next 3, given in the name of Sagochiendage<sup>te</sup>, the answer was: "If Otrawa<sup>ti</sup> and his eight Comrades had not fled, I would have gone back with them to Onnontage."

To the 2 presents given in the name of The Anniege<sup>ronnon</sup>, the answer was: "The fetters broken by Tegarihogen have been reformed by your insolent young men, in killing us and our allies."

To the 3 following the answer was, that it was bad grace on his part to ask that all The captives be given up, inasmuch as he did not bring back The little frenchman for whom we had so often asked; but that we gave Him back three,—namely, 2 Onneiouts, and One man from Annienge,—and besides that we handed over Gatogwann to Father Le Moyne, so that he might take him back with The Algonquin.

The answer to the last present was, that our eyes were sufficiently open to see that The voice of Their Elders was not strengthened enough by collars of porcelain beads; but that in future It must be strengthened by men whom each side should give to reside with The other.

The Onneioutronnon Ambassadors start for 3 Rivers with 4 of Their people,—namely, Te gannonchiogen and Sagon<sup>nenrawagon</sup>, of Onneiout; Gatogwann and Soiehwasqua, of Annienge. The Reverend Father superior and Father Drouillet accompany Them there with a number of Algonquins; the latter are going to give their message to The Ambassador who is to go on Their behalf to the Iroquois country.

Presents that Father Le Moyne is to give to the Onneiouts in Their country:

1st: "We knew not that Garontagwan had of his own accord delivered our 3 frenchmen to the Onnontageronnons and Annienge<sup>ronnons</sup>. We supposed that The Onnontage<sup>ronnons</sup> would have withdrawn Them by dint of presents," etc. "Wherefore be not astonished that The Young men of three Rivers have ill-treated thy people. And yet that displeases me; I draw out The hatchet from Their heads."

2nd: "I throw a Shroud over the dead bodies."

3rd: "I place a plaster on The wounded."

4th: "I bury all evil reports deep down in the earth."

5th: "I set up The may-tree once more."

6th: "I put roots to It."

7th: "I give thee a beverage."

8th: "I calm thy mind, and those of all thy Young men."

9th: "I replace the sun."

10th: "I cause its rays to be diffused for thee, that thou mayst sit where they shine."

11th: "I unite in one all The thoughts of your 5 Nations, so that You may have but one speech."

12th: "I rekindle The council fire."

13th: "I replace a mat to sit on near that fire."

14th: "I reassemble The council upon that mat."

15th: "I give thee back 2 of thy nephews."

16th: "Onnontio takes care of the 2 Onneiouts who have remained at Kebec." *Vide* 17th.

18th: "Onnontio asks only for peace. You see very well that trouble comes only from you. We are Never The first to begin.

17th: "Give me back my nephew Charles Picard, whom thou hast so often promised me, in order that He may be instructed once more; when he has been well instructed again, he will go back to see thee."

19th: "Onnontio desires peace, that The Fathers may Freely go everywhere to preach The faith."

20th: "We are assured of a Paradise for the good, and of a hell for The Wicked."

21st: "I open thine ears to the voice of God."

22nd: "I protest that it is thy own fault if thou art damned. I am quite ready to return as soon as thou hast calmed The troubles."

**JR, 45:95** [*\*The delegation to the Mohawks.*]

[\*May 7, 1659] 2 algonquins, Father Le Moine, and Jean de Noyon started from three Rivers on an embassy to Agnie, with Tigarihogen, 4 prisoners freed at quebec, and 3 ambassadors from oneiout.

**JR, 45:97** [*\*The Iroquois raid parties along the St. Lawrence.*]

[\*June 1659] 2. A shallop arrived from Montreal, which reports that Iroquois have been seen at Montreal. It was the flemish bastard, who was the 25th. Larose says that he saw 5 Iroquois Canoes going up from 3 Rivers to montreal. The savages from 3 Rivers say that, while going to trade at 3 Rivers, they saw An Iroquois Encampment near the first rapid. The french say that they saw 3 Iroquois Canoes in the islands of 3 Rivers. All this almost at the same time.

8. We learned from two savages, who were returning from the chase, that they had found 40 agnieronons at point ste. croix, headed by the flemish bastard, and coming to make war. They also saw le Ciel bleu ["blue Sky"], and 3 brothers of la Grande Cuillier ["Large Spoon"], who seized a Canoe of an Iroquoised algonquin and a huron. The latter were set free.

9. These two released savages returned to point of Ste. Croix to meet the 40 Iroquois, and to tell them that the french for whom they had asked would not Come to them. The huron returned alone in his Canoe to quebec. The Iroquoised algonquin remained with them.

4. In the morning, francoeur was pursued in his field at fort St. Xavier by 3 Iroquois. He would have been captured, had not those who were in the fort come to his assistance. Afterward, Monsieur the governor sent 3 squads, of french, algonquins, And hurons, to lay ambushes in that quarter....

27. We received News by a Canoe from Montreal and three Rivers that 3 frenchmen of three Rivers had been taken prisoners in the islands of richelieu by a band of Onontageronon Iroquois while they were hunting. Also, that an alguonquin, who accompanied The alguonquin ambassador with father le Moine, after remaining two Days in the Village of agnè, had fled through fear, And had arrived at Montreal.

*JR, 45:99* [*\*Council concerning release of the prisoners.*]

[\*July 1659] 3. At ten o'clock at night, Father le Moine arrived at quebec from Agnie with The alguonquin eitawikiik And 4 Agnieronons, who came to get la grande Cuillier and other hostages.

4 councils were held, at which the following was said:

1st: "The iroquois thanks onontio for having preserved the life of his people,"

2nd: "He wipes away the tears of onontio for the recent capture of three frenchmen by the Onontageronons,"

3rd: "He clears his throat and stops his sobbing with The hope that he holds out to him that he will soon enable him to see again the french who have been captured."

Onontio speaks and says,—

1st: "I thank thee for having Preserved the life of my ambassadors."

2nd: "I wipe away thy tears for the loss of thy people who were killed last winter, in the war against The nation of fire And other nations."

3rd: "I arrest thy sobbing for the same cause."

2nd Council.

Father le moine relates at length what he has done, and renders an account of his embassy to Agnie.

3rd Council.

Its object was to decide whether all the prisoners or only a portion of them should be given up, or whether all should be retained, The conclusion was to send back the two Agnieronons,—namely, la grande Cuillier And his Companion,—and to detain the two Onneiouts Until the two frenchmen taken by the Onontageronons should have been sent back.

4th Council.

1st: The Iroquois who brought back father le Moine are told that their people will be given up to them and that the two others will be detained.

2nd: He tells them that The alguonquin ambassador acted contrary to his orders, for he did not include the tadousac savages in the treaty of peace; that he wishes them to be included in it.

3rd: He tells them that it is The alguonquin and the huron with him who give up la grande Cuilliere.

4th : He warns them that they must come openly to visit, and Not in Secret; by the usual Roads, and not through the woods.

Afterward The Iroquois speaks, saying:

1st: "Onontio, I thank thee that thou surrenderest my people."

2nd: "Algonquins And hurons, I thank you that you have contributed to that Surrender."

3rd: "Onontio, I beg that my son the oneiout, who still remains with thee, be not kept in Such Close confinement."

4th: "I assure thee that in future the noise of my hatchet shall no longer be heard in this quarter; that the earth shall no longer be stained with blood," etc. "I will carry war elsewhere."

5th: "Algonquins And hurons, I Invite you to come without fear to trade in our Villages."

6th: "Onontio, I Thank thee that thou hast given life to the Iroquoised algonquin captured in war."

7th: "I beg thee to find means to enable us to return quickly to our own country."

On the 8th, the Iroquois left here for their country with father le Moine, who remained at 3 Rivers. Monsieur St. denis also started for Tadousac in a small bark.

16. A Canoe arrived from three Rivers and informed us that la Grande Cuillier had set out with his Companion; also, that Antoine des Rosiers had escaped from the hands of the Onontageronons in the vicinity of lake Ontario, and had arrived at three Rivers.

**JR, 45:107** [*\*Conflicts around Three Rivers.*]

[\*August 1659] 10. Sieur du tertre arrived from miskou and brought news that an Iroquois had killed a montagnais woman on the islet of tadousac, And that the murderer had been shot dead on the spot.

21. Some savages arrived from three Rivers with the scalps of 9 Iroquois, whom they had killed at a distance of a Day's journey above montreal....

26. A Canoe arrived from 3 Rivers with the news of the capture of 8 frenchmen by 100 Agnieronons near 3 Rivers. The Capture was made on the 25th, the feast of St. Louis.

27. A shallop started from quebec with 25 men to go to the assistance of three Rivers....

29. 17 canoes, of both Algonquins and hurons, started from quebec to go to war in the direction of three rivers.

**JR, 45:109** [*\*Bands of Iroquois reported.*]

[\*September 1659] 3. An Iroquoised huron escaped to quebec from a band of 7 Iroquois, who were lurking in the vicinity of the mill belonging to Monsieur de mores, to strike a blow. He reported that 3 other bands, consisting respectively of 7, of 10, and of 15 men, were following him; that the frenchman taken by the onontageronons had been burned at Onontagè; that la grande Cuillier was at agnè; that war had been decided upon in spite of his release; that he had met 8 french who had been taken prisoners at 3 Rivers by 60 agnieronons, who were taking them to their country to be burned....

6. On the night between the 5th and the 6th, the two Iroquois escaped from the fort.

**JR, 45, 113** [*\*Iroquois attacks near Cap Rouge.*]

[\*September 1659] On the 12th, at about 10 o'clock in the morning, eight yroquois attacked those who were fishing for Eels at Cap rouge, and took Guillaume routier captive.

**JR, 45, 115** [*\*Murder of a Frenchman at Three Rivers.*]

[\*September 1659] A frenchman named l'Epine was killed at 3 rivers by the Iroquois,—probably by one of the two who had escaped from the prisons of Quebec. One of these has been recaptured.

**JR., 45:117** [*\*Two Mohawks killed one taken captive.*]

[\*November 1659] On the 1st, the Warriors returned, after having killed two men, bringing a little Agnieronon boy 12 or 13 years old. This child's life was saved through our instrumentality—that is, on payment of 3,000 porcelain beads, of which amount Monseigneur the bishop gave half. At the same time, the life of the oneiocheronon who was a prisoner in the fort was saved; for this also one thousand porcelain beads were given.

**JR, 45:153** [*\*Warriors from Tadoussac surprise an Iroquois canoe.*]

[\*May 1660] On the 15th, the Tadousac warriors returned; they had surprised a Canoe manned by yroquois, of whom they had killed three on the spot, and had made one prisoner. From him they obtained news of the army of 9 or 12 hundred enemies, who were gathering together at the split rock. This prisoner, who was wounded and could not be taken to Tadousac alive, was burned here on the 18th.

**JR, 45:155** [*\*Canoe of Iroquois take captives and are captured.*]

[\*June 1660] On the same day, the fifth, a Canoe of 8 yroquois, or rather yroquoised Hurons, carried off *picar's wife*, with 4 Children, at the petit Cap. They were discovered on the same Day, at 10 o'clock at night, while they were passing point de Levi, by about 20 Montagnais or Algonquains, accompanied by 8 frenchmen. The woman was dangerously wounded. Of the 8 yroquois, 3 were drowned and 5 brought in alive; of these, 3 were burned here, one was given to 3 rivers, and the other was spared his life.

**JR, 45:157** [*\*An army of 700 Iroquois defeat 61 allies.*]

[\*June 1660] On the 8th, about midnight, news came of the defeat of the 40 remaining hurons, who had gone to war with 17 frenchmen and 4 Algonquains. They were defeated by an army of 700 yroquois, who had been mustered to come to Quebec and had turned aside to strike the blow in that engagement." *Item*, the news of the death of Monsieur d'Ailleboust, who died on the last day of May.



**JR, 45:159** [*\*Iroquois kill and capture two Algonquins.*]

[\*July 1660] On the 8th, Monsieur the Governor started for 3 rivers with father Albanel. When he was ready to return thence, the Iroquois fell on two Algonquains, killing one of them and taking the other away alive. They were pursued by Monsieur the Governor, accompanied by about a hundred persons; but the enemy enticed them into their ambushes, and they found themselves all in great danger. However, only one person was slightly wounded.

**JR, 45:161** [*\*Frenchmen are captured; a meeting with the Cayugas.*]

[\*August 1660] On the 15th, news came that two Frenchmen had been captured at Three rivers by 20 or 25 enemies.

On the 17th, monseigneur of petraëa set out for his Visitation to 3 rivers and Montreal with Monsieur de Charny and others, and with the 4 Oiochronons. He arrived at Montreal on the 21st, at about 5 o'clock in the evening. The Outawats had arrived there on the 19th, and left on the following day, the 22nd, reaching 3 rivers on the 24th, whence they started on the 27th. They were 300 in number.

**JR, 45:163** [*\*News of an Iroquois army.*]

[\*October 1660] On the 7th, Tsanhohy, an escaped Huron, arrived; he brought tidings of a new Army of 600 men, and reported that he had met father Menar, who was going up with the Outaëk.

**JR, 45:165** [*\*Presence of the Iroquois army confirmed.*]

[\*November 1660] On the 7th, a Huron arrived who had escaped from Agniée; he confirmed the news of an army.

**[Father Jerome Lalemant]. 1661. Relation of what occurred most remarkable in the missions of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, New France, in the years one thousand six hundred fifty-nine and one thousand six hundred sixty.**

**JR, 45:183** [*\*Iroquois destruction will bring better trade and evangelization.*]

But we promise ourselves much more, knowing the vows, the prayers, the penances, and all sorts of good works, which are being performed almost everywhere for the conversion of our Savages; and learning of the good purposes with which God has inspired many persons of merit, for accomplishing the destruction of the Iroquois. That means, to open a door, high and wide, for proclaiming the Faith and giving the Preachers of the Gospel access to peoples of great extent, in regard to both the territories which they occupy, and the diversity of Nations composing them—all of whom are four or five hundred leagues distant from us in the forests, shunning the common enemy. Were it not for the latter, they would come and enrich this country with their furs, and we should visit them to enrich Heaven with the glorious spoils that we should wrest from the powers of Hell.

*JR, 45:187* [*\*The Hurons beyond the Lakes ask for priests, but the Iroquois prevent it.*]

We know that very far beyond the great Lake of the Hurons,—among whom the Faith was so flourishing some years ago, when the Iroquois did not molest our Missions, and before he had expelled us from them by the murder of our Fathers and the pillage of those nascent Churches,—we know that some remnants of the wreck of that Nation rallied in considerable numbers beyond the lakes and mountains frequented by their enemies, and that but recently they sent a deputation hither to ask back again their dear old Pastors. But these good Pastors are slain on the way by the Iroquois, their guides are captured and burned, and all the roads are rendered impassable....

But everywhere, too, we find the Iroquois, who, like an obtrusive phantom, besets us in all places. If he finds us among our new Christians, he slaughters them in our arms; if he meets us on the River, he slays us; and if he takes us in the cabins of our Savages, he burns us with them....

*JR, 45:191* [*\*Country would be well-off if not for Iroquois.*]

And what is the cause of this? A little handful of Iroquois, who all together would not equal the thousandth part of those whose salvation they prevent. Are not these sights touching enough to rekindle in the French that zeal and ardor which, of old, made such noble conquests among the infidels, and rendered France so glorious through the crusades? which were, so to speak, the precious appanage of the most Christian Kingdom.

But, although temporal interests are of small moment compared with the eternal, I could nevertheless find abundant arguments to spur on the bravery of those who entertain hopes of gain, if I wished to expatiate on the injury the Iroquois are doing them, by cutting off all the sources of traffic. They prevent the tribes from five or six hundred leagues about us, from coming down hither, laden with furs that would make this country overflow with immense riches—as was done in a single journey which some of those Nations undertook this year—although secretly, and, as it were, by stealth, from fear of their foes.

It must be admitted that, in spite of this, the prospects of our French colonies would be excellent if the fear of the Iroquois did not render their stay dangerous.

*JR, 45:195* [*\*France must send aid—only Quebec can resist an Iroquois attack but not for long. The military disadvantages of settlements.*]

But the warfare of the Iroquois thwarts all our pleasures, and is the sole affliction of new France, which is in danger of becoming utterly devastated unless prompt and powerful relief is rendered from France. For, to tell the truth, nothing is so easy for these barbarians as to subject all our settlements to fire and massacre whenever they choose, with the exception of Quebec, which is in a state of defense, but which would still be only a prison that one could not leave with safety; and where one would die of hunger, if all the outlying country were laid waste.

What gives the enemy this advantage over us is, that all the rural settlements outside of Quebec are without defense, and are distant from one another as much as eight or ten leagues on the banks of the great River. In each house there are only two, three, or four men, and often only one, alone with his wife and a number of children, who may all be killed or carried off without any one's knowing aught about it in the nearest house.

I say nothing of the losses that France would suffer if these vast regions should pass from her control. The foreigner would reap a great advantage, to the detriment of French navigation. Moreover, in their method of warfare the Iroquois are so stealthy in their approach, so Swift in their execution, and so expeditious in their retreat, that one commonly learns of their departure before gaining any knowledge of their arrival. They come like foxes through the woods, which afford them concealment and serve them as an impregnable fortress. They attack like lions, and, as their surprises are made when they are least expected, they meet with no resistance. They take flight like birds, disappearing before they have really appeared. A poor man will work all day near his house; the enemy, hidden in the forest that is close at hand, steals upon him like a hunter upon his game, and deals his blow in safety at the moment when its recipient deems himself most secure.

Now, what is there easier, for a band of eight hundred or a thousand Iroquois, than to scatter through the woods along the entire line of our French settlements and inflict a general massacre, adopting this method of surprise all on the same day, killing the men and leading away captive the women and children, as they have often done already? They would pass before Quebec in broad noonday, laden with this most innocent prey; and no one could pursue them, or recover the prisoners from their hands, over whom we could only weep unavailing tears. Our shallops are too heavy and their canoes too light to render possible our overtaking them. And, besides, if there should be anything for them to fear, the night would serve them as a veil to conceal them from our eyes; they would slip into the woods, where they find their way everywhere, although to a Frenchman there seems to be no path whatever; and even though we should outnumber them, they would be in a position of safety, and we would not dare to follow them.

It is a kind of miracle that the Iroquois, although able to destroy us so easily, have not yet done so; or, rather, it is a providence of God, who has hitherto blinded them, and foiled the plans which they have formed for prosecuting this kind of war against us. This year, they had again left their country for this purpose, to the number of seven hundred; and the consequent alarm was so great here, toward last spring, that the country houses were abandoned as prey to the enemy. All thought themselves as good as lost, until Monsieur the Vicomte d'Argençon, our Governor, reassured them by his courage and his wise course of action—putting all the posts of Quebec in such good order that the Iroquois was rather hoped for there than feared. As for the rest of the country, our settlements are so exposed to the enemy that, if they have not wrought general devastation among them, it is because God has stayed their course;

and, although they have been the cause of some loss of life to our French, still, the country being preserved and continuing in its entirety, we have reason rather to bless God than to complain of our losses.

But God has not bound himself to continue over us this almost miraculous providence, which has not only equaled our desires but has exceeded our hopes; and he seems to have had no other design than to assure our subsistence up to the present time, when, peace being happily established in France, it will be possible to send us aid against an enemy that has finally resolved either to destroy us, or to perish in the attempt. Our destruction would involve that of a countless number of souls; the destruction of the enemy would give new life to this whole country and cause here a reign of peace, the sweets of which France is now tasting, and can share with us if she will. Let her only say, "I will;" and with the Word she opens Heaven to a host of Savages, gives life to this colony, preserves her new France, and acquires a glory worthy of a most Christian Kingdom, which bears elder Sons of the Church and heirs of the great St. Louis,—heirs are these not only of his piety, but also of his conquests; since, if in times past he planted the Lilies in the bosom of the Crescent, it will at the present day be a no less glorious conquest to make a Holy land of one that is infidel, and to rescue the Holy land from the possession of the infidels. Once more, let France determine to destroy the Iroquois, and he will be destroyed. For what is this Iroquois who causes himself to be talked about so much? Two Regiments of brave Soldiers would very soon overthrow him. Most of our Men, more used to handling the hoe than the sword, have not the Soldier's determination. Some time ago, when Monsieur our Governor was pursuing these enemies in shallows, and found himself near the spot whither they had retreated, he gave orders to disembark. No one stirred; he was the first to leap into the water, up to his waist, and then all the rest followed him. Good Soldiers would have preceded their Captain; and we hope that such will be sent us, now that Peace makes it possible to Select them.

*JR, 45:203* [*\*Mohawk oral tradition recounting the history of the Iroquois wars—Iroquois demography.*]

Of the five tribes constituting the entire Iroquois nation, that which we call the Agnieronnons has been so many times at both the top and the bottom of the wheel, within less than sixty years, that we find in history few examples of similar revolutions. Insolent in disposition, and truly warlike, they have had to fight with all their neighbors,—with the Abnaquiois, who are Eastward of them; on the south, with the Andastogehronnons, a people inhabiting the shores of Virginia; with the Hurons on the West; and with all the Algonkin Nations scattered throughout the North. We cannot go back very far in our researches in their past history, as they have no Libraries other than the memory of their old men; and perhaps we should find nothing worthy of publication. What we learn then from these living books is that, toward the end of the last Century, the Agnieronnons were reduced so low by the Algonkins that

there seemed to be scarcely any more of them left on the earth. Nevertheless, this scanty remnant, like a noble germ, so increased in a few years as to reduce the Algonquins in turn to the same condition as its own. But this condition did not last long; for the Andastogehronnons waged such energetic warfare against them during ten years that they were overthrown for the second time and their nation rendered almost extinct, or at least so humiliated that the mere name Algonkin made them tremble, and his shadow seemed to pursue them to their very firesides.

That was at the time when the Dutch took possession of these regions and conceived a fondness for the beavers of the natives, some thirty years ago; and in order to secure them in greater number they furnished those people with firearms, with which it was easy for them to conquer their conquerors, whom they put to rout, and filled with terror at the mere sound of their guns. And that is what has rendered them formidable everywhere, and victorious over all the Nations with whom they have been at war; it has also put into their heads that idea of sovereign sway to which they aspire, mere barbarians although they are, with an ambition so lofty that they think and say that their own destruction cannot occur without bringing in its train the downfall of the whole earth.

But what is more astonishing is, that they actually hold dominion for five hundred leagues around, although their numbers are very small; for, of the five Nations constituting the Iroquois, the Agnieronnons do not exceed five hundred men able to bear arms, who occupy three or four wretched Villages. The Onneiouthronnons have not a hundred warriors; the Onnontagehronnons and Oiogoenhronnons have three hundred each, and the Sonontwaehronnons, who are the farthest removed from us and the most populous, have not more than a thousand combatants. If any one should compute the number of pure-blooded Iroquois, he would have difficulty in finding more than twelve hundred of them in all the five Nations, since these are, for the most part, only aggregations of different tribes whom they have conquered,—as the Hurons; the Tionnontatehronnons, otherwise called the Tobacco Nation; the Atiwendaronk, called the Neutrals when they were still independent; the Riquehronnons, who are the Cat Nation; the Ontwagannhas, or fire Nation; the Trakwaehronnons, and others,—who, utter Foreigners although they are, form without doubt the largest and best part of the Iroquois.

It is therefore a marvel that so few people work such great havoc and render themselves so redoubtable to so large a number of tribes, who, on all sides, bow before this conqueror.

It is true, they have performed some valiant deeds, and have, on certain occasions, distinguished themselves as highly as could be expected from the bravest warriors of Europe. Savages although they are, they still understand warfare very well; but it is usually that of the Parthians, who gave the Romans of old so much trouble, fighting them just as the Savages fight us. The Agnieronnons especially have always excelled in this kind of warfare, and sometimes even in that which demands courage only. They defeated two thou-

sand men of the Cat Nation in the latter's own intrenchments; and, although they were only seven hundred in number, they nevertheless climbed the enemy's palisade, employing against it a counter-palisade which they used, in place of shields and ladders, to scale the fortress, receiving the hail of shot that fell on them from every direction. It is said of them that, while there are no Soldiers more furious than they when they form an army, so there are none more cowardly when they are only in small bands, whose glory it is to break a number of heads and carry off the scalps. Yet they have not failed to demonstrate, on several occasions, that the courage of individuals went even to the point of rashness,—as when one of them passed the night at the entrance to a Huron village, hiding in a dunghill; thence he suddenly emerged at dawn of the following day, like a man risen from the dead, and hurled himself upon the first comer, taking flight again after breaking his head in this most unexpected manner. Two others showed themselves still braver. Under cover of the darkness, they stealthily approached a sentry Post, where careful watch was being kept after the manner of the Savages, which is to sing at the top of one's voice all night long. When they had allowed the sentry to shout for a considerable time, one of the two nimbly mounted the sentry post, and delivered a blow with his hatchet upon the first man whom he encountered; then, throwing the other to the ground, he took his leisure to kill him and remove the scalp from his head, as the noblest trophy of his victory. Last year, an Agnieronnon went all alone to war against Tadoussac; he accomplished a journey of two or three hundred leagues, making his way alone by sea and land, to find an Algonkin who was his enemy and whom he killed at last with his own hand, almost in the very midst of the French and of a large body of Savages. It is true, he lost his life in the act; but he lost it in defying them and in making his retreat as if he were walking for pleasure,—a haughtiness that caused his death.

But these traits of bravery are not found in all the Iroquois; knavery is much more common with them than courage, and their cruelty far exceeds their knavery; and it may be said that, if the Iroquois have any power, it is only because they are either knavish or cruel. All the treaties that we have made with them are proofs of their perfidy; for they have never kept a single one of the promises that they have so often and so solemnly sworn to us. And as for cruelty, I would make this paper blush, and my listeners would shudder, if I related the horrible treatment inflicted by the Agnieronnons upon some of their captives. This has indeed been mentioned in the other relations; but what we have recently learned is so strange that all that has been said on the subject is nothing. I pass over these matters, not only because my pen has no ink black enough to describe them, but much more from a fear of inspiring horror by recounting certain cruelties never heard of in past ages.

It is only a neat trick with them to make a cut around the thumb of a captive, near the first joint; and then, twisting it, to pull it off by main strength, together with the sinew, which usually breaks toward the elbow or near the

shoulder, so great is the violence employed. The thumb, thus removed with its sinew, is hung to the sufferer's ear like an ear-pendant, or attached to his neck in place of a carcanet. Then they will do the same with a second and a third finger, while, to replace the fingers that have been pulled off, they force into the wounds splinters of hard wood, which cause pains quite different from the foregoing, although excessive, and very soon produce a great inflammation and a huge swelling of the entire hand and even of the whole arm. Even if this first game were all, is it not with reason that the French of this country have so long asked the destruction of so cruel an enemy? since, after all, five or six hundred men are unable to withstand a courageous undertaking, if it be executed in such manner as the glory of God and the compassion due to them demand. The Iroquois have the disposition of women; there are none more courageous when no resistance is offered them, and none more cowardly when they encounter opposition. They deride the French, because they have never seen them wage war in their country; and the French have never done so because they have never made the attempt, hitherto believing the roads more difficult to pass than they really are. With our present knowledge of these barbarians,—having seen, when we were in their midst, how alarm was everywhere felt when they beheld themselves attacked in their own country,—it may be said with full assurance that, if an army of five hundred Frenchmen should arrive unexpectedly, it could say, *Veni, vidi, vici*.

I have stated that there are only five or six hundred men to destroy; for it is beyond doubt that, if the Agnieronnons were defeated by the French, the other Iroquois Nations would be glad to compromise with us, and give us their children as hostages of their good faith. Then those fair Missions would be revived at Onnontagué, at Oiogoen, and in all the other remaining Iroquois Nations, among whom we have already sown the first seeds of the faith. These have been so well received by the common people that we may not, without distrusting the divine Providence, despair of one day reaping therefrom very abundant fruits. Moreover, the great door would be open for so many old and new missions toward the tribes of the North, and toward those newly discovered ones of the West, all of whom we embrace under the general name of Algonquins. But it is a subject of too wide a scope and demands a separate Chapter.

**JR, 45:217** [*\*Some Algonquin Nations flee the Iroquois to Hudson Bay.*]

I cannot more clearly describe the condition of the Nations of the Algonkin tongue than by giving the simple account of what one of our Fathers has learned about them,—who has been, this year, on the Saguenay River of Tadoussac...

"On the thirtieth of July of the year one thousand six hundred and sixty, ascending the Saguené to the distance of thirty-two leagues from Tadoussac, I encountered eighty Savages; and among them was one named Awatanik, a man of importance because he was a Captain in rank, and much more so because he had received holy Baptism ten years before in the country of the

Nipisiriniens. The glorious Archangel whose name he bears, seems to have taken pleasure in leading this man, as if by the hand, and conducting him here to us, to show us the way which will take us to the North sea—where various Algonquin Nations have sought a retreat, fleeing from the Iroquois, who also prevents us from going in search of them by the ordinary route of the great River.

**JR, 45:219** [*\*Algonquian tribes seek refuge along Lake Superior.*]

“This lake [*\*Superior*], which is more than eighty leagues long by forty wide in certain places, is studded with Islands picturesquely distributed along its shores. The whole length of its coast is lined with Algonkin Nations, fear of the Iroquois having forced them to seek there an asylum.

**JR, 45:227** [*\*The Iroquois prevent the Cree from selling beaver skins.*]

“On his way, he met with various Nations whose names have already been recorded. He noticed especially the Kilistinons, who are divided among nine different residences, some of a thousand, others of fifteen hundred men; they are settled in large villages, where they leave their wives and children while they chase the Moose and hunt the Beaver. The skin of the latter is of so little value to them since the Iroquois has prevented its sale, that they broil the Beavers over the fire, as is done with Swine in France, to render them eatable the more quickly.

**JR, 45:233** [*\*Three nations overthrown by Iroquois two or three years ago.*]

“After our Algonkin had visited all the Nations surrounding the Bay, and had laden himself with various presents sent by those peoples to the French and Algonkins of these regions—to attract them to their Bay, in order that they might all fortify themselves there against the Iroquois,—he left the seacoast to proceed inland and seek a road to Tadoussac, through vast forests which were unknown to him. As he was advancing through the woods, without compass and without taking altitude, he learned of the three Rivers, one of which leads straight to our village of three Rivers. This route he would not take, although it is much shorter and surer, but, at the same time, much more exposed to the Iroquois. The two other Rivers flow into lake St. Jean, whence the river Saguené takes its rise. He chose the more remote of these two Rivers as the safer one,—the other being not very far from the country where three Nations were overthrown by the Iroquois, two or three years ago, and compelled to seek a refuge with other more distant ones. The names of these latter are the Kepatawangachik, the Outabibek, and the Ouakwiechiwek.

“Finally, he reached a spot thirty-two leagues from Tadoussac, where he entertained me with an account of his adventures and travels, and began to tell me in advance the condition to which the Iroquois had reduced the Algonkin Nations toward lake Superior and the lake of the Ouinipeg....

“They passed the winter on the shores of lake Superior, and were fortu-



nate enough to baptise there two hundred little children of the Algonkin Nation with whom they first made their abode. These children were the victims of disease and famine; and forty went straight to Heaven, dying soon after Baptism.

“During their winter season, our two Frenchmen made divers excursions to the surrounding tribes. Among other things, they saw, six days’ journey beyond the lake toward the Southwest, a tribe composed of the remnants of the Hurons of the Tobacco Nation, who have been compelled by the Iroquois to forsake their native land, and bury themselves so deep in the forests that they cannot be found by their enemies. These poor people—fleeing and pushing their way over mountains and rocks, through these vast unknown forests—fortunately encountered a beautiful River, large, wide, deep, and worthy of comparison, they say, with our great river St. Lawrence. On its banks they found the great Nation of the Alimiwee, which gave them a very kind reception. This Nation comprises sixty Villages—which confirms us in the knowledge that we already possessed, concerning many thousands of people who fill all those Western regions.

**JR, 45:237** [*\*The Iroquois are attacking the Poualak, 500–600 leagues away.*]

But we must take leave of these people [*\*the Nadwechiwee or Sioux*],—without much ceremony, however,—and enter the territories of another Nation, which is warlike and which with its bows and arrows has rendered itself as redoubtable among the Upper Algonkins as the Iroquois among the lower; and so it bears the name of Poualak, which means ‘Warriors.’...

Some of the more ingenious make themselves buildings of loam, very nearly as the swallows build their nests; and they would sleep not less comfortably under these skins and this mud than do the great ones of the earth under their golden canopies, if they did not fear the Iroquois, who come in search of them from a distance of five and six hundred leagues.”

**JR, 45:241** [*\*The Iroquois defeat a mixed Huron/French/Algonquin war party, but do not proceed to Quebec.*]

If ever a people could say with the Prophet, *Dissipata sunt ossa nostra*, it is the poor Hurons, who now see themselves scattered through all parts of these regions. They are no longer alive, except as are those insects which, on being cut into pieces, still show some signs of life by the movement remaining in the severed parts.

But if it be any one’s right to say with the same Prophet, *Dissipa gentes quæ bella volunt*, it is for us to utter these words against the Iroquois, who live only on blood and carnage, and breathe only the air of war. Certainly they deserve to be scattered, after having dispersed and ruined all their neighbors, among whom there are none with more cause for complaint than the poor Hurons. In all these regions they constituted, some time ago, the most settled Nation, and the one best fitted for receiving the seed of the faith; and now they

are the most nomadic and the most scattered of all. To tell the truth, when their country met with defeat, those who were killed or burned by the Iroquois formed only the smallest part of the thirty or forty thousand souls constituting the nation. Famine—which follows war as the shadow follows the body, and which brings diseases in its train—attacked them much more severely, but, I may say, much more fortunately for them, since it peopled Paradise with most of them. Those poor people, in the general devastation of their country, had only this consolation, that they died Christians.

Those left from the wreck who could flee, scattered in every direction, like an army defeated and pursued by the Victor. Some hastened to the neutral Nation, expecting to find a place of refuge there, because of its neutrality, which had not hitherto been violated by the Iroquois; but those treacherous people embraced the opportunity to seize the whole Nation, and carry it entire into a harsh captivity in their own country. Others sought refuge with the Tobacco Nation, but the latter was itself obliged to seek shelter among the Upper Algonkins. Others wandered for ten whole days in the woods, and still others decided to go to Andastoé, a country of Virginia. Some sought an asylum with the fire Nation and the Cat Nation; while one whole Village even threw itself upon the mercy of the Sonontwaehronnons, one of the five Iroquois nations, and was well received by them,—having since then preserved its identity, in the form of a Village apart from those of the Iroquois. Here the Hurons live in Huron style, and the old Christians retain what they can of Christianity.

In this dispersion, those who had cast in their lot with Quebec and, like good sheep, had decided to follow their shepherds thither, lived like very good Christians on the Isle of Orleans, to the number of five or six hundred souls. They passed eight years there peacefully enough, although they were in no greater security under shelter of the French than under that of their fellow-Savages allied to them. We saw and lamented their removal, and were bespattered with their blood when the Iroquois, with abominable perfidy, murdered them in our arms. There remained to us only a mere handful of them, which so excited our compassion that, in order to preserve this precious remnant of a Christian people, the late Monsieur d'Ailleboust, who was then in command, caused a fort to be built for them in the heart of Quebec, to ensure the Nation against perishing utterly. But this remnant has at length been taken from us, through dispensations of Providence utterly beyond our scrutiny, yet none the less adorable. They at least perished gloriously, since by their death they saved this country,—or, at any rate, bore the brunt of the storm that was about to break over us, and averted its fury when we were most threatened by it,—as will be seen from what follows.

Forty of our Hurons, constituting the flower of all those of importance that remained here with us, toward the close of last winter set out from Quebec, under the lead of a Captain of considerable renown named Anahotaha, to wage petty warfare, and lay ambuscades for the Iroquois when

returning from the chase. They stopped at three Rivers, where six Algonkins joined them under the command of Mitiwemeg, a Captain of note. Then arriving at Montreal, they found that seventeen Frenchmen of courage and resolution had already formed a league for the same purpose as their own, generously sacrificing themselves for the public good and the defense of Religion. They had chosen sieur Dolard as their Chief, a man of accomplishments and generalship; and, although he had but quite recently arrived from France, he was entirely fitted for this kind of warfare, as he well proved, and his comrades likewise; yet fortune seems to have denied them the glory of succeeding in so holy and courageous an enterprise.

Our Savages, glad to increase their own number with so active and resolute a band, embarked, full of new courage, our Frenchmen joining them and paddling along in high spirits, hoping to surprise the enemy very soon. They journeyed by night to avoid discovery, and prayers were regularly held every morning and evening, all addressing themselves to God in public, each in his own language. Thus they formed three Choirs, which Heaven was pleased to behold; it had never seen here such saintly Warriors, and very gladly received vows couched in the French, Algonkin, and Huron languages at the same time.

They did not hesitate to pass the St. Louis falls and the other rapids. The zeal and ardor of so holy an expedition made them set at naught encounters with the ice, and the coldness of the waters but recently melted; they resolutely leaped into them to drag their Canoes with their own hands amid the stones and the blocks of ice. Having gained lake saint Louis, which is above the Island of Montreal, they turned to the right and entered the River leading to the Hurons, taking their position below the falls of la chaudiere, there to await the Iroquois Hunters, who, according to their custom, were expected to pass that way in single file, on their return from their winter's hunt.

Our warriors had no sooner reached this spot than they were perceived by five Iroquois, who were coming up to reconnoiter, and who returned up stream with all speed in order to warn all the hunters to combine together, drop the character of huntsmen, and assume that of warriors. The change was quickly made; a small hatchet in the belt, instead of a sword, a musket at the Canoe's prow, and a paddle in the hand—such was the equipment of these Soldiers. They assembled accordingly; all the Canoes, containing two hundred Onnontagehronnons, combined, and proceeded in excellent order, steadily descending the rapids. At the foot of the descent, our men, surprised by so prompt and orderly an advance, and seeing themselves far outnumbered, took possession of a wretched remnant of a fort built in that neighborhood the preceding Autumn by our Algonkins, and tried to fortify themselves there with gabions as well as they could. The Onnontagehronnon approached and, after reconnoitering the enemy, attacked him furiously, but was received so warmly that he was forced to retreat with loss. This made him turn his thoughts toward his customary artifices, despairing of gaining his end by force; and, in order to divert our men while summoning to his assistance the Agniehronnons,—whose rendezvous was on the Richelieu Islands,—he pretended

to desire a parley. The Algonkins and Hurons seemed inclined to give them a hearing, but our French know no such thing as peace with those barbarians, who have never treated for an adjustment of differences without having their trickery detected soon after. Therefore, while all seemed very peaceful on one side of the fort, our men, being treacherously attacked on the other, were not taken by surprise, but delivered so hot a fire against the assailants as to compel them to retreat for the second time, in great astonishment that a little handful of Frenchmen could offer resistance to two hundred Iroquois. Doubtless, they would have been entirely routed and utterly defeated, as they have admitted, had the French made a sortie from the fort, sword in hand, or had not the Agniehronnons arrived soon after, to the number of five hundred, with such frightful and piercing yells that all the country around seemed full of Iroquois. The fort was surrounded on every side, and a general discharge of musketry was kept up day and night. The assaults were fierce and frequent, our Frenchmen meanwhile never ceasing to arouse admiration by their resolution, their vigilance, and above all by their piety, which made them use in prayer the little time they had between the several attacks. Thus, as soon as they had repulsed the Iroquois, they would go down on their knees, rising only to drive him back again. And so for ten days, during which this Siege continued, they had but two duties to perform, to pray and to fight, executing them successively, to the astonishment of our Savages, who were incited by such noble examples to die bravely.

As the heat of the combat was great and the assaults almost unintermittent, our men were pressed with thirst more than by the Iroquois. They were obliged to endure a hailstorm of lead, and go with drawn swords to dip water from the River, which was two hundred paces distant from the Fort. Here, at last, by dint of digging, they found a tiny thread of muddy water—so little in quantity, however, that the blood ran much more abundantly from the veins of the dead and wounded than the water from this miry spring.

This necessity reduced the Fort to such extremities that, its defense seeming no longer possible to the Savages occupying it, they thought of treating for Peace, and delegated some Envoys to the enemy's Camp with fine presents of porcelain, which are used in this country on all great occasions of Peace and War. They were received by the Iroquois with loud outcries, whether of pleasure or of mockery, which, however, alarmed our Savages. Some thirty of these, on being invited by their fellow Hurons who were living among the Iroquois to surrender, with the assurance that their lives would be spared, leaped over the palisade, disregarding their companions, and leaving the Fort much weakened by so shameful an act of cowardice. This inspired the Iroquois with the hope of getting possession of the rest, either by threats or by fair words, without striking a blow. For this purpose, some deputies approached the Fort with the Envoys that had left it; but our Frenchmen, placing no confidence in all these parleys, fired on them unexpectedly, stretching some of them dead on the ground and putting the rest to flight. This humiliation so incensed the Iroquois that, with might and main, they rushed headlong

to seize our palisade, and set about undermining it with their hatchets, in a spirit of courage that made them shut their eyes to all dangers and to the constant fire that was being leveled at them. It is true that, to shelter themselves from most of this hail, they made themselves mantlets of three pieces of wood lashed side to side, which covered them from the crown of the head to the middle of the thigh; by this means they seized the curtains under the cannoneers, and, as these defenses were not flanked, carried on their mining in considerable security.

Our Frenchmen employed all their courage and ingenuity in this extremity. As they had no grenades, they supplied the place of these with some of their musket-barrels, which they loaded to bursting and threw down into the midst of their enemy. They even hit on the plan of using a keg of powder, and they threw one over the palisade; but, unluckily striking a branch in the air, it fell back into the Fort, and wrought sad havoc there, the greater part of our Frenchmen having their faces and hands burned by the fire, and their eyes blinded by the smoke which this contrivance created. The Iroquois, taking advantage of this, seized all the loopholes and opened fire from the outside, killing all whom they could see in the Fort through the thick smoke. Animated by this success, they climbed the palisade, hatchet in hand, and descended into the Fort from all directions; they filled the whole place with blood and carnage, giving vent to such frenzy that only five Frenchmen and four Hurons were left alive, all the rest being killed on the spot, together with the leader of the whole band, named Anahotaha. This man, finding himself about to expire, begged that his head might be put into the fire, in order to rob the Iroquois of the glory of bearing off his scalp. *Laudavi magis mortuos vivos*,—it was doubtless with this thought of the Sage in mind that one of our Frenchmen executed a startling feat. Seeing that all was lost, and that several of his companions who had been mortally wounded were still alive, he despatched them with sturdy blows of his hatchet, to deliver them, by this inhuman act of mercy, from the fires of the Iroquois. And in truth, cruelty succeeding to fury, two Frenchmen with some breath of life left in them being found among the dead, they were made the prey of the flames. Instead of oil to ease their wounds, lighted firebrands and red-hot awls were thrust into them; and in place of a bed to hold these poor dying men's limbs, they were made to lie on the embers. In a Word, these poor creatures, in their death-agony, were cruelly burned in all parts of their bodies as long as life was left in them. As for the five other Frenchmen, they and all the rest of the captives,—both those who surrendered voluntarily, and those who were captured,—were forced to mount a scaffold, where the first caresses bestowed on prisoners were given them. Some were given fire to eat, others had their fingers cut off, and still others their legs and arms burned; all, in short, received marks of their captivity.

This scene of horror, so agreeable to the eyes of the Iroquois, was not less so, I am sure, to those of the Angels, when one of the poor Huron prisoners, remembering the instructions he had received, assumed the character of

Preacher and exhorted all those sufferers to endure with constancy these cruelties, which would soon pass and be followed by eternal happiness, since they had undertaken this war against the enemies of the Faith only for the glory of God and out of zeal for Religion. I doubt whether the early Church saw anything more beautiful in its persecutions,—a barbarian preaching Jesus Christ and making a Doctor's chair of a scaffold. And he did it so well that the scaffold became changed into a Chapel for his hearers, who, amid their torments and in the midst of the flames, offered their prayers as if they were at the foot of the Altar; and they still continued to offer them during all their captivity, exhorting each other thereto whenever they met.

After the first fury of the Iroquois had been appeased by the sight of their prisoners and by these trial strokes of their cruelty, they divided their captives. Two Frenchmen were apportioned to the Agnieronnons, two to the Onnontagueronnons, and the fifth to the Onneioutheronons, to give them all a taste of French flesh, and impart to them an appetite and a desire to eat of it,—that is, to invite them to a bloody war for avenging the deaths of a score of their men killed on this occasion. After this distribution they departed, abandoning their intention to come and overwhelm our settlements, in order the sooner to conduct to their several countries those wretched victims, destined to appease the rage and cruelty of the most barbarous of all Nations. We must here give glory to those seventeen Frenchmen of Montreal, and honor their ashes with a eulogy which is justly their due, and which we cannot refuse them without ingratitude. All had been lost had they not perished, and their disaster saved this country,—or, at least, exorcised the storm that threatened to burst over it, since they checked its first movements and entirely diverted its course.

Meanwhile, to make sure of their captives on the way, they every evening stretch them out almost entirely naked on their backs, with no other bed than the bare earth, into which are driven four stakes for each of the prisoners, for binding thereto their feet and hands, the latter being open, and the limbs extended in the form of a saint Andrew's Cross. A fifth stake is also driven into the ground and a cord fastened to it, which is tightly wound about the prisoner's neck three or four times. Finally, he is bound around the waist with a belt, a kind of strap that the Savages use for all sorts of purposes; and he who has charge of a captive takes the two ends of the belt and puts them under him while he sleeps, in order to be awakened if his man moves ever so little. This single position during a whole night, under such constraint and at the mercy of the Gnats and Mosquitoes,—which sting incessantly to the very quick, and suck the blood in all parts of the body,—is undoubtedly a very severe torture; and such is the treatment that our poor Frenchmen, as well as the other captives, receive every night, to prepare them for the tortures by fire which they are confidently to expect. But let us see how, despite all these precautions, several Savages effected their flight, with such good luck that escapes of this sort may be regarded as little miracles. From these men we learned the facts given above.

**JR, 46:23** [*\*A Huron captive flees the Iroquois.*]

One of those from whom we learned all that we have related in the preceding Chapter is a Christian Huron, who, by the truly marvelous aid of Heaven, escaped from the hands of the Iroquois after ten days' captivity. The incident is memorable, and deserves an especial account....

What gave him courage was that, in the evening, after he had said his prayer with redoubled fervor, the Iroquois to whom he belonged, upon fastening him to the stakes, did not bind him so tightly—telling him that he was not cruel to captives, and would let him rest a little more comfortably. These words augured well for our prisoner. What earnest looks did he not turn Heavenward, what sighs did he not direct to his good Mother! At length, after praying devoutly and making supplication to the Blessed Virgin, when every one is asleep, he makes a little trial and attempts to free himself from his bonds. Having luckily a knife about him, but being unable to use it without at least one hand free, he again renews his prayers, and, turning his right arm this way and that, finds it in some way or other clear of its fetters. O God, what joy! He gently unties his left hand, then unfastens the cords from his neck, and finally, with his knife, cuts the one that binds his waist, using such stealth that his neighbor is not awakened. It only remains to untie quickly the cord about his feet and then dart with all haste into the woods. He raises himself for this purpose, but is much startled to see an Iroquois smoking before the fire. This was like a heavy blow on the head to him; a cold sweat like that of the dying started out all over his body, and he thought that he would die with fright—not doubting that he was discovered, and consequently destined soon to be burned. Although he was greatly perturbed, there nevertheless came into his mind this thought: “The horror,” he said to himself, “that seizes a soul at the moment of its condemnation to everlasting flames, must be fearful indeed, since the fear of a surprise causes in me such strange disturbance.” He escaped, however, with nothing worse than a fright; for—whether because the Iroquois who was smoking was half asleep, or because the Blessed Virgin extended her especial protection to her devotee—he was not perceived. After allowing some time to pass without moving, he again raised himself, but only to drop back once more to the ground in all haste; for an old man was then making the rounds, visiting all the fires and all the prisoners, lest a single one should escape from their hands. He passed our prisoner at no great distance and gave him a greater fright than a thunderbolt would have done by falling at his feet. Upon rising for the third time, seeing no one on guard, he dexterously loosed his bonds, and, without making a sound, walked very gently through the midst of the Iroquois sleeping on all sides. No sooner had he gained the cover of the woods than he began to run, all naked as he was, and kept it up for the rest of the night, never letting the brambles, thorns, or thickets check his course for a moment. Ah, how speedily would we flee from all occasions for giving offense to God, if we feared the fires of Hell as much as this poor man feared those of the Iroquois!

Four days and four nights he ran without stopping, at each step imagining the Iroquois at his heels, and having his mind full of the Iroquois fires, which did not even let him look where he set his feet. At last he reached Montreal, and who can say with what joy? His first concern was to go straight to the Church, to thank his Benefactress and prepare himself by the Sacraments of penance and the Eucharist, in thanksgiving for so signal a favor.

**JR, 46:31** [*\*Another Huron captive flees the Iroquois.*]

Another Huron, who had enjoyed the good fortune of receiving holy Baptism from the hands of Monseigneur of Petraëa himself, escaped on the very first night after his capture, in a manner not Less wonderful than that which I have just related.... One of his thumbs had just been cut off; his mouth was still seared with the fire which they attempted to make him eat; and an act of cruelty had just been performed on one of his legs, which had been inhumanly burned, Despite all these tortures, he had no sooner been bound in the manner we have described, to pass the night in that position, than he fell asleep; and he saw in his slumbers a Lady of divine beauty, who thus addressed him: *Satiatontawa*,—"Escape from thy bonds." At this voice he awoke; his mind filled with that wonderful beauty which he had just seen, and from which he had heard so sweet an utterance, he remembered that the Fathers had often told him that there is no earthly beauty equal to that of the Mother of God; and he no longer doubted that it was she who had aroused him, that he might escape. Accordingly, he invoked her very heartily, praying her to give him the strength and the means to obey her. His prayer was fervent, but short, as time was pressing. Attempting to free his unwounded hand from its bonds, he succeeded after some effort; and this was doubtless with the help of the blessed Virgin, as the pains taken by the Iroquois to bind their prisoners securely, during the first days, are quite extraordinary—yet far less so than the care taken of her good servants by the Mother of God. This was shown in the case of this man, who, after thus easily freeing one hand, used it to untie the cords around the other, around his feet, and around the rest of his body, without being either seen or heard. Thereupon he took flight, entirely naked, having only a miserable rag around his loins. He ran without pause until day-break, when he saw that his feet and legs were all torn, and in such pitiful plight as to excite his compassion, although they caused him as yet no pain. To aid him to continue his running, he took the bit of cloth he wore and put it on his feet in place of shoes and stockings; and then he resumed his flight, without thinking of taking breath or drink or food. His legs and thighs, however, becoming inflamed, he was in despair of ever reaching Montreal, when, having appealed with renewed confidence to the blessed Virgin, he felt himself strengthened afresh, and, as it were, persuaded that she was attending him throughout his journey. So he ran vigorously for four consecutive days, heedless of his course, and without taking other refreshment than a little muddy water, which was his only nourishment. Yet this exertion did not fail to leave



him greatly weakened, his strength suddenly becoming so reduced that he could scarcely continue to put one foot before the other; and he almost thought himself forsaken by his good Mother. In this extremity, as a last effort, he climbed a tree with much difficulty, to reconnoiter the country where he must die; but, to his great surprise, he found himself at the foot of the mountain of Montreal. "Ah," he cried, "I no longer wonder that the blessed Virgin ceased to guide me, since here I am at last, returned again."

**JR, 46:35** [*\*A Huron captive flees from Onondaga.*]

God restored to us still another of those poor Huron captives in such a manner that its rehearsal will be welcome to those who delight to adore the remarkable dealings of Providence. Let us hear his own account of his adventures, which he will relate much better than I can, since they cost him some fingers cut off, arms roasted, and thighs burned.

"After our capture," said he, "I was taken to Onnontagué in a state of uncertainty whether I should there find life or death. On the way I was treated like a prisoner, as were also all the rest who had voluntarily surrendered to the Iroquois. When I arrived within eight leagues of the village, a Huron—an old friend of mine, and for a long time a captive—told me secretly that my case was hopeless, that I was condemned to be burned; that, as soon as I should enter the village, I would be given to the flames; and that I must accordingly take thought for my own safety. With these words, he stealthily slipped a knife under my robe, that I might cut my bonds. On the following night, which was to be the last of my life, never was a captive so closely watched as I was, never was a man so securely bound; and even the specters were in league with my enemies to destroy me. When night had fallen and my shackles had been redoubled, during the deepest sleep of my guards, I seemed to see a horrible phantom in the form of a hideous serpent, and in other shapes, hovering around me, and feigning an attack upon my feet and arms, and even approaching to hiss in my ears; this made the hair of my head stand on end, as if the vision had been a lurking demon, stationed as a sentinel to watch over me. If it forced me to move a foot or an arm, my guards immediately awoke and inspected my shackles, in order to keep them always quite tight, so that, during this whole night, I could not use my knife to set myself free. Day dawning caused these specters to vanish, indeed, by its light, but did not dispel my fears; on the contrary, they increased with the approach of death, which appeared ever more hideous and more frightful to my fancy, the nearer we came to the village. I confess that prayer is a very soothing lenitive in such calamities, and is well able to charm away the keenest pains, and even render us insensible to the most frightful cruelties. This I have experienced on various occasions. At one time, among others,—when fire was applied to my left arm with such severity that its fierce heat, penetrating to the very bone, injured all the tendons and rendered my hand entirely powerless,—I acknowledge that I then resorted to prayer so fervently that I felt scarcely any pain from this

cruel burn, and saw rather than felt the injury done to my arm. I made as much use as possible of so good a remedy; and in my death-song, instead of rehearsing my former deeds of prowess, as is our wont, I invited all the French of my acquaintance to pray for me,—now calling the black Gowns to my aid, and now the maidens consecrated to God. I sang my hopes of enjoying eternal happiness after my body should have been the butt of my executioners' rage. To this I added reproaches directed against them, telling them that instead of a fire of one day, with which they tortured me, they would burn for all time in the fires of hell. Finally, in the midst of these holy thoughts wherewith I filled my song, we reached the top of the mountain whence may be seen the village of Onnontagué. I was seized with fright at this view, I cannot deny; but much more so when, on drawing nearer, I descried a great multitude awaiting me, in order to inflict on my poor body all the cruelty with which fury and revenge could inspire them. Then I thought of my knife, which I kept concealed about my loins, and resolved to cut my throat in order to escape by a sudden death—and one that was very gentle, in my opinion—the thousand deaths that I had before my eyes. I had the knife in my hand, and was all ready to deal the blow, when I recalled what the Fathers had told me in times past—that we are not the masters of our lives, that it is for God alone to lengthen or curtail our days, and that I could not employ this violence without committing a great sin. After this thought, which from the first made me waver a little in my resolve, I offered myself to God, to suffer all the torments that he should ordain, rather than displease him; and, to free myself from the temptation, which was a very strong one, I cast my knife far from me, and bravely took up my march toward all the people awaiting me. Never did I conceive more vividly all that had been told me of the fury with which the demons pounce upon a damned soul when it enters hell, than I did upon finding myself in the midst of that throng. All leaped upon me in a crowd on every side, some cutting off my fingers, others lacerating my flesh; these discharging on my body a perfect hailstorm of blows with sticks, and those pulling out my finger-nails. My poor hands were insufficient for all the women tugging at them on every side, while one of the boldest of the men tried to cut off one of them entirely. He to whom I belonged objected to this; the other offered violence, and threw himself upon me; his opponent defended me, and snatched away my hand from the grasp of that cruel savage. The struggle, which cost me only the loss of a finger, made me cleave the throng in order to enter as soon as possible the village which I regarded as my tomb, where I hoped very soon to be reduced to ashes, that I might conclude my woes by ending my life. I expected to proceed straight to the scaffold, which I found all ready for the execution, but was turned aside to enter some of the cabins and gratify, with the sight of my person, those who took an interest in my death. In the third one my death-sentence was pronounced. One of the chief men of the village, rising in the midst of the assembly of all the oldest men,—who had been convoked to hear my condemnation and be present at my torture,—delivered a speech in a very loud voice.

Then,—after thanking the Skies several times for having so favored them as to give them an opportunity to take vengeance on a man of high station for the death of those who had been slain in the last expedition,—turning toward me, he pronounced the decree of death, and named those who were to execute it. He ordered the latter to supply me with leggings that very evening,—that is, to burn my legs,—preparatory to completing my dress on the following day. He further gave positive instructions not to touch either of my arms or my heart, as those were to be reserved and given to eat to an Iroquois of the Village, who had dreamed some months before that he was to eat them. I listened to all this, and prepared myself by prayer to undergo the execution with the utmost courage at my command. They ordered me, accordingly, to proceed to the place of torture. But scarcely had I taken one step in that direction when I felt my head laden with some burden or other, which I cannot describe better than by likening it to a big cloud that came and settled down upon me; for I seemed to have over my head a veritable storm, which would have well-nigh made me lose consciousness, had I not, during this prodigy, believed that I was transported to the Chapel of the black gowns at Quebec, where I distinctly saw all the pictures and observed all the pieces of sculpture. This vision made me redouble my prayers, and I did so with all the greater ardor that those things which were passing in my mind seemed to me quite extraordinary. But my captors ceased not to drag me to the scaffold, where, all my vision vanishing, I saw myself surrounded by fires all ablaze. I saw the iron implements of all sorts that were being heated to redness for my torture; and at last I saw myself tied to the stake in a manner entirely new—for my arms were extended, and bound thus outstretched to a second stake crossing the first, in order that I might be unable to ease myself by moving during the torture. When all was thus in readiness, and my executioners had approached the fire to get some firebrands with which to begin my torture, suddenly a bright flash of lightning rent a cloud above my head. This, with a loud clap of thunder, precipitated such a flood of rain that the fires were immediately extinguished, and my executioners were compelled to retire from fear of wetting their fine robes, where-with they had decked themselves in honor of my torture. Thus I found myself alone in the midst not only of the fires but also of the waters, which made me recall my foregoing vision. Looking around in every direction a little more freely, I saw some dogs eating the last morsels of the corpse of a Frenchman, who had just been burned at the same stake and on the same scaffold that I occupied.

“I saw them licking his blood and contending over some of his limbs, which had escaped the teeth of the Iroquois only to be devoured by beasts; and my own misery caused me less compassion than that spectacle. To this tenderness, which made me shed tears over the remains of his body, succeeded a feeling of esteem for his holy life and brave death; and this it was that drew from my mouth, as soon as that spectacle met my view, the following words: ‘O Frenchman, a thousand times happy, thou now enjoyest the felicity that

thou hast so justly earned by the fervor of thy prayers, and the constancy that has made thee endure so many torments! Ah, why am I not now in thy place? How happy would my ashes now be to be mingled with thine, while my soul would accompany thee to the enjoyment of the reward that thou receivest for all thy torments!’ I said this heartily; and, although my wishes seemed on the point of being fulfilled, yet I thought too great delay was shown in uniting me, through my death, with the Frenchman whom I believed to be in Heaven—whither, with an extraordinary trust in God’s mercy, I was hoping soon to follow him.

“While I was thus conversing with myself, though alone, the storm continued, and, the sky appearing wholly overcast, took from my executioners all hope that they could continue the execution on that day, unless the rain should very soon cease. Accordingly, they came to unbind me and lead me into the cabin, wherein I had scarcely set foot when, by a loving Providence of God toward me, one of the chief men of the family to which I had been given returned from the chase. Learning that my death had been decreed without awaiting his return to ask his advice in the matter, and seeing besides that the other Huron captives brought along with me had received mercy, he held that his family was not under greater obligations to avenge the public wrongs than the others, who had, despite these injuries, spared their prisoners’ lives. Thereupon, he decided that I should not die, caused my bonds to be broken, arrayed me in fine clothes, and, from so unexpected a change of fortune, made me for some time uncertain whether I were awake, or whether all that was passing were only a dream. I was given food and was made to promise that I would be faithful to the Nation, and, above all, would not run away to the French. I feared that all this might be only a piece of sport to give the assembled company a good laugh. That is why I answered coldly enough that I would not run away, saying the words with my mouth, but uttering the contrary in my heart; for I felt my conscience too oppressed to consent to remain with those demons, among whom I would soon have lost the habit of prayer, and would surely have been damned with them. Nevertheless, I failed not to put on a good face, and in order the better to conceal from them my purpose of escaping, I offered to join a war-party about to proceed against the French. On the way, I was often on the point of making my escape, but in each instance the fires to which I exposed myself, in case of recapture, presented themselves with such horror to my mind that I could not muster courage to attempt it. Finally, on one occasion, believing that now was my time, I took a hasty departure, thinking that I would not be perceived. But I had not gone fifty steps before I heard a loud outcry from the whole company, spreading the intelligence of my flight; and, at the same time, I saw myself pursued on every side by those who were the most eager to catch me, and had the greatest interest in doing so. Yet—whether because I had gained a little start, or because the fear of the frightful torture inevitably assured to me gave me wings—they could not overtake me before night, during which I ran on through the track-

less wilderness until day broke, and, by good luck, showed me a hollow tree-trunk just suitable for my reception and concealment until the Iroquois should have finished their first hunt. So I squeezed myself in, as into the safest asylum that I could find, arranged some branches in such manner as to cover the opening, and passed a day and two nights there without moving, drinking, or eating—but not without serious alarms, caused by an unceasing uproar that I heard all about me, made by those who were hunting for me with the greatest zeal. Meanwhile, I had leisure to commend myself to all the Saints of Paradise, and I never would have believed how good a Christian one is in such straits. The second night having passed, and all the woods being wrapped in deep silence, I came out of my lair and took my course through the forest, keeping so far from the main routes that I was sixteen days in reaching three Rivers. I would have reached it in four, had I not made so great detours, to render my escape the surer; but one does not feel fatigue on such occasions. During the last six days I ate nothing at all, and yet ceased not to run as vigorously as at the start, my strength failing me only when I had no farther need of it. The kind reception accorded me at three Rivers made me forget all my past hardships, and they only left me a great weakness—which, however, did not prevent me from paying my thanksgivings to God for such signal protection, for which I shall be indebted to him all my life.”

Such is the account of that good Huron’s adventures, very nearly as he gave it, as well as our tongue can faithfully render the expressions of his own.

**JR, 46:53** [*\*Frenchmen are burned at Onondaga.*]

In the engagement described in Chapter 4, five Frenchmen were captured by the victorious Iroquois and divided among all the Nations, that they might vent their rage on those poor prisoners. One of the five was given to the Onneioutheronons, but was so badly wounded by a ball which had passed through his body that he was burned on the battlefield, lest he should die on the way. Two others were given to the Agnieronons, and we know as yet nothing more definite about them than that one was likewise consigned to the flames upon his arrival at Agnie; while the other, after escaping from the Iroquois, probably died of hunger and want in the woods, since he has not come back to us. Finally, the other two were delivered to the Onnontaguehronons. They presented one of them to the Sonnontwaehronons, who could not wait until they arrived in their own country to burn him, but made him suffer the torture by fire on the way. The fifth, who was left to the Onnontaguehronons, is the one of whom we now have to speak, having learned from the third Huron who escaped some circumstances of his death, which are worthy of being described, and can well fill us with consolation, even in the face of the most horrible tragedy possible to witness.

He was a young man, who had been so courageous as to go with us to Onnontagué when we took up our station on the shores of the little lake of

Gannentaa, in order to convert those Barbarians. There he began the practice of an extraordinary virtue and a rare devotion, in preparation for a most holy and precious death, inasmuch as he was cruelly killed by the very ones to whose salvation he had contributed by his sojourn in their country. His was a mild and peaceful disposition, but a brave one; and I know that God visited him with his grace in a very marked degree during his residence with us in the country of the Iroquois, where he served an apprenticeship to that virtue and courage which he manifested in his last days. As he was carefully trained in habits of devotion, so he maintained them during all the time of his captivity, inspiring this spirit, by gestures, looks, and the few savage words he knew, in the Huron captives who were led to Onnontagué with him. On one occasion, he asked this third Huron of whom we have just spoken whether he was a Christian, and whether he had enjoyed the benefit of communion. Learning that he was a Christian, "Very well," said he, "let us then pray, my brother; let us pray together, and make Churches of all these forests through which we are passing." He also asked the Huron, when they were approaching the Village, whether they would be burned there or whether their captors would content themselves with breaking their heads with a hatchet, or stabbing them in the side with a knife. Upon being assured that they would become victims of the flames, the intelligence at first affected him; but, having at the same time offered himself to God as a burnt-offering, "Very well, my brother," said he to his companion; "since it is God's will that we be burned, let us adore his holy Providence and submit to his decrees." Indeed, he put his teachings into practice. By frequent and fervent prayers, which won for him the admiration of even those Barbarians, he made Chapels of all the halting-places where they passed the night, and, upon arriving at the Village, he was subjected without delay to the cruelties commonly inflicted on those who are condemned to death. They began with his hands, cutting off all the fingers, one after another, without leaving a single one. But—O spectacle worthy of being seen by God and admired by Angels!—immediately after the severing of each finger, he threw himself on his knees to give thanks to God and make an offering to him of his sufferings, joining his hands and the fingers still left him with a devotion that would have drawn tears from those executioners, had they not been more cruel than tigers. Finally,—when all his fingers had been cut off, one after another; and when he, after each operation, had worshiped the Majesty of God, who gave him courage to suffer those tortures with such constancy for his glory,—he knelt for the last time, and, joining his two poor fingerless hands all covered with blood, offered his prayer before ascending the scaffold, which had been prepared in a manner more than barbarous, and wholly contrary to custom in the most cruel Barbarism. For, in place of a stake,—to which the sufferer is fastened in such a way that he can still move from side to side during the application of the fire,—the cruelty of those Barbarians, ingenious in devising new tortures, had, besides the customary stake, so arranged others that our poor Frenchman was made fast there as if

astride a pole,—his feet and hands, however, outstretched in the form of a cross, and bound in such a manner that he could not turn either way when the fire was applied. Moreover,—as if firebrands and lighted bark, which are the usual instruments of their cruelty, were only sufficient on this occasion for the preludes of the torture,—they heated to redness some hatchets, files, saws, pieces of gun-barrels, and other like articles that we had left in our house of Gannentaa upon our departure, and applied these red-hot irons to his body with a cruelty whose record this paper cannot endure. Meanwhile, our virtuous sufferer ceased not to pray to God, casting Heavenward almost unintermittent looks of love, the witnesses of the agony of his body and the feelings of his heart. The executioners were astonished at this, and could not sufficiently admire his bravery, which enabled him to continue his prayers through all his torments. These at length compelled him to yield to the violence of his agony, and give up his soul to God,—a soul happy beyond a doubt, appearing before God, as it did, stained with its own blood shed for his glory; a soul holy and glorious, having been separated from a body all roasted in defense of Religion at the hands of the enemies of the Faith. This precious body was treated after death with no more honor than during life, being chopped into bits, of which the more delicate were carried away to be eaten, while the rest were left to the dogs. These animals were devouring them while our third Huron was on the same scaffold, awaiting a treatment similar to that given this virtuous Frenchman.

**JR, 46:61** [*\*Pagan versus Christian lamentation for war dead.*]

When news of the defeat of which we spoke in the preceding Chapter was brought to this place by the three fugitives, it may be imagined what must have been the feelings of so many poor Huron widows, who—seeing their whole nation exterminated by so fatal a blow, and left without hope of being able to reëstablish itself, since no more men remained—must have been inconsolable. It is the Savages' custom, when such casualties occur, to make the air resound with doleful lamentations, cries, and groans—women calling their husbands by name in pitiful accents, children their fathers, uncles their nephews. And this sad ceremony is enacted not for one day merely, or two, but throughout an entire year, nothing but weeping and lamentation being heard, every morning and evening, in the whole Village that has suffered some great loss. What then did these poor widows do at the first intelligence of this fatal calamity? Perhaps the reader will have difficulty in believing it, but prayer took the place of lamentation; and, instead of the shrieks that those bereaved women were expected to utter, according to the custom of all these Nations, they came, every one, into our Chapel,—with tears in their eyes, indeed, and sobbing bitterly, but with such inward peace and such entire resignation to God's decrees that they themselves were astonished thereat, and could not sufficiently marvel at the efficacy of prayer, which made them find consolation in extreme anguish. One of their most earnest desires is to know whether their poor hus-

bands or their dear children ceased to pray during the violence of the torture. "Oh, if we only knew," they say, "and if we were assured that they died in the Faith, all our grief would be dispelled; for our separation would not be long, and we would live in the hope of seeing one another again in Paradise." Is not this a Faith like that of the mother of the Maccabees, who witnessed her Children's death with joy because they died in the defense of Religion?

**JR, 46:75** [*\*The Iroquois harass commerce between the French and Upper Algonquins.*]

In the year one thousand six hundred and fifty-six, a fleet manned by three hundred of the Upper Algonkins coming to this place to trade, we were led to hope that by joining them we could go up together to their country, and work for the salvation of those peoples. Two of our Fathers embarked for this purpose, but one was forced to turn back; while the other, who was Father Leonard Garreau, was killed by the Iroquois stationed on the route they were to follow. This year, one thousand six hundred and sixty, another fleet manned by the same Algonkins, sixty canoes in number, having arrived, two of our Fathers again joined them, in order to leave no way untried. But one of them could not go beyond Montreal, owing to the whim of a Savage, who would not allow him in his canoe, while the other, Father René Menard, passed that place, indeed, but we do not know whether some accident, similar to that which befell Father Garreau, has not overtaken him. For we have learned that a band of a hundred Onnontagueronnons was to lie in wait for them above Montreal, for the purpose of attacking them in some narrow pass, or else assaulting them in some rapids, where one has enough to do to contend with currents and rocks, without having other enemies on his hands. We know not what success the enterprise of the Iroquois may have had, but fear that they will strangle that poor Mission in its cradle, as they have done once already.

**JR, 46:85** [*\*An Iroquoised Mahican is tortured at Quebec.*]

So sure are they, that we have scarcely ever seen an Iroquois burned without regarding him as on the way to Paradise; nor have we considered a single one as certainly on that road whom we have not seen pass through this torture.

The first one to cause us, quite recently, to entertain this opinion, was a Young man who came here from the depths of Barbarism,—I mean, from the midst of the Agnieronnons,—to make prisoners of war; but, being himself taken prisoner, he found Heaven while in his fetters, and eternal happiness in his misfortune. He was of the Mahingan Nation (the people called by us the Wolf Nation, neighbors of the Dutch and allies of the Agnieronnons), but had been naturalized among the Iroquois, whose cause he embraced. He was captured by our Algonkins on the Richelieu Islands. Three of his companions were killed on the spot; he, however, had only the tip of his tongue cut off by a musket-ball which passed through his mouth from cheek to cheek.

Conducted to Quebec by the victors, he was immediately tried and condemned to be burned, in order that the rest might lose their boldness in com-



ing to disturb us with impunity at the very doors of our houses. The Algonkins, who were the Judges and executioners of this criminal, did not use much formality in the matter. They were Algonkins and he professed himself an Iroquois; that was sufficient to prove him deserving of death by fire. One of our Fathers, who understood his language, employed his time in instructing him; and—whether because, amid such grievous torments, the hope of the delights of Paradise charmed him at once, or because God made a powerful appeal to his heart, looking upon him as upon one of his elect and selecting him, by a stroke of his loving Providence, *de medio Nationis pravæ*—he prepared himself for receiving holy Baptism, and did receive it a little before ascending the scaffold. There he prayed to God with courage during his torture, and even called for the Father again a short time before he died, that he might be farther instructed and aided in making that great and important passage. Is it not a marvel to see a Wolf changed all at once into a lamb, and enter the fold of Jesus Christ, which he came to ravage? It was perhaps the reward for his having in his youth, as he confessed to the Father, believed the poor Hurons, captive among the Iroquois, when he heard them, as he often did, speak of the Mysteries of our holy Faith—showing himself worthy, by this submission, that that sacred seed should, in its own time, bear fruit for eternity.

What happened a few days later to four Hurons, captured in war and burned before our eyes, makes the infinite treasures of God's mercy toward his predestined ones shine forth to much greater advantage. Listen to the words of the Father who played his part best in that horrible tragedy, and who received the last gasps breathed by those victims from the midst of the flames, where they lived perhaps better than they had ever done, and where they at least died in the hope of eternal enjoyment.

"Certain Hurons," says the Father, "who were settled among the Iroquois and had left Agnié last Autumn to hunt the beaver, were urged on their return to proceed to Quebec with hostile intent, in order to avenge some affront that one of them had received. Arriving there toward the end of the following Spring, they captured, on the *coste de Beaupré*, a French woman with some children, but were themselves captured with their prey. Monsieur our Governor, who is not caught napping on such occasions, took such wise measures and laid ambuscades in so advantageous positions, that the enemy's canoe fell right into them while it was reascending the river in silence, and was passing point de Levi. No sooner did our Frenchmen and Algonkins perceive it in the darkness than they discharged their muskets, plunged into the water, and seized upon the enemies. Out of their whole number of eight, three were drowned,—the canoe capsizing upon being boarded,—and five were seized and led in triumph to Quebec to be burned. While their stakes and scaffolds are being prepared, admire the care with which the divine Providence watched over the safety of that French woman. Seeing herself captured and destined for the flames or for a captivity still more cruel, she should have given vent, it seems, to cries and tears, as demanded by so lamentable a condition of the

mother and her poor children. The latter wept pitifully, without knowing their misfortune, since they did not see that they were about to become Iroquois and would be torn from their mother's bosom as soon as they reached the enemy's country; that they would be scattered in different cabins and reared in the native Savage mode of life, in order that they might imbibe the Iroquois nature with their milk, and lose every trace of Christianity. Was not all that enough to throw this poor woman into a state of holy despair, and make her shed tears of blood both over her own misfortune and, far more, over that of those innocent creatures whose souls were in far greater danger than their bodies?

"In spite of it all, she did not give way to vain lamentations during the time of her captivity; but, looking to the hand of God, which managed that of those recreants, and remembering that it was saturday,—a day dedicated to the blessed Virgin, toward whom she cherished a very especial devotion,—she felt strongly convinced that Our Lady would not let that day pass without showing her some signal mark of favor. And even though the shades of night already covered the robbers, and well-nigh freed them from all fear, yet she felt inwardly persuaded that, in passing Quebec on a Saturday, she would be set free by the help of the blessed Virgin—as happily occurred on that very evening.

"It is true, she received a mortal wound at the discharge made upon the Iroquois canoe; but she received it as a mark of grace, and afterward blessed God a thousand times for graciously permitting her to die in the arms of the hospital Mothers instead of abandoning her to live among the Iroquois. She ceased not to pray for those barbarians during the few days while she survived; and, in dying, she left us marks of a soul guided to the happy goal of its predestination by paths wholly worthy of adoration.

"But let us return to our captives. I knew them well," adds the Father, "as having been baptized before necessity compelled them to entrust themselves to the Iroquois. I visited them when the prelude of the tragedy was being begun upon them,—nails torn out, fingers cut off, hands and feet burnt, and all the other treatment of like nature, which was merely the game and diversion of children. Seeing that I could not deliver them from their torments, I spoke to them about God, and they heard me willingly; I tried to make them recall their prayers, and they had not forgotten them; I encouraged them to undergo death with stout hearts, in expiation of their sins, and they resolved to do so. Finally, I confessed them; and I had every reason to admire the effects of grace, which can change hearts of bronze and stone into children of Abraham, and cast bodies into the flames to draw thence souls.

"The first two who were put to the torture were near relatives, grandfather and grandson, the former an old man between fifty and sixty years of age, powerful and robust, and the latter a youth of seventeen or eighteen years, of a sensitive nature and a more delicate constitution. As soon as that man saw the fires, in which he was to be burned, lighted around him, he had me summoned to help him during his torture, throughout which he uttered only these

two words, which were heard ringing out from amid the flames: *Jesus, take pity on me! Mary, give me strength!* That was his death-song, and therewith ended all his cries. With that beautiful invocation he filled the air, whereas others, as a general rule, fill it with pitiful weeping and wailing. I heard him from a distance, and, approaching, gave him encouragement, leading him to hope that his torments would soon be changed to rapture, provided he continued to meet them with courage. 'I will do so,' he replied; 'and to assure thee of it, I promise not to cry out, whatever cruelty may be exercised upon me.' This promise he kept throughout a good part of the night and of the following day, during which time his torture lasted, without ever uttering a cry, or even a sigh, amid intolerable afflictions and agonies that are scarcely conceivable. Seeing him display so much fortitude in suffering and constancy in prayer, I invited him to encourage his grandson in recourse to God in his torments, which he was unable to bear with such firmness, owing to his youth and his constitution. 'Yes,' said he, and therewith turning toward the youth, as much as the fires allowed him, 'Courage, my son,' said he to him; 'let us pray without ceasing. The fires separate us at present, and the smoke rising from our roasting bodies prevents us from seeing each other; but we shall soon meet again in Heaven. Let us not desist from praying, for prayer is the sole remedy for our woes.' Then, turning to me: 'Do not forsake us, I pray thee; and remind us again of God whenever we are given a little respite. Leave us not, and pray for us continually, making us pray as long as we keep our senses.'

"It was a spectacle such as the barbarians of these regions had never seen. As soon as the torturers gave one of those poor sufferers some respite, that they might go and torment the other, I hastened to him to direct his prayers and cheer him with some kind word; and immediately upon their return to this one with the firebrands and heated hatchets, I repaired to the other for the same purpose. It seemed to me, in these goings and comings, that the fire which burned their bodies was also kindling their hearts with devotion, and that their devotion animated my own to spend myself freely in so holy an exercise, with whatever horror it might inspire me; and I doubtless would have been daunted had not the courage they showed in suffering given me sufficient firmness to see their poor bodies thus ill-treated. I can say that I beheld them with consolation, feeling my heart especially touched upon hearing the younger one recite his *Ave Maria* from beginning to end, as soon as he was allowed a little breathing-space. And as he was young and delicate, he made me his excuses for not being able to imitate the constancy of his grandfather, who mocked at the torments. 'Alas!' he said to me, 'I am not brave enough to keep back the tears at the height of my sufferings; for they are indeed violent.' 'Weep and cry out as much as thou wilt,' I answered him; 'that does not displease God.' But the old man, touched by the pitiful cries of his grandson,—one of whose feet they were piercing with a red-hot iron, while they burned the other by pressing it against a stone heated to redness,—could not refrain from calling out to the executioners: 'Ho! why do you not let that child alone! Am I not able alone

to satiate your cruelty without your exercising it on that innocent?’ They threw themselves accordingly on the old man and—with red-hot javelins, with which they pierced the most sensitive parts of his body; with hatchets, all glowing hot, which they applied to his shoulders; and with firebrands and flames, wherewith they encompassed him—did their utmost to make him cry out; but all those cruel efforts were fruitless, and he appeared as if insensible in the midst of that horrible butchery. I was touched with pity for him, and wished to persuade him to moan a little, that he might spare himself some of these inhuman inflictions; for it is the Savages’ custom not to cease their torments until they have made the sufferer cry out; as if that cry, extorted by the intensity of the pain, became for them a cry of joy. So I said to him, speaking low in his ear: ‘Know, my brother, that it is no sin to cry out; thou canst do so without displeasing God thereby. Still, I do not bid thee do it.’ He gave me no answer, but I saw clearly that he was resolved to continue to suffer with firmness; for neither the red-hot iron plates wherewith they broiled his more fleshy parts, nor the hot ashes that they threw on his head after removing the scalp, nor all the live coals in which they buried his body, could wrest a single sigh from his breast.

“At last, when his strength was exhausted by loss of blood and by such protracted tortures, he was thrown into the fire, which was to serve him as a grave. But, being a robust and vigorous man, he suddenly arose from amid the flames, parted the throng, and started to run, having the appearance of a demon on fire, his lips cut away, with no skin on his head, and with scarcely any on his whole body. Although the soles of his feet and his legs were entirely roasted, he ran so swiftly that it was difficult to overtake him. But as it was only a last effort of nature, his strength finally failing, he was recaptured. Thereupon his first word was a call for the Father and a request that he would help him still to pray to God,—until, a little later, being cast into the fire, he died there.

“The three others were not so courageous, nor were they so strong; but their piety appeared no whit inferior, their constant wish being to have the Father beside them during the execution, while they ceased not to recite their prayers as long as the intensity of the torture permitted them.”

**JR, 46:117** [*\*Fifty Cayugas arrive at Montreal: prisoner exchange sought.*]

Fifty Iroquois from Oiogoen made their appearance at Montreal toward the beginning of August of this year, one thousand six hundred and sixty; and finding the people there well on their guard, four separated from the rest for the purpose of holding a parley. Trusting accordingly to the usual kindness of the French, they asked to be allowed to go down to Quebec and speak to Onnontio, in order to tell him on behalf of their Village that, although war had been rekindled between the French and the Iroquois, they, the Oiogoenheronnons, claimed to observe the neutrality they had always professed, never yet having made war on our settlements. And, as a still greater proof of their fidelity, they asked for the black gown who had been a mis-

sionary among them, and had started a new Church there during our sojourn at Onnontagué. Monsieur the Governor saw their game at once. Regarding them rather as spies than as Ambassadors, of which latter class they bore none of the marks customary among these peoples, he believed that God placed them in his hands that he might gain two advantages through them,—the first, that we might gather the harvest in some safety, during their presence among us; the second, to obtain the freedom of our Frenchmen in captivity among the lower Iroquois, by exchanging these men for them. With this design, he ordered that the others, stationed on an Island near Montreal, should be secured and two or three of them sent back to their own country, to tell the elders that, if they wished to recover their countrymen, they must send back the Frenchmen whom they had held prisoners for the last few years.

We are awaiting the success of this move.

**JR, 46:119** [*\*News of attacks against the Ottawas and the Hurons.*]

The Iroquois has not ceased to be an Iroquois, and his last efforts are often greater than his first. They are not the symptoms of a man in the death-agony, who destroys himself by his own efforts: for, to finish this Relation as we began it,—that is, by giving some general idea of this country's condition,—the latest news can enlighten us still further concerning what we said in the first Chapter. This news is as follows.

First, the three hundred Outawaks who came this year to trade with us, and with whom Father Menard went back to their country to labor at their conversion, encountered a hundred Onnontagueronnons stationed below the great falls, but lost only three men, who, advancing too far ahead of the main body of the canoes, were captured by the Iroquois. All the rest, however, passed in safety, the Onnontagueronnon finding himself too weak to sustain a conflict.

In the second place, one of the chief Hurons captured in the defeat of last Spring is expected to conduct some thirty Agnieronnnons by night into the very heart of Quebec, in order to steal away from us the rest of the Huron Colony. It is a very easy matter to give us warning of their approach, not merely that we may be on our guard, but also that we may seize the persons of those who carry their courage to such an excess of rashness. Yet we do not believe that they will risk their lives in so perilous an undertaking, unless the whole army be very near to sustain them.

In the third place, of all the Hurons captured last Spring by the Iroquois, seven were burned, while the rest, together with a good number of prisoners of all sorts, are fully resolved to come and throw themselves into our arms, partly to preserve their faith, and partly to escape from so harsh a captivity.

In the fourth place, in the month of June of this year, one thousand six hundred and sixty, the Agnieronnnons repaired to Onnontagué with costly presents, and invited the people there to form an army corps once more, by a junction of their forces, for the purpose of pouring down upon our settlements in the following Autumn, attempting to sweep away the French Colony of three

Rivers, and spreading general havoc. But all these schemes may well prove abortive, because of the Oiogoenhronnons detained at Montreal. At least, we know that a detachment of the Onnontaguehronnons—who had already entered the field and taken the start in this expedition—thought of using craft rather than violence for the recovery of these prisoners from the hands of the French.

Finally, we are told that next year will be more dangerous for us than those preceding, because the entire cabin—so they designate the five Iroquois Nations—is to form a league, and devise a grand plan of war against us.

Perhaps we shall forestall this Junction of forces, if the excellent purposes entertained in France succeed. This is desired by all who are zealous for the Savages' conversion; the poor Savages themselves ask for it with clasped hands; and New France hopes for it from a most Christian Kingdom which, giving peace to all her neighbors, will not let her children groan under the burden of war; and, having heard the vows of all Europe, Will not repulse the appeal of so many Nations which have recourse to France as to the last asylum of these poor devastated Churches. We desire it with them, we demand it, and we implore it of those who have any power in the matter, because it concerns the preservation of this country, the glory of France, and the salvation of Souls.



### **Section Three**

## **“Declaring War Before They Have Any Enemies”**

### **Expansion of the Northern and Western Fronts**

#### **1660–1664**

*As peace with the French disintegrates, the early 1660s see a dramatic increase in the number and geographical scope of hostilities. Raids along the Saint Lawrence are nearly continual, and in 1661 the Iroquois for the first time begin to forge northward up the Tadoussac River, reaching the trading center at Necouba and pushing on towards the North Sea. A number of Montagnais tribes are attacked and others are scattered before the advancing armies. Retaliatory campaigns are directed against the Abenaki or Etchemin along the Kennebec River, and the Shawnee along the Ohio. A two years' war is launched against the Sioux, and hostilities with the Petun resume at their new location in the west.*

*Closer to home, this period contains some significant setbacks for the Iroquois including losses to the Saulteaux, Algonquins and Montagnais. The Iroquois' most notable defeats however, were two failed sacks in 1663 and 1664. During their invasion of Susquehannock country, a town proved too strong to assault and the Susquehannocks burned their ambassadors within sight of the army. Then the next year a force of Mohawks attempts to sack a Mahican town but is repelled with high casualties on both sides.*

**Letter of Reverend Father René Menard to Reverend Father Hierosme Lallement, Superior of the Missions of the Society of Jesus in new france, at Québec. From Nostre Dame de bon Secours, called Chassahamigon. June 2nd, 1661.**

**JR, 46:143** [*\*Iroquois and Sioux attack the Hurons.*]

On Ascension day, I saw a huron who had started 11 days before from the Tobacco nation. He told me that people were dying of hunger in his country; that, toward the end of May, the Iroquois had fallen upon 14 persons, and killed 4 men upon the spot; that the Natwesix (Nadouesis or Nadouesieux) had appeared some time afterward and killed 5 hurons, while the latter had killed 8 Nadwesiou; that dysentery had carried off 40 Poutewat and 60 others; that his people had left the country and traveled a distance of 5 days' journey hith-  
erward...



**Two letters, addressed to Monsieur the Prince de Condé.**

**JR, 46:147** [*\*Father Raguenau asks for troops from France. Quebec October 12, 1661.*]

That with which it has pleased Your Highness to honor me, and the promise it has pleased you to make me to use your interest with His Majesty for the good of New France, when it shall be necessary to procure us some effectual assistance against the Iroquois, enemies of the faith, constrain me to have recourse to you now that the time has come, when, if we lose the opportunity, this country is lost. The King and the Queen mother have promised Monsieur Dubois d'Avaugour, who has come to us as governor this year, that next year he should have vigorous help from their Majesties. A regiment maintained here for two or three years would put an end to all our fears, but nothing less will do. I say maintained, for this country can in no way bear this expense, or even the least part of it. Now that God has given peace to France, the maintenance of one of these regiments would cost no more to the treasury of the King here in Canada, than it would cost in France, and it would save this country, which is worthy of preservation for the glory of God and the honor of France. If we could go and attack those Iroquois, enemies of the faith, through New Holland, that would be the shortest way and the most effective means. Monsieur Dubois d'Avaugour has written about it to their Majesties. Your Highness can do much in this matter by a single word, and it is for this that I supplicate you. There is at stake the salvation of souls, and of many very populous nations whose conversion is prevented by these wretched enemies of the Faith. By procuring the glory of God you will procure your own.

**JR, 46:149** [*\*Governor D'Avaugour describes the military advantages of New France. October, 1661.*]

To give your Highness an account of this country, I assure you that the river saint Lawrence is one of the finest objects in the world. The country is most fertile, and one whose entrance can most easily be closed to any other power; and it can be developed into two states as large as France.

Five or six companies of vagabonds have hitherto prevented its beauties from being appreciated, and its advantages from being sought. Three thousand men could settle the country and scatter that rabble, who have received aid through the entrance of the Dutch—who, as good traders, assist them with arms and ammunition.

Or, on the other hand, twelve hundred men and three hundred soldiers could sufficiently check them, if flour for one year were sent to the former, and the subsistence of the latter provided for three years. Should the king be unwilling to do either the one or the other, let him leave the people of the country free to act, and grant them authority. I assure your Highness that all will go well, and that they will grow, as all other states have done—provided they be not burdened with useless functionaries, such as the petty governors and men of law who are sent out to them every day.

If with the knowledge of this the king do not interpose, and do not send me my bread and that of the hundred soldiers whom I have brought with me, I shall have the honor of saying something more on this subject to your Highness next year, with God's help. And in my opinion, I would rather rob the altar than impose upon them a burden which they cannot yet bear. At Quebec, they are strong enough to resist their enemies; but, as regards the remainder of the settlements, they are scattered in a still more unsocial fashion than are the savages themselves. As a proof of this, there are one thousand men, and, in all, less than three thousand souls residing over an extent of eighty leagues; and these also very frequently pay dearly for their folly. I can assure your Highness that, for a distance of a league and a half around Quebec, there is sufficient to support a hundred thousand souls. That place is two-thirds surrounded by water, and so steep that it cannot be scaled. The approach is five hundred toises. If the whole were arranged with two forts at a distance of half a league away,—one opposite the head of the island of Orléans, and on the other bank; the other located here,—Quebec would be the finest, the strongest, and the greatest port in the world; and, compared to it, brisac [Brisach] is but a shadow. From this point to the sea, the distance is one hundred and twenty leagues. Ships of four to five hundred tons burden abound on it; and, from here inland, the river is over five hundred leagues long, while along its course lakes are encountered, from two to three hundred leagues in circumference, full of most fertile islands....

I have placed at the head of a general council, for the king's service and for the good of the country, reverend father Ragnaust, who has the honor of being known to your Highness; and with three others he deliberates every day on public affairs. On account of his merits, I thought that I could do nothing better. Should the opportunity present itself, I beg your Highness to authorize this management, and to be fully convinced that it is the jesuits who have labored most for the country.

**Father Joseph Chaumonot. 1661. Letter from Father Joseph Marie Chaumonot, of the Society of Jesus, to Father Germain Rippault, of the same Society at Dijon. Quebec, October 20, 1661.**

*JR, 46:155* [*\*Upper Iroquois seek peace, owing to a new warlike enemy—Lower Iroquois continue war against French and other tribes.*]

As the good God has to some extent restored my health, I notify Your Reverence that, since I wrote you last month, the Iroquois of the Onnontaguéronnons—among whom I resided for nearly three years and baptized a goodly number of savages—have brought us back nine of our French captives with the assurance that we shall see a greater number of them here next spring.

Father Le Moyne who started from here on the 20th of July with other Iroquois, to take back some of their people whom we held captive, writes to

us: 1st, that he received a hearty welcome and was very well treated; 2nd, that they have already built a chapel for him wherein he performs in peace the duties of an apostolic man; 3rd, that that nation, with two others of the most numerous Iroquois tribes, again seek for peace with us owing to a new and very warlike enemy who has recently declared war against them; 4th, that only two tribes of those barbarians continue to war against us, and even they are fighting against three other barbarous nations who have already killed many of their people. Have we not reason to believe that the good God fights on our side?

If our King should send us sufficient reinforcements this year, Monsieur d'Avaugour is fully determined to exterminate those two small hostile tribes; and, in order to hold the others in check, to send strong garrisons to man good forts which we shall build in their midst.

They (the Iroquois) assert that they will, next spring, take me back with them, when they come here for the remainder of our prisoners—inasmuch as they all regret me (so they say), and especially those whom I have instructed in the faith. I most earnestly beg Your Reverence and all our Reverend Fathers to commend me to God in your Holy Sacrifices, so that my acts of cowardice and of unfaithfulness may not deprive me of the happiness of going once more to expose my paltry life in that pagan country for the conversion of souls and for the honor of my Creator. Ah, how obliged I would be to Your Reverences if you could obtain for me from the good Jesus the grace of spending the remainder of my days in that holy employment!

### **Journal of the Jesuit Fathers, in the year 1661.**

*JR, 46:173* [*\*Sixty to seventy Mohawks attack near Tadoussac.*]

[\*June 1661] On the 6th, the day after pentecost, 60 or 70 Agnieronons attacked the frenchmen who were at Tadousac, and had gone to examine their nets. 3 were killed and one was wounded; and at night all who were there, both french and savages, to the number of over one hundred souls, returned to this place, and abandoned Tadousac. The enemies have probably returned thither and burned everything. Time will show this, and, above all, whether they have pursued those who have gone up the Saguené.

The news was brought on the night of the 8th, by the return of the afore-said company; and at the same time came news from 3 rivers that the Enemies had killed there 3 men of the Cape. *Item*, news that two Children of Claude poulain were lost in the woods or taken by the yroquois.

46:179 [*\*Iroquois attacks along the St. Lawrence.*]

[June 1661.] On the 18th at 8 o'clock in the morning, began the massacre or capture of several persons at beaupré and on the Island of orleans by the yroquois, who had come down from Tadousac after striking there the blow described above. On that Day, 8 victims were reported at beauprè and 7 at the Island of orleans; and this has proved to be true.

On the 22nd, Monsieur the seneschal, who had started a Day or two previously with 7 or 8 others to warn Monsieur de l'Espiné—his brother-in-law, who had gone out hunting some Days before—of the danger of meeting the yroquois, was prevented by the Northeast wind from proceeding further and entered the little river of rené Maheu, where he was killed with all his crew by the yroquois. Their bodies were brought back on the 24th.

On the 25th, the yroquois, returning triumphant and victorious and taking 6 Captives with them, were met at Cap a l'Arbre by a shallop coming down from 3 rivers. It also brought us the news that 30 persons, going northward to trade, by way of 3 rivers, were defeated by 70 Agnieronons who formed part of a band of 300, of whom 180 intended to go to the rendezvous of our Algonquins at Tadousac. This placed our Fathers dablon and Druilletes and 80 Canoes of savages in great danger....

On the 29th, Monsieur suar arrived from Montreal in a Shallop, which had met the same yroquois in the Islands of richelieu; and they had uttered the same yells, after making feints in order to capture them. This Shallop brought news of 4 Ambassadors from oioquen who had with them 4 french captives, and who asked for the release of the 8 remaining prisoners, and for black gowns to go and continue teaching them.

**JR, 46:181** [*\*Le Moyne leaves for Onondaga seeking the release of captives.*]

[\*July 1661] On the 2nd, father Chaumonot and father le moyne set out,—the first to bear the decision of monsieur the Governor to montreal; and the 2nd to go to onontae, to work for the deliverance of 25 or 30 Captives, to render those two nations of oioquen and onontae either friendly or less hostile toward each other, and to do whatever he could for the salvation, etc., of the poor Christian captives.

Father Chaumonot returned hither on the 23rd, and assured us that father le moyne had departed on the 21st with every indication of a prosperous enterprise.

**JR, 46:189** [*\*The Iroquois capture Fr. Vignar and six others.*]

[\*December 1661] On the 12th, news came from Montreal that Monsieur Vignar, priest, and 6 others had been killed or captured by the yroquois on the 25th of the previous month; and that at the beginning of september news had been received that monsieur le maistre, a priest, had also been killed, likewise at montreal, with some others.

**Fr. Paul le Jeune, ed. 1662. Relation of what occurred most remarkable in the missions of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, in New France, in the years 1660 and 1661.**

**JR, 46:205** [*\*Discussion of the Iroquois raids along the St. Lawrence.*]

Finally, the Comet which was visible here, from the end of January to the beginning of March, was soon followed by the disaster of which those stars of evil omen are the forerunners....For scarcely had it ceased to be visible when

the Iroquois, as if in collusion with that Star, appeared on all sides like an impetuous flood. If they last year made us cry out loudly enough to be heard in France, they now leave us naught but tears to shed for our dead. I shall not undertake, then, a detailed account of our misfortunes; neither shall I enumerate the places where our enemy has made his inroads, nor describe the murders he has committed from Tadoussac to Montreal—that is, within a territory of more than a hundred leagues. Those are matters not sufficiently pleasant to deserve a careful rehearsal; and it will amply suffice, for an understanding of our desperate straits, to represent in general, and review in epitome, what has made us groan for many consecutive months.

Our misfortunes began toward the end of the Winter, when a band of a hundred and sixty Iroquois, appearing at Montreal and surrounding without warning thirteen Frenchmen, whose thoughts were more on their work than on their defense, carried them away without striking a blow. Not without signal proofs of their frenzied rage did those barbarians conduct them home in triumph. Some were overcome by the shower of blows received on entering the village, and died under the weight of the cudgels that were to have served as their funeral pile, the enemy's wrath on this occasion being mild and merciful in its premature cruelty toward them. Others were burned with the usual ceremonies—barbarous ceremonies, which find their sport in a hell of torments, and cause for laughter in the pitiful tears of a poor sufferer; and still others were scattered, to spend the rest of their days groaning under a bondage more grievous than death. This first stroke was soon followed by a second, which, through a surprise nearly identical with the former one, consigned ten more Frenchmen, likewise from Montreal, to the same captivity. Then others still, and yet again others, fell into their hands; so that, throughout the Summer, that Island has suffered constant hard usage from those wanton wretches. They would now appear at the edge of the woods, and content themselves with heaping abuse upon us; then they would steal into the very midst of our fields, to surprise the Husbandman; and again they would draw near our houses, harass us ceaselessly, and, like importunate harpies or birds of prey, pounce upon us whenever they found us off our guard, without fear of being captured themselves.

The settlement of Three Rivers received no better treatment, and its heart is still bleeding over the twofold loss it sustained, almost on the same day—that of fourteen Frenchmen, who were carried away in a body; and that of thirty Savages from the country of the Poissons blancs, our allies. These Savages, going inland on a trading expedition with two Frenchmen, encountered eighty Iroquois, and fought them stoutly for twice twenty-four hours—the total duration of this engagement; and they fought with such ardor that they suffered themselves to be riddled with bullets rather than surrender, preferring a glorious death in their own blood to one in the fires of the Iroquois. Even the women were no whit inferior to the men in courage, sparing no effort to secure their own death, rather than fall alive into hands that would surely have made

them suffer as many deaths as they were given days to live. All were stirred to emulation at sight of one of the two Frenchmen, son of Monsieur Godefroy, who signalized his courage by a long and brave resistance. He bore the enemy's assault with a boldness that made him appear as if invulnerable, in the midst of the constant fire directed upon him by the foe. He ceased not to encourage his followers both by word and by example, until, all covered with wounds, of which many were mortal, he sank in his own blood and dragged himself, as the others had done, to a heap of dead bodies, there to draw his last breath in the arms of his brave Companions. In this engagement, which was a bloody one for the enemy, since twenty-four of their number were left on the field, all our Algonkins showed marvelous courage to the very last; and had it not been for a misunderstanding between the Chiefs, the victory would have doubtless been theirs.

News of this defeat was soon afterward carried to Three Rivers by one of the prisoners, who escaped from captivity and the flames. Calamity was heaped upon calamity, and woe upon woe, for those poor settlers, who, all Summer long, enjoyed no more repose than the people of Montreal, were forced to witness the abduction—before their very eyes, and sometimes at the very entrances of their village—now of men, now of children, without being able to do anything but shed tears over the distress of those poor captives.

At Kebec the affliction was not of such duration, but was more violent and more keenly felt, for we suffered a loss here incomparably greater than all the preceding ones, in the person of Monsieur de Lauzon, Seneschal of this new France—a man of courage and resolution, trained in the wars of this country, and one on whom we largely based our hopes for the destruction of the Iroquois. For more than thirty years Monsieur his Father has been ceaselessly devoting his energies to the settlement of these new domains. Last year he lost one of his children here, and now the second one has given his life for the preservation of a country which, in some measure, owes its birth to his father. This gallant young man could not witness the destruction and general desolation caused by the enemy's fire and sword, without being stirred by a generous desire to hunt down the foe, in order to save the rest of the French who were in danger. Embarking in a shallop with seven men, he approached a house situated about the middle of the Island of Orleans: for there the Iroquois had stationed themselves in ambush, and it was necessary to engage them there. On the shore there was a large rock that could be used as a means of defense by those who should first seize it. The enemy, well aware of this, took each two or three pieces of wood which they joined together and bore in front of them as mantelets, thus sheltering themselves from the hot fire constantly leveled at them by the French. But the latter could not prevent them from seizing this advantageous position, from which, as from a fortress purposely erected, they had within range of their muskets and under their control the shallop. By ill luck, it had run aground on the shore facing this rock, and presented its flank unprotected to the Iroquois, exposing to their view those to whom it ought to have served as a bulwark of defense.

Then the fight began in good earnest, with a discharge of musketry on each side. But what could our men do, only eight in number against forty, and utterly without cover, while those furious demons were ensconced behind their rock? Fully recognizing, accordingly, that they had no defense but that which lay in their own courage, and that their desperate situation obliged them to take thought for their spiritual rather than their bodily salvation, they began the attack by joining in prayer, repeating the ceremony three times, while the enemy—fully conscious of their advantage, and already regarding themselves as victorious—thrice summoned them to surrender, making them a thousand fine promises of life.

But Monsieur the Seneschal, preferring a glorious death to a shameful captivity, refused to hold any parley with them and answered their invitations only through the mouth of his musket. As he showed the greatest ardor of all, so he was the first to be killed. The other Frenchmen fell soon after, the enemy keeping up their fire upon them in full security from the shelter of the great rock. When only one was left alive,—and he wounded in the arm and shoulder and disabled for resistance,—he was seized and led away by the conquerors to their own country, there to become the victim of their fury and cruelty.

When this sad news, which we learned from a French prisoner who made his escape from the Iroquois, was brought to us, our people were filled with incredible grief at the loss of their Seneschal, whom they dearly loved, and whose courage they held in such high esteem that, at his slightest signal, they would all rally to his side in arms, ready to follow him anywhere.

Following on these tidings there came disturbances on all sides, and discouragement made almost everything a prey to the enemy, who, as masters of the field everywhere burned, killed, and kidnapped with impunity.

If we had a mind to return to Three Rivers, we would find material for enlarging this Chapter, as our enemies return thither again and again and furnish us sad accounts by the repeated kidnappings and almost daily murders, which will render that place more dangerous than the haunts of cut-throats, where one cannot pause with safety. Let us pass it, then, and go up once more to Montreal to witness the catastrophe of this fatal tragedy. *Plorabant Sacerdotes Ministri Domini*. It did not suffice for our misfortune that all states, conditions, and ages, and both sexes, had this year fallen victims to our enemy's fury; to crown our afflictions, the Church was forced to share in these bloody sacrifices, and, by the violent death of one of her consecrated Ministers, to mingle her blood with our tears.

He was a worthy Ecclesiastic of Montreal, Monsieur le Maistre by name, a man as zealous as he was courageous for the salvation of souls; and one who so emulated the late Father Garreau's death,—who was killed by the Iroquois, on his way to the Outaouak as missionary,—that he deemed himself happy if he could mingle his own bones with those of that Martyr for Jesus Christ, as he was wont to call him. It seemed as if desires so holy could not remain without result; and so he was killed by the same enemy and likewise had Montreal

for a grave. It was in the month of September that this good Priest, while he was bearing company to eight men engaged in reaping grain, having retired a little distance from them to recite his Office more in quiet, suddenly received a discharge of musketry, the injuries from which he felt before knowing their cause. Finding himself mortally wounded, he went to breathe out his soul at the feet of the Frenchmen, who immediately saw themselves attacked on all sides, and surrounded by fifty Iroquois. The latter, issuing from the woods like Lions from their caves, laid one of the Frenchmen dead on the ground at the first onset, captured another alive, and were fully determined to let none of them escape. But the six who remained straightway put hand to sword, and, laying about them to right and left with great courage, cut their way through these fifty foes, and escaped to a neighboring house. The Iroquois, thus left undisputed masters of the battle-field, directed their wrath against the dead, since they had been unable to accomplish more against the living. Pouncing, accordingly, on Monsieur le Maistre, they cut off his head, and, uniting mockery with cruelty, stripped off his cassock, which one of their number donned. Clothed in this precious spoil, he paraded pompously in sight of Montreal, braving the town with an insolence truly barbaric.

Such, in a few words, has been the course of our afflictions; but the end is not yet. We prophesy only too truly; and, if during the past year we have cried out so loudly in our prevision of the misfortunes we dreaded,—*timor quem timebamus evenit nobis*,—our prophecy has proved only too true, by the kidnapping of many children, by the slaughter of many men, including a Seneschal and a Priest, and finally by the death of a hundred and fourteen Persons—more than seventy of whom were French—all lost within a few months. This year deserves to be included among the disastrous and fatal years; and the next few would witness the extinction of a fine large dominion, had not the King—who is inferior neither in piety, in magnanimity, nor in might to any of the Monarchs who have caused Jesus Christ to be acknowledged in the Indies—resolved to make of his New France a land of conquest.

**JR, 46:223** [*\*A Cayuga delegation seeks release of captives.*]

Yet, if this beginning of tranquillity, whose appearance seems to be indicated by peace parleys, did not come from our enemies, and our Iroquois enemies at that, we might think our hopes fairly well founded; but our own experiences make us only too wise, and we all have been too often deceived to trust those who have never kept their word, and not to fear some trickery on the part of a Nation the most infamous of all for its continual rascalities. The Iroquois cry, "Peace, peace!" and at the same time is heard the cry of "Murder!" Peace is proclaimed at Montreal, and war is in progress at Kebec and Three Rivers. And even Montreal is a stage where peace and war play their parts both at the same time; for we there receive into our houses those who slay us in our clearings, and see our Priests and habitants slaughtered by those who protest that they are our good friends.



In the month of July, at the height of our disasters, there appeared above Montreal two Canoes manned by Iroquois who, bearing a white flag, came boldly under shelter of that standard, and put themselves in our hands, as if their own had not been still stained with our blood. It is true, they had with them a passport that relieved them of all fear, one which could have procured their passage anywhere with safety—namely, four French captives, whom they were bringing back to us as a pledge of their sincerity. They asked a hearing on matters of moment, saying that they were envoys from the Oiogoenhronnons and the Onnontagehronnons, on whose behalf they were empowered to speak. The Chief of this Embassy was, indeed, one of the principal Captains of Oiogoen, a man who appeared to be our friend when we were in the Iroquois country, and in whose hut our Fathers lodged while they fostered that infant Church in his village. A day was assigned him for speaking, and meantime he was received as if he had been guiltless of all participation in the murders that had just been committed throughout our settlements.

The day arriving, he brought forth twenty fine presents of porcelain which spoke more eloquently than he himself, although he did not fail to make a creditable harangue, and to expound all the motives of his Mission with intelligence. This aimed especially to secure the liberation of eight Oiogoenhronnons, countrymen of his, who had been in custody at Montreal for the past year; and this was the most important part of his commission. The better to induce us to release these prisoners, he broke the bonds of the four Frenchmen whom he had brought with him, and promised the liberation of the others still remaining among the Onnontagehronnons, to the number of twenty and over, assuring us of that Nation's good Will toward us, despite all the acts of hostility committed during the last two years. His speech, couched in good language, was accompanied by many formalities.

First, he made a present to restore the Sun to the Heavens, it having kept itself in eclipse during the wars, whose woes that Celestial body had been unable to contemplate; it had (as he said) retired, so to speak, for fear of giving light to so many inhuman deeds wherewith warfare is commonly attended.

After speaking for Heaven in offering his first present, his next duty was to exert himself for the earth's restoration, wholly upset as it was by the disturbances of war. This he accomplished with a present which, at the same time, made smooth the course of the river, clearing away all its rocks, and leveling out all its rapids, in order to establish a ready inter-communication.

A third present covered up the blood that had been shed, and raised all the dead to life.

Another restored our spirits, which we had lost in the past disturbances. Another gave back our voices, and cleared all the passages of the vocal organs, that we might have naught but pleasant words. And, to show us how sincerely he desired our alliance, "Behold," said he, presenting a collar of great size and width, "that is to invite the Frenchman to our country, in order that he may return to his mat that has been kept for him at Gannentaa, where

still stands his house in which he lived when he dwelt among us. His fire has not gone out since his departure, and his fields, which we have tilled, only wait for his hand to reap a rich harvest. He will revive peace among us by his presence, just as he banished all the ills of war. And to cement this alliance closely and unite us so firmly together that the evil one, jealous of our happiness, can never more thwart our good purposes, we ask for a visit from the holy maidens, both those who care for the sick and those who occupy themselves in teaching the children." (He meant the Hospital and Ursuline nuns.) "We will build them some large cabins, and the finest mats in the country are set apart for their use. Let them have no fear of currents or falls, for we have removed all these, and have made the river so even that they will be well able themselves to ply the paddle without difficulty and without fear." Then he gave a long account of the conveniences that these good Nuns would find in his country, not forgetting to set forth the abundance of Indian corn, strawberries, blackberries, and other similar fruits, which were represented in his speech as the most tempting halt that could lure them upon this expedition.

The gestures and attitudes wherewith he selected two presents which he offered with this invitation, showed plainly that he gave them rather through gallantry than in the hope of attaining his end.

But the last word, which he delivered in a more serious tone, was a request of importance, and not such as to admit of refusal. "A black Gown," said he, "must come with me. Otherwise, no peace; and the lives of twenty Frenchmen, in captivity at Onnontague, depend on this journey." Saying this, he produced a leaf from some Book or other, on the margin of which the twenty Frenchmen had written their names in guaranty of the Embassy's good faith.

After speaking, he presented to us the four Frenchmen, whom he set free, and who told us of the kind reception they had met with at the hands of the Onnontagehronnons, and the good treatment accorded by the latter to those who were detained at Onnontagué. They added that these poor Frenchmen implored us with clasped hands to take pity on them; that we had nothing to fear from those people, by whom they were so kindly treated; and that they conjured us to send a Father, at the earliest moment, to break their bonds and deliver them from the fires to which they were otherwise irrevocably destined.

Moreover, they added that those Iroquois were no longer Iroquois; that the village contained more of the Christian than of the Savage element; that one of the chief men took pains to ring a bell every morning for calling together the French and the Savages to prayers, which were held every day; that the people there talked openly and favorably of the Faith; and that even these French captives were at liberty to baptize the children—some of whom had, after holy Baptism, gone to Heaven by ways very little expected.

All this, taken with what the Ambassador had just said, caused our French people much perplexity, and made them deliberate a long time what resolution to adopt; for they found themselves absolutely constrained either to allow the

burning of twenty poor Frenchmen, who were crying for mercy, or else to expose themselves again to the faithlessness of those traitors, who had always betrayed us. Moreover, they were seeking peace with arms in their hands; and, at the very moment when they were discussing its terms, were carrying on a bloody warfare all about us. Under these circumstances we feared to be either too timid or too cruel. It was timidity not to dare refuse absurd demands of knaves; it was cruelty to hear the last cries of twenty poor victims, without going to their rescue.

The reply made at Montreal to these presents was that Onnontio (thus they designate Monsieur our Governor) must be informed of the matter, and that, while messengers went to bear him these tidings, the Ambassadors could, with entire safety, remain in the fort of Montreal. To this they willingly agreed.

### *The Mission to the Iroquois Renewed*

Accordingly, messengers came in haste to Kebec, to convey information of what was occurring at Montreal. The desolation was then so general here—blood having been shed on all sides, and the enemy having burned down houses, the ruins of which were still smoking—that we were compelled, on receiving this intelligence, to follow the example of drowning men who clutch at every object they meet, even at a red-hot iron if it should offer; or of sailors who, losing their course or their rudder in the violence of the storm, let themselves drift at the mercy of the winds, without considering whether they are favorable to them, or otherwise.

All the Frenchmen assembled, to discuss the Embassy's propositions. They well knew that the Iroquois are knaves by nature; that this proposal of peace was only in keeping with their old-time policy, and was a new game wherewith they sought to beguile us. They knew that only one Nation or two sought our alliance, while the other three—especially the Agniehronnons, who are the most formidable—would be on no better terms with us; but that, on the contrary, stung with jealousy, they would be all the more irritated by this treaty of peace, and would undertake our ruin in good earnest. It was stated that we must make peace with all the Iroquois or with none; because they are all so alike that we would not be able to distinguish them, and would not dare strike any one of them, for fear of striking a friend—while not one of them would hesitate to strike us, feigning that he was our enemy. Furthermore, it was a manifest risk of a man's life, and was like throwing him into the fire, to send him among those barbarians, simply trusting their word. But if one or two of the eight Oiogoehronnon prisoners were held back, they would serve as hostages on our side, and would afford some security to those who should enter the enemy's country. In a word, it was too great a betrayal of our own weakness to surrender all and reserve nothing.

Despite all these arguments, as no other means offered for arresting the course of so many tragic events as were then laying waste all our settlements, the final verdict was similar to the one rendered of old against Our Lord,—

*expedit ut unus homo moriatur pro populo.* Happy he who was so gloriously to symbolize the Son of God! We were therefore asked to give some one of our Fathers, who should go and sacrifice himself for the public, for the rescue of those poor Frenchmen groaning in so dangerous a captivity, and also that he might serve the purposes of the divine Providence.

Good fortune declared again for Father Simon le Moine, who had already four times risked his life among the Iroquois. He was chosen to risk it a fifth time, and to go to a country where the scaffolds are still standing, and the ground is still stained with the blood of the French who were so cruelly burned there last year....

Before the Father's departure, it was necessary to answer the twenty presents of the Ambassadors; and this was done in three words.

By the first, Onnontio opened the prisons of Montreal, broke the irons of the Oiogoehronnons confined therein, and restored to them their freedom, placing them in charge of the deputies to go back all together to their own country.

By the second, he gave them Ondessonk, as they call Father le Moine, to go and exert himself on the spot for the deliverance of the French captives.

And, by the third, he called upon them to keep their promise, whereby they had pledged themselves to return at the end of forty days with the liberated Frenchmen, and with some of their elders, who would deliberate here on public interests, while Ondessonk remained in their country as a hostage to attend to the duties of his Mission.

Under these conditions, the Father embarked and departed, probably to his death; for, at the very time when he was borne away from us by the Iroquois, the latter were smiting us, and continuing their usual ravages in our fields. Scarcely had the people of Montreal lost him from sight, when they beheld the clearings beset by those cruel assassins. Doubtless from a feeling of jealousy, which is common among them, or in a spirit of perfidy, almost at the very moment when they were conducting away one black Gown, they carried off the head of another, whose murder we described in the first Chapter.

**JR, 46:241** [*\*The new governor, d'Avaugour, inspects the situation in New France.*]

While that Canoe pushes its way up the Saint Louis Rapids, proceeding toward the West, let us turn our attention to the East, and behold, in the direction of France, a great Vessel, with all sails spread, making its appearance in the gulf of St. Lawrence; it hastens to bring renewed life to us after so many deaths, and to make good fortune succeed our calamities.

This blessing is attached to the person of Monsieur the Baron du Bois d'Avaugour, whom yonder Vessel is bringing us for Governor, and whose arrival has consoled us for losing Monsieur the Vicomte d'Argençon. The King fixed his choice upon the former to come and plant the Lilies over the ashes of the Iroquois, and to gather palms which will spring up under his feet

as he advances against the enemy; and thus does the King make the glory of the French name blaze forth in these most remote parts of the Occident, as he has done in those of the Orient; and gives to our New France what he has not refused to Persia, Muscovy, Poland, Sweden, and Germany.

No sooner did the Baron land here than he wished to examine in person all the stations and settlements of this country, their position, their defects and advantages, their Points of strength and of weakness. He visited our fields and saw them loaded with fine harvests; he inspected our forests, which are only waiting to be felled in order to disclose extensive lands, and expose to light the lairs of the Iroquois, who will see their strongholds destroyed when the woods are cut down. He also proceeded by boat on our great river from Kebec to Montreal, saw with pleasure the fine country bordering it, and the beautiful Islands dotting its surface above Three Rivers, and realized the very hopeful prospect to be entertained of making some day a veritable new France out of the country's multitude of inhabitants. All our fears vanished at his coming and his presence revived our hopes. Hence it was that we said, in beginning this Relation, that we are strong in our weakness; and that a powerful succor, administered by a Leader uniting prudence with courage, and experience with skill, can rescue us from the chasm's brink to which the latest mishap had pushed us.

What now holds us in suspense is the fate of Father le Moine's Mission. We feared for him before his departure, and our fears are constantly growing since the expiration of the time within which the Iroquois were to have returned to Montreal with the twenty French captives. They had asked for but forty days' delay, and already eighty have passed with no sign of them.

All that we know about them is what we were told by some Agniehronnon Iroquois who—prowling about our fields, with intent to kill, which crime they have committed on various occasions, even since the Father's departure—made great fun of that Embassy, and represented it to us as a game employed by the Oiogoehronnons to abuse our kindness, and to recover from our keeping the captives of their Nation that were in custody at Montreal.

**JR, 46:251** [*\*The Iroquois control all the rivers to the Cree country around Hudson Bay.*]

But, as the Iroquois, the great scourge of Christianity here, hold possession of all the rivers offering any convenient access to those new Nations [*\*the Kilistinons, or Cree*], it was necessary to seek out remote routes, so rough and dangerous as to be considered impassable for those pirates.

**JR, 46:285** [*\*Iroquois raid at will and head toward Hudson Bay.*]

...it was quite enough that the Iroquois was always before and behind us, on the right hand, on the left hand, and in our midst. On our right, he has destroyed the Squirrel nation, as we shall relate at the close of this Chapter; on our left, he has cut to pieces the French and Savages from Three Rivers who,

as we said in the first Chapter, were going to Nekouba as well as we; in our rear, scarcely had we left Tadoussac when the enemies arrived there, and if they did not proceed against us, after murdering some Frenchmen there, it was because God blinded them, and made them forget all about it. In front of us, and at our journey's end, which is the North Sea, the Iroquois intended to be there as soon as we, having left his own country for that purpose, because unable to find any other limit to his ravages than the Sea,—and that, too, the one farthest distant from his country, whither neither French nor Savages from our land have yet been able to penetrate.

“That is not all. We have had them in our midst, and, as it were, in our very bosom—a hundred and eighty of these rovers having lain in ambush for us on Lake St. John, where we tarried long enough to visit and cheer the remnants of a devastated Church. Not meeting us, they changed their route. Had they followed and caught sight of us, they could very easily have defeated us—taking us either when we were fighting with the turbulent waters, or else in the midst of some portage, when each one was going or coming, laden with Canoe or packages, without arms or means of defense; and when the women, in utter weariness, found it very difficult to drag themselves through the brushwood; while the children, unable to follow them, were filling the woods with their cries.

“In these situations, the men seemed to scale the hills with feet and hands, or else, fully laden as they were, they preserved their balance on the pinnacles of rocks, while a single false step would cause a fall from a precipice. In a Word, some were hastening forward, others halting; some singing, others lamenting; while all were perspiring and bending under their burdens. And in these goings and comings, repeated more than a hundred and sixty times in sixty-four portages, everything was done in haste and disorder, amid the greatest confusion imaginable, and yet a confusion unavoidable in this kind of boating. Now, who was then preventing the Iroquois from meeting us and taking us prisoners—either one after another, or all together, as they saw fit? It certainly was as easy for them to do so as it is for the Hunter to lay his hand on some poor birds struggling vainly in the snares.

**JR, 46:289** [*\*The Iroquois rout the Squirrel Nation.*]

“What confirms us in this truth is the sad news that reaches us and changes the entire aspect of our affairs. We are told that the Iroquois have forestalled us, and have surprised the Squirrel nation, several days' journey hence, defeating it utterly—and so terrifying all the surrounding tribes that they have all dispersed in quest of other and more remote mountains, and of rocks more difficult of access, where their lives may be safe. The panic is said to have spread even to the Sea-coast whither we were going, and whither these barbarians fully intend this year to extend their cruelty, in order to push their conquests as far toward the North as they have done, of late years, toward the South.

**JR, 46:291** [*\*Call for a crusade against the Iroquois.*]

“Since hearing of that Nation’s overthrow [Squirrel Nation], so near our present position, our Savages think of nothing but retracing their steps, as the tribes they were going to visit have dispersed, For the same reason we find ourselves obliged to bear them company, regretting the injury done to the Faith by the Iroquois in preventing the publication of the Gospel, and in retarding its course.

“Even were this the only consideration,—namely, to undertake the destruction of a people who are overthrowing Christianity everywhere,—would not that be a holy war and a blessed crusade, well fitted to signalize the piety and consecrate the courage of the French against this little Turk of New France?...But the Iroquois are worse than the bonzes and brahmans: they are not to be defeated with the pen, but by force of arms; and there are no Pirates on the China Sea so dangerous, and whose ravages are proportionately so general. We thought surely to avoid meeting them by taking this wide and perilous detour by way of Tadoussac. But the misfortune of others,—French as well as Savages, who have fallen into their clutches on the same route that we took,—the overthrow of one of the nations we were coming to see, and the ambuscades laid for us on every side, make us say with much truth: *Misericordiæ Domini quia non sumus consumpti.*”

**JR, 47. p. 35** [*\*A Frenchman escapes from the Iroquois.*]

As we have seen her [*\*the Mother of God*], in the preceding Chapter, exact obedience from the waters and the ice, so in this we shall see fires and flames working for her and serving for her triumph, in the person of one of the prisoners captured at Montreal toward the end of the Winter.

This poor man was no sooner in the enemy’s hands than he threw himself with all his soul into those of the blessed Virgin, by virtue of a promise he made her to burn with no other fire than that of love to her, if by her means he could escape the fire of the Iroquois. Nevertheless, he was sentenced to be burned; and, had not the pains taken by that good Mother infinitely exceeded those of his cruel executioners, he would never have made his escape, so careful were they to guard this poor victim—who, it was intended, should die a thousand times on the way before consummating that burnt offering. He was bound every night, and that, too, by a new method: for those barbarians, only too ingenious in devising fresh sufferings, would split large pieces of wood half-way, and put their captive’s hands and feet into the clefts. These pieces of wood, opened by force, would, upon closing, cause him a terrible discomfort and torture, making him groan pitifully all night long; but those barbarians were no more moved by this than if they had had tigers’ hearts, or souls of stone. The sufferer’s pain was increased by the intensity of the cold, since he lay on the bare snow while in this posture. As, moreover, prisoners are stripped of their clothes upon being captured, they are left naked—or, at most, are clothed in wretched rags, which generally afford such scanty protection

that some have been known to cover themselves at night with decayed wood, moss, and rushes, in order to protect themselves from the cold. Is not that being reduced to extreme misery? It was made still greater in our Frenchman's case by the cruelty of his Master, who, for fear his prey might escape him, lay every night on his feet, which were confined in those fetters as described, in order to be aroused if the captive should chance to move while he himself slept.

This torture continued a long time; for the Victors changed from warriors to hunters, and turned aside from their route to find better hunting. This prolonged the sufferings of the prisoner, who groaned by day beneath the loads placed upon his back, as if he had been a beast of burden, and by night under the pieces of wood which squeezed him so tightly that the night's rest was more unbearable for him than the day's toil. His nightly sufferings increased as he approached the village where it was intended that he should find an end to his woes in the end of his life. This prospect made him resolve to make an effort to escape from his captors' hands. Renewing his vows to the blessed Virgin, he managed so skillfully one night that he gently rolled his man from off his feet, without awakening him; and freeing himself from his instruments of torture, he plunged into the woods and ran breathlessly through brambles and thickets, stopping neither to pick his way, nor to avoid dangerous places. But alas! this poor man, after a long run, or, rather, a wide circle, found himself exactly at his point of departure. Fright seized him at sight of his executioners, from whom he thought himself far away. Accordingly he darted away at once in another direction, and began to run again more swiftly than before. His fear, redoubling, had rendered him lighter, and made him fearless in plunging now into the melting snow, now into the icy waters; striking now his head against the trees, and now his feet against the pebbles; nothing was held of any account, provided he ran, and increased his distance from his enemies. Finally, as dawn was beginning to break, he almost believed himself led by some magic spell or deceived by some illusion, upon again beholding, after running so long and going astray so many times, the cabin whence he had started. He concluded that he was doomed, and, rather to defer his capture than in the hope of escaping, he climbed a tree whence he could watch every movement of the Iroquois. He saw their astonishment when, at daybreak, they perceived his flight, and he heard them give the cry to start in pursuit. He watched them going and coming all about him, following his footsteps, which were printed clearly enough in the snow. And then he became conscious that his ill luck might well be the cause of good luck to him, since, after all the turning and doubling he had made, his tracks were so confused that the Iroquois could make nothing of them, and knew not in what direction to give chase, in the bewilderment of so many footprints, which doubled on their course without order and without sequence.

I leave the reader to judge with what alarm he was then seized on the tree-top, since it needed only a glance to work his destruction. He has since con-



fessed that fear, added to the intense cold that had chilled his whole body, made his teeth chatter so fast and with so much noise that he had not a doubt that this alone would have been enough to betray him, had not the blessed Virgin, who had caused him to lose his way most fortunately in his wanderings, miraculously preserved him, by preventing his pursuers from seeing him, although he was exposed to their eyes. The day and the night were passed in these mortal terrors; but on the following day, the entire forest being wrapped in profound silence, he deemed it safe for him to descend and see whether his flight would be more successful by day than by night. As he had given heed to the direction taken by the Iroquois upon their departure, he took just the opposite and proceeded at a smart pace, fleeing from, and, at the same time, approaching his own ill luck; for the more he avoided one band of Iroquois, the nearer he came to another, until at last, without intending it, he rushed into the latter's arms. They did not fail to bind him fast, as a recaptured prisoner.

But all such precautions are vain, for there are no bonds that the Virgin cannot sunder. She mocks at iron gratings; she opens dungeons when she chooses; and so, for the second time, she caused the escape of her servant, who loosed his fetters with such skill that he once more found himself free. He then made a firm resolve to order his steps with such care that he could not again fall into the snares he had escaped.

Leaving the highways—if, indeed, that term can be applied to great forests where neither road nor path is to be seen—he tried to go astray, wishing to get lost, for fear of being found by another band of those barbarians, whom the poor man was constantly fancying he saw ahead of him. The least puff of wind frightened him, as he was continually taking these whispering breezes for Iroquois voices, while his too ingenious fears sometimes changed the trees into men, to his view, and their branches into swords or muskets. For a number of days he was thus disquieted, ever advancing and drawing nearer to Montreal. By good luck, Providence made him chance upon a foot, or, rather, a dry bone of a Moose; and this he sucked and gnawed for some time, after which he found himself reduced to nothing but leaves and twigs of trees for food. He never lodged at nightfall without finding in his company two unwelcome guests,—hunger and fear. Nevertheless, as nature, in such extremities, derives strength from her weakness, he was always full of courage, and animated with a firm hope that the Virgin, who had made him escape so many perils, would care for his safety to the very end. Strengthened by this thought, he pushed on, drawing nearer and nearer to his goal, which he longed to reach more ardently than the Sailor longs to gain his port. It happened that, in pursuing his way, he was obliged to climb a little hillock; and here he met with fresh misfortunes. While he was ascending one side of this hill, the same band of Iroquois from which he had first escaped was ascending the other on its way back from Montreal, where it had only recently captured some prisoners; so that, by one of the most unexpected chance encounters possible, he ran into their very arms at the summit of this little mountain. With equal surprise on each side, he saw them and they saw him, such an unlooked-for occurrence

filling them all with unbounded astonishment. But that did not prevent the immediate seizure of this unfortunate man, whose strength was exhausted, his face like that of one risen from the dead, his complexion ashy and death-like, his body nothing but a living skeleton, and his voice so weak that he could only lament his ill luck and groan over his hardships, And yet he was bound and manacled, and his bonds were doubled in number, as if this half-dead man could have broken redoubled fetters, and escaped from his captors' midst like a phantom. Nevertheless he did escape, sundering his bonds not by violence, but by adroitness. Rather it was his Deliverer's powerful hand that broke them: for, taking advantage of his weakness, he pretended to be ill and to fall into convulsions, which, as he declared, arose from the violence done to the vital and animal spirits by all those bandages with which he was so tightly bound, hand and foot. So well could he simulate, refusing the while all kinds of food and depicting on his countenance the emotions of a madman, that he attained his end,—namely, the slackening of his bonds, that the passages for the spirits might be left free. This was with the purpose of gaining his freedom—as he actually did, by a miracle at which he himself cannot sufficiently marvel. Thus for the third time he escaped, but with entire success, as he met with no further mishap.

And thus it is that this favorite of Providence and of the Virgin returned to Montreal, where he paid his acknowledgments to his Deliverer, fulfilling his vow and rendering her his thanksgivings in public.

**JR, 47:49** [*\*A Frenchman's life is spared, but is then burned because of his disfigurement.*]

Another Frenchman, captured at Three Rivers and taken to Agnie, a village of the Iroquois, was so fortunate in his misfortune as to obtain from those barbarians a commutation of sentence from death by fire to captivity. Accordingly he was condemned to lead a very wretched life: but, as he had been cruelly maltreated on the way and was all mutilated, those to whom he was given as a slave found him so unsightly that they decided to burn him, as unworthy to live with them. So he heard his sentence, being a criminal only because his enemies had been too cruel; and his pitiful lot, which was enough to melt tigers' hearts, only made theirs the more savage, and rendered him, instead of an object of pity, one of wrath on their part.

Yet this poor man, who was no longer alive except in half of his body, could not lose his love of the little life yet remaining to him. Seeing, then, his guards asleep on the night preceding his execution, he escaped and fled into the woods, where he passed ten days, living like the Moose and eating only leaves of whitewood, thus keeping his bones alive with a life worse than death, but easier to endure than the fires. He failed to escape, after all; for, being recaptured, he was immediately consigned to the flames, which he endured with a resignation truly Christian.

**JR, 47:51** [*\*A Huron woman is killed for praying.*]

Some time ago, the Agniehronnons carried off a poor Huron woman into captivity, and, in crossing a Lake, they were overtaken by a storm which made those wretches blanch at the prospect of shipwreck and death. The poor woman, being less afraid of water than of fire, witnessed the approach of death with pleasure; but, in order to prepare herself to receive it by prayer to God, she knelt in the Canoe, a posture that cost her her life—or, rather, brought her a glorious martyrdom. For the Iroquois, whether in mockery of so holy a ceremony, or because they thought she wished thus to shake and overturn the Canoe, in order to involve them with her in one and the same wreck, treated her with a severity that passes belief. Binding her, hand and foot, they held her fastened by the hair, day and night, in a constrained and painful position, until they reached their village and put an end to her woes and to her life, crowning her sufferings with a death that was truly precious.

**JR, 47:53** [*\*A Huron captive has a vision.*]

A good Huron Christian, being captured by the Agniehronnons and stretched every evening on the ground, as it were, upon a chevalet, there to pass the night in all the discomfort of the most cruel torment, found comfort in converse with God, and prayed to him with all the more ardor because he found no other lenitive for his sufferings than in the thought of eternity and things celestial. Once when he was most deeply engaged in prayer, and was suffering intensely, two Angels appeared to him in the guise of Frenchmen, of comely appearance and all crowned with glory; and by their mere aspect they wrought such a soothing charm upon him as to put him to sleep, in order to show him wonders such as his mind, in bondage to the flesh and dependent on material visions, could not have conceived....We know not how long this good Huron's happy transport continued, for he himself does not know, and found it only too short. But we do know that since that occurrence, whatever it may have been, he sanctifies his bondage by unremitting prayer, ceases not to urge his fellow-captives to consecrate their sufferings, and, in a word, makes of his captivity an Academy of all the Virtues.

**JR, 47:67** [*\*Le Moine liberates French captives at Onondaga.*]

As the last Vessel which this year came to anchor in our roadstead was about to set sail, and we were saying our last Farewells, there appeared a Canoe coming from the upper countries, and hastening as swiftly as paddles could propel it, to bring us tidings of Father Simon le Moine, and all that had occurred at Onnontagué in regard to the liberation of the French Captives, for whom, in part, he had undertaken that perilous journey.

**JR, 47:67** [*\*Iroquois implore French aid against "powerful enemies."*]

Not only is the Father alive; not only has he procured at once life and liberty for a number of poor Frenchmen; not only do a large part of the Iroquois

seem to throw themselves at our feet, deeming themselves obliged to implore our aid against the powerful enemies God has raised up against them; but added to all this is the renewed opening of those fine Iroquois Missions.

*JR, 47:69* [*\*Council between Le Moine and Garacontie at Onondaga; some letters.*]

[\*Onondaga, August 25, 1661] It was thought at Kebec that the whole case was desperate, and I [\*Father Simon le Moine] was privately told, when on the point of stepping into the boat: "There is nothing else to be done." And yet here are two Missions stretching out their arms to us, one here and the other at Sonnotouan—so true is it that God is managing our affairs, which are to be none other than his own; and this I clearly recognized throughout my journey, the successive events of which I will now relate.

On the day following our departure from Montreal, which was the twenty-first of July of this year, one thousand six hundred and sixty-one, we encountered an Agnieronnon Canoe lying in wait for us, and on the point of defeating one of our own Canoes, which by good luck began to raise a shout. We halted there until evening, to avert this storm from our lands,— they at first receiving our presents, but finally returning them to us with a promise to raise the hatchet only against their old-time enemies.

Three days afterward, when we had crossed the rapids, twenty-four warriors from Onneiout in three Canoes, having discovered us in the evening, advanced upon us during all the ensuing night. Toward Reveille, they charged us, weapons in hand, and also carrying manacles, thinking to make us prisoners. But perceiving their mistake, the most brazen-faced came pressing around me, armed with hatchets and knives with which they made as if they would cut my throat. This compelled our Ambassadors to parley with them, and give them two porcelain collars, in order to avert their hatchets from my head, and from those of the French at Montreal and other settlements. They at first promised not to proceed farther; but their Chief came and woke me in the night to tell my escort that he brought them back their gifts and to give them to understand, with a little present of porcelain, that he was going to prosecute the war against his ancient foes.

On the Ontario, the great Lake of the Iroquois, we met three Canoes from Onneiout on their way (as their occupants said) to fight against the Nez-percez. They told our men, by way of news, that the Andastogueronnons (Savages dwelling near new Sweden) had recently killed in their fields three of their Oiogouenronnons.

At Otatianhegue, the first landing-place, we slept with a Canoe-full of Onontagueronnons, eight or ten men in number. They were about to follow thirty more of their countrymen on a hostile expedition led by Otreouati, who was going to Montreal to avenge the insult he believed he had received in having been detained there in prison.

Here I received the first polite attentions from these people, who fairly surrounded me with great kettles full of Sagamite of all kinds.

Two leagues from the village we met a Captain named Garacontié, the man with whom our Fathers and I have lodged every time we have visited this country. He is a man of excellent intelligence, of a good disposition, and fond of the French, of whom he has gathered as many as twenty in his village—rescuing them, some from the fires of the Agnieronnons and others from captivity; so that they regard him as their Father, their Protector, and their sole refuge in this barbarous land. He has, indeed, undertaken the liberation of all those poor French Captives, and is maintaining peace between his Nation and ours. Therefore he came out two leagues to meet me, accompanied by four or five other elders—an honor never, as a rule, paid to other Ambassadors, to meet whom they deem it sufficient to go scarcely an eighth of a league outside of their village.

Thenceforward there was nothing but a running back and forth of the common people, who lined that entire route of two leagues and devoured me with their eyes, never satisfied with gazing at me. Each strove to secure the best place for seeing me pass, and they made it a matter of rivalry who should clean the paths, who should bring me the most fruit of all kinds, who should give me the most greetings, and who should shout loudest in sign of rejoicing. They waited for me, as far as they could see me, and measured me from head to foot, but with gracious and entirely affectionate looks; and, as soon as I had passed, those who had seen me left their posts to run far ahead, and again secure places for watching me go by, repeating this twice, thrice, and even ten times. In this manner I proceeded gravely between two rows of people, who gave me a thousand blessings and loaded me with all sorts of fruit, with squashes, blackberries, loaves of bread, strawberries, and other things. I gave my cry of Ambassador as I walked; and, seeing that I was near the village,—which was almost hidden from my view, so covered with people were the palisades, cabins, and trees,—I halted before taking the first step that should introduce me into the hamlet; then, after briefly expressing my thanks for this kind reception, I continued on my way and resumed my cry.

My host Garacontié, prouder than I of this splendid reception, wished to conciliate the men of his Nation, who might have felt jealous at having no share in procuring this new peace. To that end he led me directly into their cabins, and not into his own, in order to give them first the honor of lodging me, and to remove all cause for envy on their part at the happiness which he was to enjoy in being my host.

Meanwhile, he prepared in his own cabin a Chapel, which he erected without cut stones or carpentry work. Our Lord, who consents to be embodied under the form of bread, does not disdain to lodge under a bark roof; and the wood of our forests is not less precious in his eyes than the Cedars of Lebanon, since he makes Paradise wherever he is. Our Garacontié thought he could do nothing that would please me more; and indeed I leave the reader to judge what a consolation it was for me and our poor captive Frenchmen, as well as for many old-time Huron Christians, to find ourselves all assembled in

the heart of this barbarous land, to pay our devotions and celebrate the most August of our Mysteries.

By a happy chance I here found opportunity to address the five Iroquois Nations, whom God doubtless had gathered together, in the persons of their deputies, to hear the message of salvation which I brought them from him.

On the twelfth of August, all the Elders being convoked in Council by the ringing of a bell, the deputies were exhorted to give me their attention—the summons being shouted through the village, and all taking their places in the cabin where I am lodged, which is one of the largest in the place.

To open the Council, I offered a prayer, with most of our Frenchmen, and then addressed the whole Assembly, partly in their own tongue, partly in Huron: “To thee, O Onnontageronnon, I address these four words.

“First, thy Son, the Oiogouenronnon, told me that he was deputed by thee to reunite our two heads—namely, that of Onontio and that of Sagochiendagueté;” or, in other words, to make peace between the Frenchman and the Onnontageronnon. “Is it not so?” They answered me that it was so, and I made my present.

“Secondly, he further assured me that he was commissioned to tell me that, as soon as I should restore thy children, the Oiogouenronnons who were prisoners at Montreal, thou wouldst likewise return mine, the Frenchmen whom thou holdest here in captivity. Wilt thou do it?” “Yes,” was the answer, and I made a second present.

“In the third place, thou hast further informed me that thou didst place at my disposal the bones of thy dead, to bury them so deep in the earth that the memory of them should be forever lost. To thee, in return, I present the bones of my nephews slain in the last wars, that thou mayst bury them in the same grave with those of thine own, so that no further mention may be made of either. Dost thou approve?” “Yes.”

“And thou, Sonnontouaeronnon, is it true, as thou hast informed me through these same Oiogouenronnon Ambassadors, that thou didst wish to participate in and go on an Embassy to Onontio, to ask him for some of his nephews, who should go and lodge with thee in token of perfect reconciliation? Art thou thus minded?” He answered me, “Yes,” and I gave him a beautiful collar.

“As for the Agnieronnon,” I added, “he is still determined to play the ill-disposed and the haughty. I do not address him publicly, for he speaks in secret and makes underhand presents to secure my assassination; but he will find some one to speak to.”

After presenting these five words, with the customary gifts, I tried to speak to them, with all the eloquence at my command, concerning Paradise, Hell, the Son of God, and the other mysteries of our Religion. They heard me with respect and attention. The Address concluded, the assembly adjourned, after the usual ceremonies and the exchange of compliments commonly made at these Councils.

Some days later, the Elders were again convoked, and I was informed:

First, that seven French prisoners at Onnontagué and two at Oiogouen were released; but that the others would remain with me during the Winter,—their detention being, for reasons of State, still thought necessary.

Secondly, that our host Garacontié would himself conduct these nine Frenchmen back to Montreal, and would be declared the Chief of the Embassy they were preparing to send to Onnontio.

In the third place, that the Sonnontouaeronnon would be of the party and would come, in ten or twelve days, to join the Ambassadors from Onnontagué, in order to proceed all together to the French. Although this was a morsel hard enough for me to digest,—to see half of our Frenchmen detained,—still I was forced to pass it over, after using all the urgency and even menaces at my command. I consoled myself with the promise that was given me, that they should be taken home next Spring.

There were nine, then, who met with good fortune, and who started joyfully on their way under our Garacontie's escort; while the others, to the number of ten, remain in tolerable content to finish their Purgatory here, as long as God shall choose....

The French prisoners among the Agnieronnonns are not less virtuous, but more wretched. I append some Letters that I have received from them, from which the reader will judge of their hard lot and of their virtue.

The first are from a youth of family, who was captured this Summer at Three Rivers. He is of comely appearance, and delicate, and was the sole delight of his mother, to whom he also writes, His name is François Hertel. His words, then, are as follows:

*Copy of Two Letters Written at Agnié, upon Bark, to Father Le Moine  
who was at Onnontagué.*

On the very day when you departed from Three Rivers, I was captured, toward three o'clock in the afternoon, by four of the lower Iroquois. The reason why, to my misfortune, I did not make them kill me was that I feared I was not well prepared to die. My Father, if you should come hither, and if I could thus have the happiness to confess, I believe that you would receive no injury; and I believe that I could go back with you if you could come. I pray you, take pity on my poor Mother in her great affliction. Yea know, my Father, the love she bears me. From a Frenchman captured at Three Rivers on the first day of August, I have learned that she is well, and that she takes comfort in the thought that I shall be near you. There are three of us Frenchmen alive here. I commend myself to your good prayers, especially to the holy Sacrifice of the Mass, and pray you, my Father, to say a Mass for me. I beg you to pay my respects to my poor Mother and to comfort her, if you please....

"My Father, I pray you, bless the hand that writes to you, which has had one finger burnt in a Calumet as reparation to the Majesty of God, whom I have offended. The other hand has a thumb cut off,—but do not tell my poor Mother.

“My Father, I beg you to honor me with a brief word from your hand, and to tell me whether you will come before Winter. Your very humble and very obedient servant, François Hertel.”

*Another from the Same, on a Piece of Gunpowder Wrapping Paper*

I pray you to do me the honor to write me in reply, and to give the Letter to him who will hand you this one. Let me know whether you will come before Winter. I have had the consolation of finding one of your Breviaries here, and it serves me in my prayers. Inform me, if you please, when you can be here. I pray you, pay my respects to all the Reverend Fathers at Three Rivers and at Kebec, whom I beg to remember me at the holy Sacrifice of the Mass—and you especially, until I have the happiness to see you again. I remain, My Father, Your Servant, François Hertel.”

*That which he wrote to his Mother.*

I well know my capture must have greatly afflicted you. I ask your forgiveness for having disobeyed you. My sins have brought me to my present condition. Your prayers, and Monsieur de St. Quentin’s and my sisters’, have restored me to life. I hope to see you again before Winter. I beg you to ask the good Brethren of Nostre Dame to pray to God and the blessed Virgin for me, my dear Mother, and do you also, and all my sisters. From Your poor Fanchon.

*I add another Letter which will give us information well worth knowing in regard to the Agnieronnon Iroquois. The ingenuousness with which it is written makes us the less doubtful of the truth of its contents.*

*Letter from a Frenchman in Captivity Among the Agnieronnonns,  
to a Friend of His at Three Rivers*

I have scarcely any fingers left, so do not be surprised that I write so badly. I have suffered much since my capture, but I have also prayed much. There are three of us Frenchmen here who were tortured in company. We had agreed that, while one of the three was being tortured, the other two should pray for him—which we never failed to do; and we had also agreed that, while the two were praying, the one under torture should chant the Litany of the blessed Virgin, or else the *Ave Maris stella*, or the *Pange lingua*—which was done. It is true, our Iroquois scoffed and hooted in great derision upon hearing us sing in this manner; but that did not prevent us from doing it.

They made us dance around a great fire, in order to make us fall into it, they standing about the fire, to the number of forty and more, and kicking us violently from one to another, like the ball in a game of tennis; and, after giving us a severe burning, they put us out in the rain and cold. I never suffered such severe pain, and yet they did nothing but laugh. We pray to God with good courage; and, if you ask me whether I did not lose my patience, and wish ill to the Iroquois who were so maltreating us, I shall answer you, “No,” and that, on the contrary, I prayed for them.



I must give you tidings of Pierre Rencontre, whom you knew well. He died like a Saint. I saw him while he was being tortured, and he never said aught but these words: "My God, take pity on me,"—which he repeated continually until he ceased to breathe.

Did you know Louys Guimont, who was captured this Summer? He was beaten to death with clubs and iron rods, receiving so many blows in succession that he perished under them. But yet he did nothing but pray to God, so that the Iroquois, enraged at seeing him constantly moving his lips in prayer, cut away his upper and lower lips entirely. What a horrible sight! And still he ceased not to pray, which so irritated the Iroquois that they tore his heart, still throbbing with life, out of his breast and threw it in his face.

As for Monsieur Hebert, who was wounded with a musket-ball in the shoulder and arm, he was given to the Iroquois of Onneiout, and was there stabbed with knives by some drunken men of the country. As for little Antoine de la Meslée, that poor child moved my compassion deeply; for he had become the servant of these barbarians, and then they killed him too with the knife, when out Hunting.

There are yet many more Frenchmen in bondage, but I write you nothing about them, for I would never finish,—they arrive here almost every day,—and then my fingers give me much pain. We are indeed a pitiful sight to behold, we who are alive; for they think more of their dogs than of us, and we are glad sometimes to eat the scraps left by the dogs. On our way hither, although we all had our feet raw with wounds, our captors nevertheless made us walk barefoot, and loaded us with their entire luggage,—hastening our steps with blows from sticks, as one would drive a horse. Whenever they met any of their own people, they would pull out some of our finger-nails before their eyes, in order to welcome them; but we always prayed to God, and always those barbarians jeered at us. Pray heartily for me, for I sadly need your prayers. Father le Moine is said to be at Onnontagué for the purpose of making peace, but he will never make peace with the Iroquois of this country; for they say they will not have it, and they regard the French as dogs. Still, one would never believe how few they are—they have at no time amounted to two hundred men, all told, in the country; while their three villages have no palisades, except here and there some stakes as large as one's leg, through which one can easily pass. If Father le Moine could deliver me from this place, he would do me a great charity; and the same can be said of the other Frenchmen here, for we are indeed wretched and worthy of compassion. The Dutch are no longer willing to secure our freedom, as it costs them too dearly; on the contrary, they tell the Iroquois to cut off our arms and legs, and kill us where they find us, without burdening themselves with us. I commend myself to your kind prayers and to those of all our good friends. In saying this last Farewell to them, I cannot refrain from weeping bitterly; for I know not what will become of me.

Happily, the writer of the above Letter was himself its Bearer; and he recognized the blessed Virgin as his Deliverer, to whose service he had pledged himself by a vow of exceptional solemnity. It was through Garaconté that he was rescued from the Agnieronnons' hands and restored to our own, and he is unremitting in his Praise of that obliging Barbarian, and in his rehearsal to every one of his misfortunes and his deliverance. But let us see the success of the Embassy to the French, undertaken by Garacontie with the Sonnontouaeronnons.

They embarked at Onnontague toward the middle of September, full of joy—especially the nine Frenchmen whom they were taking home, who at the very outset began to breathe a freer atmosphere, almost forgetting the hardships of their captivity; when lo! they encountered a band of Onnontagueronnon warriors who were bearing home some French scalps. One of the party was arrayed in a black Gown, of which he made a great parade, glorying in its possession as if it had been an illustrious trophy. At this sight our Frenchmen, as if struck by a thunderbolt, saw all their hopes defeated, especially as they knew that the wearer of that cassock was a Captain of importance, Otreouati by name, who had been held in irons at Montreal two years before, and upon escaping had determined to take revenge for his imprisonment by the death of some Frenchmen of rank—as in truth he had done by the murder of Monsieur le Maistre, Priest, in whose costume he had attired himself, as we related in the first Chapter. The Ambassadors were not less surprised at this meeting than the French. A halt was called, council upon council was held, and deliberations went on day and night. “With what safety,” asked the Sonnontouaeronnons, “can we go to Montreal, where the blood of a black Gown, but recently shed, threatens us only with irons and imprisonment?” The Ambassadors from Onnontague had much more cause for alarm, as they were more culpable, men of their own Nation being the murderers. Both parties began to play sick, in order to be relieved of so dangerous an Embassy. It would have been sport for our Frenchmen to see those long-faced make-believes, had they themselves not been seized with genuine heaviness of heart; and they may be said to have become veritably ill on beholding that feigned illness, which threatened to consign them once more to a painful captivity, and perhaps to the necessity of dying for the ailments of others.

Nevertheless Garaconté, Chief of the Embassy, determined to go on, being fully convinced that the French who were left at Onnontague with Father le Moine were a sufficient surety for the safety of his own life, especially as he was about to set nine Frenchmen free. Witnessing his determination, our Captives were filled with as much joy as if they had escaped from a shipwreck or risen from the grave. This joy soon subsided at sight of another band of Warriors from Onneiout, who were going on a fresh expedition against our settlements. Garaconté, in much perplexity, tried to ward off this blow, rightly judging that the peace he was about to offer the French would be ill received if it were mingled with the blood of this new war. Therefore, by

means of presents, he turned these warriors' hatchets in another direction; and at last, having made a clear passage through the band, arrived on the fifth of October at Montreal. There the joy was great at seeing nine Frenchmen escaped from the flames, and they were received as men risen from the dead....

After the interchange of embraces and kisses, bedewed with tears of joy, they recounted all their adventures, which would be well worth hearing if we had as much time to write them as they have desire to relate them to us. Least of all could they keep silence in respect to the kind treatment they had received from the Onnontaguéronnons, but recounted with pleasure all the endearments that had been lavished on them, all the feasts to which they had been invited, the joy felt at seeing them, and the Charity shown them in clothing them well, lodging them comfortably, and furnishing them every kind of convenience possible to savage life. What they prized above all was, that they were free to assemble every day in a cabin which they converted into a Chapel....

The soul of all this was Garaontie, who rescued from the Agnieronnons and other Iroquois all the French Captives he could, gathering as many as twenty of them into his village, where they enjoyed entire freedom in living as good Christians. He even made them feel the sacredness of the Sunday Festival by some unusual attention, and by certain little feasts to which he invited them, for the purpose of adding to the solemnity of the day by so charitable a ceremony. So he is commonly called the Father of the French; and the latter did not fail, on his arrival at Montreal, to offer him like attentions. They carried their kindness so far, upon his departure, that every one, even to the very children, made him some present; he was delighted to receive from the latter handfuls of meal or ears of Indian corn, with which these little innocents loaded themselves, in order to load his Canoe. He was saluted, upon reëmbarking, by a general discharge of muskets which were fired from every side, no longer to kill the Iroquois, but to honor him—even the cannon celebrating the departure of him against whom it had until then been aimed.

But let us consider in a few words the motive of his Embassy and the purpose of thirteen fine presents, of which he made a splendid display. But, however rich they may have been, they were not so precious to us as were the nine Frenchmen whose bonds he broke in offering a handsome porcelain collar, with the assurance that in the following Spring we should see him again, with the ten Frenchmen left at Onnontagué. With a second present, he declared that he had reserved them to ennoble the Embassy on which he purposed to come, he and the Sonnontouaéronnon,—to conclude, all together, a firm peace with us,—leaving out the Agnieronnon, who was absolutely determined upon war, and resolved to conquer or perish.

With another collar, he presented us the keys to his own village and to those of Oiogoen and Sonnontouan, that we might enter there in perfect safety for the purpose of proclaiming the Faith, and restoring the ruins of the Churches overthrown by the misfortunes of the period.

With another he invited the French to come and dwell with him in large numbers, in order to form but one people of French and Iroquois; cause only one Religion to hold sway on the Ontario, and on our great river; and unite anew, in a genuine alliance, France and America. Such, in substance, were the purposes of his Embassy. Next Spring will give us more light on this subject. We do not lightly believe, although we gladly listen to, these words of peace, that beautiful term being so pleasing that it cannot fail to give us joy even when proceeding from the mouths of knaves and of our foes. It is true, if we consider only the past, that we have everything to fear for the future. For we have not yet forgotten the tragic deed they wrought upon our poor Hurons, uniting perfidy with cruelty, and slaughtering the Sheep in the very arms of the Shepherd. We well remember the secret councils that planned our death in Onnontague, when we were settled among them, and that forced us to flee, in order not to become responsible for the death of some fifty Frenchmen, who had entrusted their lives to us. We know that the Onnontagueronnon has always had the reputation of being a knave, as the Agnieronnon of being a cruel monster; and that these two characteristics are scarcely ever lost except with life itself. We see almost the same proceedings, enacted by the same persons, as four years ago, when we were so solemnly deceived. We know also that, at the very time Father le Moine was on his way up from Montreal to Onnontagué, a band of Warriors were on their way down from Onnontagué to Montreal, where they sacrificed a Priest to their fury, while a Father was offering himself in their country as a sacrifice to their caprice. Finally, we are well aware that for nine Oïogouenronnon captives restored by us, nine Frenchmen are returned to us; but the retention of ten in captivity still causes us fear of some plot, which may be formed without our knowledge, but not without our suspicion.

After all, God is the Master of hearts, and can plant sincerity in them in place of subtlety, and cause deceit to give way to truth. The Iroquois have ever been deceivers, but can they not cease to be such? They have always plotted our ruin; but perhaps now they have so great a fear of their own destruction as to find their preservation in our own safety, and have perhaps enemies so powerful that they are glad to have us for friends.

Be that as it may, our Missionaries have exposed themselves with happy results for the saving of their souls; these risks are eagerly sought, and cause the gaining of the port in shipwreck, and the finding of life in death.

But, before concluding, let us once more take a view of so many unexpected incidents, and make the following reflections.

First: of two thousand Iroquois, or thereabout, which is their total number, we see fifteen or sixteen hundred laying down their arms, either permanently or at least for a time. Meanwhile, we have on our hands only four or five hundred, who themselves have to deal with three different Nations,—the Abnauquois, the Mahingans, and the so-called “people of the East,”—against whom they resume hostilities afresh, being so haughty that they do not think us worthy of reckoning in the number of their foes.

Second: we doubt not it is a stroke of Heaven that has, very seasonably, caused a diversion of forces and roused up in our behalf the Andastogueronnons, Savages of warlike spirit and ever held in dread by the upper Iroquois, against whom war is kindling in such strength that we have now against us only the Agnieronnons and Onneioutronnons, who form but the smaller part of the Iroquois.

Third: this smaller part of the Iroquois is yet most dreaded by us, for it alone has committed nearly all the ravages from which we have suffered this year. It was the Agnieronnons who filled with fire and bloodshed the neighborhood of Kebec; they have made a desert of Tadoussac; they have left their taint in the entire Island of Orleans, having massacred there, in particular, Monsieur the Seneschal Delauson and his brave Companions; they have made Three Rivers mourn, having mingled the tears of poor mothers with the blood of their children, whom they either slew or carried away; and then they pushed their victories and ravages as far as Montreal, and loaded the scaffolds at Agnié with more French Captives than had ever appeared there before. All this, too, has been accomplished in less than four months by a band or two of these lower Iroquois; and they will henceforth play a successful game in cutting us off from all communication with the Upper Iroquois, and in preventing our enjoyment of the fruits of the peace which now presents itself, if they are not checked by some powerful hand.

Fourth: the hour seems to have come when God imposes upon us the happy necessity of overthrowing, this time, that Nation which is so persistent in attempting our ruin. Our lives have been hitherto preserved only by a miracle, so to speak, and our exertions have resembled nothing so much as those of a dying man,—symptoms of death rather than marks of health. Until now we have languished and seen ourselves dying piecemeal, in the same ratio as our foes have grown strong on our weakness and fat on our blood. But—since one portion of them have so formidable a war on their hands with New Sweden, which is forcing them to seek an asylum with us almost at the same time that they are driving us to seek one in the remotest grottoes and rocks; while the other portion are offering us their protection and their country together—so few of them are left that we shall be no longer excusable either before God, whose glory is so intimately concerned in the matter, or before men, who have so long been sighing for this change of fortune, if we do not urge forward in the strongest manner the succor we are expecting from France; that shall extract from our foot this thorn, which is checking the progress of the Faith and the establishment of the Colony.

Fifth: if we are not succored now at so favorable a juncture, the enemy will be able to rally, and then destroy us, root and branch. It is easier to cure a sick man than to revive a dead one. If we conquer this little handful of arrogant men, we shall make ourselves Masters of all the other surrounding Nations, who will fear their own fall after the overthrow of this Colossus, and will deem themselves unable to resist the arms that will have secured submis-

sion from that Nation before whom all the other tribes are wont to bow. The Onnontagueronnons will tremble, and receive from us such Laws as we shall choose to prescribe, whether in respect to our settlement in their country, or in regard to their dealings with us. The Oiogouenronnons will not dare to stir in this reversal of fortune, for they were moderate enough in their attitude toward us even when the Agnieronnons were inciting them against us. The Sonnontouaeronnons, who carry their Beaver-skins to the Dutch with great inconvenience and by long and perilous routes,—the Andastogueronnons laying ambuscades for them at every step, and forcing them at present to form Caravans of six hundred men when they go to do their trading,—these people (I say) will be glad to be spared all those difficulties and to avoid all those dangers, by being enabled to visit us in Canoes, and enrich our Frenchmen with the spoils of their chase captured above Montreal. They will be delighted to be able to return hence by water, laden with goods for which they are now forced to go a great distance, on foot, to the country of the Dutch.

The sixth reflection is that not only shall we render our America French, but we shall also make it wholly Christian, and shall form a Sanctuary out of a vast solitude, where the divine Majesty will find worshipers of every Tongue and Nation. We shall no longer make our way over precipices and by yawning chasms to visit the Kilistinons, since the direct and easy routes will be open to us. We shall seek the upper Algonquins at our ease, and without fear of being either pursued or delayed in our course by the Iroquois. We shall be able to penetrate to those remotest parts of the West where we shall find Idolatry to combat, raising up Christianity in its place. We shall visit fugitive Churches, stray sheep, new peoples, and Nations that are calling us from four and five hundred leagues' distance, to let them see the first rays of the Sun of Righteousness, which has not yet risen over the heads of all these Peoples of the West. But all this depends upon a little handful of Agnieronnons, whose sacrifice at the hands of France, as being the sacrifice of irreconcilable enemies of the Faith and of the French, seems now to be the will of divine Justice.

The last reflection is, that with the opening of next Spring, one thousand six hundred and sixty-two, we fully hope to undertake in good earnest, among the upper Iroquois, at least two fine Missions—one to the Onnontagueronnons, in which Father le Moine will employ his winter campaign in advance, and one to the Sonnontouaeronnons, which will give us several villages to cultivate, especially that of St. Michel, composed entirely of Christian Hurons who carried their Faith with their Colony to their Conquerors' country, after the destruction of their own. These two Missions alone call for many more Missionaries than our present number here; and, if we could divide ourselves in pieces, we should find ample employment in many different places at the same time. We shall divide the field of labor among ourselves, so far as we can, until these fine openings bring us the succor of Apostolic men from France; while our good King, most pious, powerful, and generous, will send over the necessary force of soldiers for setting free the French Colony, and a

vast number of Nations who are not followers of Jesus Christ because they cannot receive, and dare not seek, the Gospel Preachers whom his Majesty has despatched to this New World. At length, this last war will plant Peace and the Lilies in all our forests, to make Cities of them if it be desired, and to convert a land of Savages into one of Conquest for Jesus Christ and for France.

**JR, 47:115** [*\*Destroy the Iroquois, and the Faith will flourish.*]

Those who have at heart the conversion of the Peoples of New France will be pleased to learn that, since this Relation was carried to the Ship which was about to weigh anchor and return to France, there has arrived at Kebec a Canoe with news from Father René Menard...the Father's Letters say that he has discovered many very populous Nations, and that the harvest is abundant, but the Laborers all too few. In short, the cry is raised on every hand, "Send aid; save bodies and souls; destroy the Iroquois, and you will plant the Faith throughout a territory of more than eight hundred leagues in extent."

**Father Jerome Lalemant. 1663. Relation of what occurred most remarkable in the missions of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, New France, in the years 1661 and 1662.**

**JR, 47:139** [*\*Various Iroquois attacks in the east, to the south, the southwest, and north.*]

Perhaps we were so humbled last year and reduced to so lowly a state as not to be hit by the thunderbolts of the Iroquois, who have turned their arms elsewhere, and are haughty enough to disdain the conquests to which they are accustomed. They are going in pursuit of others, three and four hundred leagues from here, leaving no corner of these vast forests which they do not fill with terror and bloodshed.

Some have directed their course Eastward, toward new England, there to fight the Abnaquiois, Savages of docile nature, and very susceptible to all good influences,—as is testified by one of our Fathers, who has several times gained access to them by frightful roads and ways beset with famine, and with precipices that must be passed. They dwell on the banks of a River called Kenebeki, and cultivate a country so delightful, according to their account, that they maintain, following their Legendary tradition, that the son of him who made all things, choosing to become a Savage, found no land more beautiful than theirs wherein to sojourn. Into that peaceful and delightful region a band of armed Agnieeronnons is about to carry disturbance, in order to avenge an insult offered to thirty of their number who, wishing to exact a sort of tribute from those people, were themselves all slain by them, with a single exception. This man, after having his upper lip cut off and losing half his scalp, was sent back in that plight to carry the tidings of what had befallen his Compatriots, being ordered to tell his countrymen that like ignominy was in store for them if they undertook a similar act of molestation.

Those arrogant people, more accustomed to impose laws than to obey them, straightway took the field, purposing to devote two years, before their return, to the avenging of this insult.

We learned recently that they had already made a good beginning, by surprising an entire village when all its inhabitants were intoxicated with liquor, sold to them by the Dutch; thus, by a wise choice of their time, they captured the village, which was nothing but a great Pot-house full of drunken men. They made blood flow in the Cabins as freely as wine had flowed there before; and then burned the women and children, and all whom the sword had spared, only one old man meeting with mercy, because he was not drunk at the time and had, shortly before, gone on an Embassy to the Agnieronnons' country, to treat for peace with them. At first he was well received at Agnié, and, although a captive, was regarded as a man worthy of veneration because of his age and temperance. After remaining some time in Agnié, he was unfortunately met by five or six drunken Iroquois who seized him and bound him without delay to a stake, where they made him suffer all the cruelties that barbarism added to drunkenness can devise; he, however, bore them with a tranquil countenance, never letting a tear fall from his eyes, or a word of complaint escape from his lips. What a misfortune for this poor man, to perish through the intoxication of four or five rascals, after escaping from that of an entire village! That, then, is the war in the East which is occupying a part of the Iroquois.

Others are pushing their way farther down toward the South, without well knowing against whom they bear a grudge, seeking, they know not whom, and declaring war before they have any enemies. Proceeding more than two hundred leagues through the Forests, without compass and yet unerringly, they finally reach the sea near the Virginia coast, as we suppose. They find a country where snow is unknown and everything is always green, except the Beavers, which are white. The men there dress like women, and the women like men, especially in regard to head-dress. Bears, wild Boars, Leopards, and Lions inhabit those wildernesses much more than man; while Turkeys and fowls fly in flocks, as Starlings do in France, and the cock's crow is heard in the woods just as in our villages. There are whole forests of trees very similar to palms. These are, our Iroquois say, reeds, in thickness and height equal to oak-trees; they are pithy and have knots at intervals; and they bear leaves three feet long, a foot wide, and two or three inches thick. These leaves are, moreover, round, and as straight as a sword, and serve as a bodyguard or support to the trunk, which is, of itself, weak and flabby, but is girt about as with a rampart armed with cutlasses. Our warriors found by chance one of these Trees prostrate, and, upon approaching it, discovered in its hollow three large Bears, which were enjoying spacious lodgings, and had grown fat on the pith of this Tree, which served them for food and shelter at the same time. Thus they leave their house only after they have eaten it.

Proceeding rather Westerly than Southerly, another band of Iroquois is going four hundred leagues from here in pursuit of a Nation whose only



offense consists in its not being Iroquois. It is called Ontôagannha, signifying “the place where people cannot speak”—because of the corrupt Algonquin in use there. Furthermore, if we believe our Iroquois who have returned thence, and the Slaves whom they have brought thence, it is a country which has none of the severity of our winters, but enjoys a climate that is always temperate—a continual Spring and Autumn, as it were. The soil there is so fertile that one could almost say of it, within bounds, what the Israelite discoverers said of the Promised land; for, to mention the Indian corn only, it puts forth a stalk of such extraordinary thickness and height that one would take it for a tree, while it bears ears two feet long with grains that resemble in size our large Muscatel grapes. No Moose or Beavers are seen there, as they live only in cold countries; but, to make up for this, Deer, Buffalo, wild Hogs, and another Species of large animal wholly unknown to us, inhabit those beautiful forests, which are like so many Orchards, consisting almost wholly of fruit-trees. In their branches live very peacefully birds of all colors and of every note, especially little Paroquets, which are so numerous that we have seen some of our Iroquois return from those countries with scarfs and belts which they had made from these birds by a process of interweaving. One finds there also a kind of Serpent of prodigious size and two brasses in length; but these are harmless Snakes, their venom not being hurtful or their sting injurious. The people are not so inoffensive as the snakes, for they make use of a poison with which they understand perfectly the art of infecting springs, and even whole rivers; and they do it with such skill that the water loses nothing of its fair appearance, although it be tainted throughout. Their villages are situated along a beautiful river which serves to carry the people down to the great Lake (for so they call the Sea), where they trade with Europeans who pray as we do, and use Rosaries, as well as Bells for calling to Prayers. According to the description given us, we judge them to be Spaniards. That Sea is doubtless either the Bay of St. Esprit in the Gulf of Mexico, on the coast of Florida; or else the Vermilion Sea, on the coast of new Granada, in the great South Sea. Be that as it may, against those peoples the Onnontagheronnon Iroquois have turned their arms, to appease (as they say) the souls of those of their number who were killed there eight or nine years ago. Those souls will find no resting-place in the other world until they have been atoned for, as it were, by fires of burnt captives,—a cruel expiation, begun last winter with some poor women and infants at the breast, who fell victims to the flames, and to the cruelty of those too pitiless Barbarians.

Another Iroquois expedition is beginning a two years’ war against the so-called Ox Nation; another is turning its course against the Tobacco Nation, in the direction of the Nezpercés; and still another, starting out to discover, as it were, a new country, penetrated so far into the unknown forests that the men perished there of hunger.

The rest were more successful in the new undertaking executed by them, this past winter, against our Savages of the North. These are the people whom

two of our Fathers visited last year by remote paths from Tadoussac, when they repaired to Necouba, very seasonably for many Neophytes, some of whom were instructed anew in the mysteries of our Religion, while the others made their peace with God. All those poor Neophytes were able later to recognize the care which Providence had for their salvation by sending them Missionaries under circumstances truly wonderful. For never before had either Iroquois or Frenchman set foot in their country, nor had mention ever been made of Necouba, either at Agné or at Kebec; and, behold, in the same year men came thither from both places. It was, however, the will of that gentle Providence that our Fathers should arrive there first, to rescue from the fires of Hell those who, although they knew it not, would soon be cast into the fires of the Iroquois.

What we are about to relate we learned from two Savages who, after being captured at Necouba itself by the Agneronnons, happily escaped from their hands when they were approaching their village. One of them, twenty years of age, used cunning to effect his escape. After putting the Iroquois in good humor on the way by playing with them,—now at straws, and now at throwing dice, the games most played by them,—he challenged them to a race, and defied the most agile of their party, all disabled as he was. Emulation sprang up in the company, and they gathered around; the nimblest of the Iroquois was chosen, the captive entered the lists with him, and, the goals being marked, they started to run, each at his best speed. The prisoner, however, regarding his liberty as the prize of victory, took the lead, amid the applause of his enemies themselves. But they changed their tone when they saw the Victor passing the goal they had set and plunging into the woods, refusing the praise and glory to which they invited him. Thus he continued on his course with all the more courage that he no longer had any Rival in his victory, fear and hope lending him strength. But he was running toward his own ill luck; for he unexpectedly threw himself into the hands of another band of Iroquois. These, however, were no shrewder than the first; since they allowed him to escape, when they were on the point of consigning him to the flames.

Such was the account he gave us upon his arrival at Montreal. He told us, moreover, that all the lands of the North, which had never before seen any Iroquois, have become so infested with them that there is no cavern in those vast regions of rocks dark enough to serve as a place of concealment, or any forest deep enough to be entrusted with one's life. In the very beginning of the winter the Iroquois made a great capture of a number of families, composed of men, women, and children, who had never fought against other enemies than their own Beavers and Moose; and, pushing their conquests farther, they surprised a large body of Savages at Necouba engaged in funeral rites. The enemy chose just the time when these were holding the banquet for a dead person and had in hand, instead of arms, nothing but dishes and spoons; and thus compelled them to continue for themselves the lamentations they had begun for the deceased. We were told that the plan of the Iroquois was, not to pause

there, but to push on as far as the North sea, to carry all before them there, like a torrent; then to descend by way of lake Saint John and Tadoussac, ever adding to their prisoners as they went; and finally to return homeward by our great Saint Lawrence river, in order to pass in front of Quebec and our other settlements, laden with spoils, and with victims who would adorn with their tears and blood the triumphant entry which these Barbarians are preparing to make into their villages.

Thus, then, our enemies, dispersing through all those regions, have left us in peace for a part of the Summer, because they were waging war all around us. Consequently, our good fortune is due only to the misfortune of others, although, to tell the truth, our Allies' ill fortune is our own, since the fountainhead of Beaver-skins is dried up with the ruin of those who bring them to our settlers.

*JR, 47:155* [*\*The Iroquois kill Sieur Closse and Monsieur Vignal—help from France is expected.*]

This brief respite which we have enjoyed has not been a general one, Montreal having closed the past year and opened the present one with two considerable losses. One was the death, last February, of Sieur Lambert Closse, who was killed by a band of Iroquois when he was going to aid some Frenchmen in danger. He was a man whose piety was no whit inferior to his valor, and who possessed extraordinary presence of mind in the heat of battle. At the head of only twenty-six men, he stood firm against two hundred Onontaguéronnons, fighting from morning until three o'clock in the afternoon. Unequal though the contest was, he repeatedly forced the enemy to retreat; often routed them from their vantage-ground, and even from redouts which they had seized; and justly won the credit of saving Montreal, both by his might and by his reputation. Hence it was deemed advisable to keep his death concealed from the enemy, for fear that they might take advantage of it. This Eulogy we owed his Memory, since Montreal owes him its life.

The other loss is no less severe, being that of a good Ecclesiastic named Monsieur Vignal. In the month of October of last year, he accompanied some workmen who went out to get stone on an Island near Montreal; and while they were landing, suspecting no danger, some Iroquois, concealed in the woods, rushed upon them unexpectedly with a loud cry. Three were killed on the spot, with the first discharge of their muskets; they wounded the others, and seized Monsieur Vignal, who, having already received several wounds, died therefrom in their hands, soon after. He bore in life a very good repute among all the French, through his exercise of humility, charity, and penitence—virtues which were highly developed in him, and made him beloved by every one. His death, too, was very precious in God's eyes, being received from the hands of those for whom he had often wished to give his life. He was very tenderly concerned for their salvation, offering several times to come and join us, when we were at Onontague, in order to labor with us for the conver-

sion of those Barbarians; and he would have done so, had his constitution and strength been equal to his courage and fervor.

Amid these disasters,—which are as keenly felt by us as the persons whom we lose are precious to us—our courage is sustained with the hope, given us by our good King, of powerful succor which is to introduce the reign of the Faith through the destruction of the Infidels, and give life to more than fifty Nations through the overthrow of four or five villages. We are this year expecting two vessels laden with soldiers, who will dispel a part of our fears.

**JR, 47:201** [*\*Eighteen French captives are freed.*]

Some were sent back last Autumn, and the others conducted home this Summer; and they all unite in acknowledging that, next to God, they owe their lives to Father le Moine, who so bravely risked his own in their behalf, fearing not to enter a country still smoking with the charred remains of many of our Frenchmen.

From the time of his arrival, his death was determined upon, and orders were even issued to split his head; but God preserved him, by means inscrutable to us, for the sake of saving the lives of some and the souls of others. Escaping these first dangers, as well as the unsuccessful plots formed against him in different quarters, he spent the whole ensuing winter as a captive; but he willingly endured his chains for the sake of breaking those of our Frenchmen. The same Heaven that brought to naught the wicked devices of his enemies so blessed his purposes that, contrary to all human likelihood, he himself received freedom and gave it to the others, God interposing to liberate the Shepherd who thought only of freeing his Flock. There was only a single man at Onnontaghé—and he bore the surname *Liberté*—who did not obtain his liberty. Nevertheless, he rejoices in that freedom wherein the Children of God rejoice in Heaven. Captured at three Rivers last year, 1661, he was given to Masters who preserved his life, and even felt such good will toward him as to seek a match for him, and plan to marry him in the Iroquois fashion—that is, to involve him in a perpetual Concubinage. He, feeling an abhorrence of any such union, refused at the outset; and, although entreated, cajoled, urged, menaced, and well-nigh constrained, remained firm in his refusal. He had recourse to God and laid before him the extremities to which he was driven; and, the more he prayed, the stronger he felt in his good purpose. Finally his Masters, wearied by his refusals, resolved to give him, once for all, the choice between death and a wife; but with all their threats they did not move that brave heart. Consequently they rid themselves of him while pretending to offer him food; for, in the very act of presenting him a piece of bread from one side, from the other they leveled a hatchet-stroke at his head, which they thus crowned with the glory of the Martyrs of chastity.

The other Frenchmen, who were liberated, all experienced the effects of an altogether extraordinary protection on the part of Divine Providence. The accounts of some of them will not be unwelcome, since they give us reason to bless Heaven for taking such care of that poor captive Church.

One of the men, before the Father's arrival, had yielded to evil influences, and was all ready to give himself up to vice and embrace the life of a Savage, having even cast in his lot with some Iroquois for accompanying them on a hostile raid. It is true, God still held him back by the hand—or, let us rather say, by a finger, which, having been cut off when he was first taken, refused to heal, despite the application of all the usual remedies. The Father, on his arrival, ministered to his more serious ailment, prescribing some acts of devotion to the blessed Virgin, which had so good an effect that in a few days he was rid of his temptation, and cured of the sore he had had on his hand for more than six months.

Thereupon he put that hand, partaking as it did in some sense of the miraculous, to a most excellent service, using it to baptize children. He not only sought them out in the Cabins, but even went to await the Caravans of the *Sonnontôëronnons* as they passed; for these go on their trading expeditions in large companies, for fear of being met by their enemies. Thus he stopped in some defile all the mothers with their children; and he knew so well how to win their hearts that in a short time he baptized more than sixty children, of which the greater number died of the prevalent disease.

There was another Frenchman in bondage at *Onneiôt*, who suffered very grievous afflictions, from which God delivered him through the agency of a child only five years old, and scarcely able to talk. Yet it was so successful in making the Frenchman understand (although he knew not a word of its Language) that there were designs upon his life, that he took this warning as if it had come from Heaven through that innocent mouth. Accordingly he determined to take flight. He left the village of *Onneiôt* on the instant, purposing to go in quest of the Father at *Onnontaghé*, although he knew not which way to turn his face, or even in which direction *Onnontaghé* lay. Hastily taking the first path he found, without knowing its direction, he journeyed on for a considerable time by unknown ways, hunger in close pursuit, but the enemy's fires still more vividly before his imagination. In his solitude he consoled himself with the better opportunity he enjoyed for prayer than in the village. Thus he constantly pushed on, slowly, but in considerable security. When now he thought his enemies far in the rear, lo and behold, he saw a party of them coming toward him at a sharp pace, and thought then that he was lost, already feeling the cruel fires which, as he imagined, were lighted to burn him. He was assuredly right, for in the matter of captivity it is as with diseases, the relapse being worse than the original illness. Nevertheless, he leaped warily enough to one side of the path, allowing these Iroquois to pass without their perceiving anything—a circumstance rare indeed, without doubt, as their eyes are remarkably sharp for seeing at a distance, and for discovering footprints. The first pursuers having passed on well ahead of him, our fugitive made all haste to take another unknown path, rendering a thousand thanks to Heaven for such signal protection; but, behold, suddenly he caught sight of a second band, into whose hands he was on the point of falling. He needed only to be

seen to be condemned to the flames; but the same Providence which had concealed him the first time from the eyes of one party, delivered him, for the second, from the hands of the other, leading him in his blindness directly into Onnontaghé, and, by good fortune, making him enter a Cabin where there were some Savages friendly to the French. As soon as they saw him and recognized him as a fugitive, they threw a blanket over him to hide him, merely giving him some morsel to eat, hunger having reduced him to a pitiful condition. The hand of Providence in his case is seen herein, that if he had entered the neighboring Cabin he would have been lost; for there he would have found men of the Nation he was fleeing, who happened to be there at the time; and they would not have failed to seize him, in order to make a public example of him for all fugitives. When he had thus been happily concealed, some one went with all speed to apprise the Father, in order that he might interpose in his behalf, and make the presents requisite on such occasions. Meanwhile, I know not how it occurred, the poor unfortunate was drawn forth from his hiding-place and sent in person to find the Father; but he had taken only a few steps when he met some drunken men in the street who fell upon him as upon a stranger. At this encounter he sank down in a swoon, either from fear or from weakness. The Father, being notified in time, hastened to him, raised him up, and led him, head erect, into his own Cabin, where he sustained numerous approaches of the Onneiiochronnons, who came as often as seven times to recover their prisoner, but were each time met by the Father's answer that he would part with his life sooner than surrender his ward. His affair was finally adjusted after much trouble. Here is one more remarkable incident. Another of our French captives, very devout and of good morals, had made a vow to God to consecrate his freedom, should he ever recover it, to his service. But he had encountered two Mistresses of very different temperaments, although of equal cruelty: one was determined that he should not leave the Cabin, even to go to the Chapel to pray; while the other would not let him stay within. One drove him out, and the other kept him in, but neither bore him any good will; on the contrary, they had given, or caused to be given, two presents of considerable value to certain young rogues, to split his head. What is this poor young man to do? If he go out, he is guilty; if he remain within, he is also guilty. He cannot obey one of these Mistresses without disobeying the other, and yet nothing less than his life is the penalty of disobedience. The Father, informed of his straits, procured his escape through the agency of some Iroquois friends of his; but no sooner had he disappeared than those two Furies, who had hitherto been irreconcilable in regard to him, united in an attempt to catch him, sending out their relatives in pursuit, for that purpose. The poor Frenchman, well aware that he was being pursued with intent to capture, plunged into the water up to his neck and crossed to a little Island, in order to hide in some rocky hollow and stay there as long as nature could withstand the pangs of hunger. A day and a night he passed without eating, and never had he prayed to God more fervently. The Father's friends who had helped the fugitive to

escape, seeing the friends of the two Mistresses so strenuous in their search for him, put forth equal efforts on their part, roaming over the whole district, through the woods and along the river, in the prosecution of a similar search, but with far different intentions—the one party seeking to take his life, the other to save it. Each of the parties called to him, at the top of their voices; but whom was he to answer? He heard their voices from his rocky retreat, but mistook his friends' cries for those of his enemies. At length, after both parties had long been running and calling to no purpose, they met as if by agreement near the little Island, and, moved perhaps by some sort of pity, or, rather, despairing of finding the prisoner, exchanged promises that if they should find him they would put him in the Father's hands, to be disposed of as the latter should choose. Had that poor refugee heard these words, he would soon enough have come forth. But hunger or, rather, his good Angel prompted him how to act; for he came out of his hole, and gave himself up, although he thought that he was sacrificing his life. If ever men were surprised, those two bands of Iroquois were. They marveled at the timeliness with which the Frenchman had delivered himself into their hands—just at the moment when they had agreed to spare his life. As for him, after worshiping Providence, he ratified anew his vow to consecrate to God's service the rest of his days, which had been prolonged to him through circumstances so unexpected.

There is likewise something marvelous in the deliverance of the other captives, of whom some escaped the flames and others shipwreck, by the manifest aid of the Blessed Virgin. It was not without a miracle that, in coming down from Onontagué to Montreal, when one of the Canoes was upset in the middle of a rapid, two Frenchmen who were in it remained a considerable length of time under water without drowning. But a still more wonderful circumstance is that one of the two came gently to land half-way down the falls, while the other made an Oratory of the bottom of his overturned Canoe, and, by the prayer which he addressed to God and the Blessed Virgin, consecrated those boiling torrents in their very midst.

**JR, 47:215** [*\* Peace is reached with the three upper nations.*]

Let us conclude with an examination of the benefit accruing to the public by the Father's [*\*le Moine*] sojourn at Onnontaghé. While toiling diligently for the welfare of his Church in particular, he spared no pains to promote the common good of all the French.

He it was who averted from our heads the hatchets of the three Upper Nations, preventing the murders with which our lands and houses have each year been stained. We remember only too well last year's disasters, which make us groan even now, for we have not ceased to weep over our blood shed from Montreal as far as Tadoussac—that is, over nearly a hundred leagues of territory. Moreover, he caused us this Summer to breathe an atmosphere that we had not enjoyed for a considerable period—an atmosphere of some degree of peace and quiet; and we owe to him the advantage of having planted our crops undisturbed, our harvests being fairly abundant, and unstained with our blood.

Finally, some believe that he has exerted himself to such good purpose that we have now only two nations of Iroquois on our hands, those of Onneiout and Agnie. These two nations are, it is true, the most cruel; but they are also the least populous, and the nearest. As for the three other more distant ones, they declare themselves our friends and allies, and that through the intervention of the good Father le Moine; but, with the Savages, one cannot assume any other standard than that of their own interests. The nations that have received the faith are attached to us in the interests of their salvation; as for the others, who have not embraced it, nothing but the terror and fear of our arms, or the hope of some considerable profit in their trading, or the aid to be obtained from us against their enemies, can hold them in check; and even that will not prevent some from separating from the rest and coming by stealth to slay us. Hence only the strong arm, present and effective, can securely bind their hands. For this we look to the greatest of all Christian Monarchs, and he will not suffer his New France to remain longer in bondage to the tyranny of a handful of Barbarians.

**Journal of the Jesuit Fathers, in the years 1662 and 1663.**

*JR*, 47:277 [*\*News of Fr. Le Moine and a battle at Montreal.*]

[\*March and April, 1662] On the same Day [\*feast of the Annunciation], the first news came of father le Moyne, who was among the Iroquois—brought by 5 Iroquois and a woman; Otourewati and Aharrihron were the most notable. We sent 5 soldiers as far as fort St. Xavier, near Cap rouge, to meet them. They took them to sillery, where 5 other soldiers awaited them, as well as father fremin, boquet, and others. Then they were met at le Mire's by father Chaumonot, Monsieur le Chevalier, nephew of Monsieur Davaugour, the Governor, and several soldiers. They were brought to our house, and there they remained until the 29th, when they left to go and lodge at sillery. They started thence on the 30th, in the morning, in company with 3 Frenchmen. They gave some presents which said nothing, and this led to the Belief that they came with some object. We gave them 4,—to bring back the Father and the French, to bring little girls here, to erect the may-tree and the storehouse at Montreal, and to assure them that Father Echon would be there. We learned at the same time the deaths of Monsieur Clausse [Closse] and 3 others at Montreal.

In holy week the same as last year.

On easter Sunday, news came of a fresh battle at Montreal with the Iroquois, in which 2 were wounded on our side, and several on the enemy's....

*JR*, 47:279 [*\*Mohawks going to war in Etchemin country.*]

In the same month [\*perhaps April 1662], there came from Sonontwan a Huron by birth who had been captured at St. Joseph when father Daniel was killed there, and the village taken and burned. He said that he came to pay a visit, and gave several items of news. The whole appeared very suspicious, but he was nevertheless received in the Huron Cabins.



Shortly afterward there arrived an Algonquain, 14 years old, who had escaped from Agniée. He reported that the Agnieronons had set out for war, to the number of 200; and that they were resolved to return only at the end of two years, after having roamed over the entire land. Their design was to go to the country of the Etechemins.

**JR, 47:287** [*\*Skirmish at Quebec; Fr. Le Moine returns.*]

[\*September 1662] On the 10th and 11th, 7 Canoes appeared manned by yroquois, who uttered 4 Yells in the direction of the Island of Orleans. However, we had only to regret the loss of Jean le blanc and one Gabriel.

On the 15th, father le moyne arrived, returning from the yroquois country, whence he brought back the french Captives.

**JR, 47:289** [*\*Huron family captured at Island of Orleans.*]

[\*September 1662] On the 30th, an entire Huron family—Gabriel ondi-houchoren, his wife, and his daughter—were captured on the Island of Orleans. It was thought that they were the same as those who had killed Jean le blanc and his companion, *ut supra*.

**JR, 47:291** [*\*News of Iroquois raids; habitants go to war.*]

[\*October 1662] On the 6th, we received news of the massacre by the yroquois of another son of Monsieur Couillar's, named deschesnes, toward Tadousac, with another frenchman....

On the 6th, the yroquois captured, in the Huron fields on the other side, a man and woman; and pursued the others, firing on their Canoes even when they fled opposite the fort of Quebec....

About the same time [September 21st], 30 habitants left for the war, *id est*, to strike some blow at the yroquois; they returned on All Saints' Day, without having accomplished anything.

On the 27th, there Finally arrived a biscayan Shallop, on board of which were Monsieur boucher and A gentleman sent on behalf of the king to command 100 soldiers despatched by the king in advance of the succor for the coming year.

**JR, 47:303** [*\*Algonquins return with scalps.*]

[\*May 1663] On the 24th, the festival of Corpus Christi, the Algonquain warriors who, to the number of 42, had gone away 3 weeks before, returned; they brought back 10 scalps, among others that of le fer, the most renowned Captain of the yroquois, and also 3 prisoners alive, two of whom were shot.

**JR, 47:305** [*\*Thirty-five Frenchmen go to war.*]

[\*June 1663] On the same Day [\*the 8th of June], Monsieur le Chevalier left, with a detachment of 35,—consisting partly of soldiers, and partly of settlers of the country,—on a hostile expedition, in 9 canoes.

**Father Jerome Lalemant. 1664. Relation of what occurred most remarkable in the missions of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus in New France in the years 1662 and 1663. Quebec, September 4th, 1663.**

*JR, 48:75* [*\*A Mohawk and Oneida war party is routed by a band of Saulteaux.*]

Last year the Agnieronnons and Onneiochronnons, the haughtiest of the five Iroquois nations, formed an expedition of a hundred men to go and lie in ambush for the Outaouax, who constitute our upper Algonquins, and to fall upon them when engaged in passing some difficult rapid. With this purpose they set out early in the Spring of the year 1662, depending on their muskets for provisions, and using the Woods which lay in their path as courtyard, kitchen, and lodging-place. The shortest paths are not the best, because they are too much traveled; he who loses his way makes the most successful journey, because one is never lost in these Woods without finding wild animals, which seek a retreat in the remotest forests.

After following the Hunter's calling for a considerable time, they turned into Warriors, seeing that they were approaching the enemy's country. So they began to prowl along the shores of the Lake of the Hurons, seeking their prey; and while they were planning to surprise some straggling huntsmen, they were themselves surprised by a band of *Sauteurs* (for thus we designate the Savages living near the sault of Lake Superior). These latter, having discovered the enemy, made their approach toward daybreak, with such boldness that, after discharging some muskets and then shooting their arrows, they leaped, hatchet in hand, upon those whom their fire and missiles had spared. The Iroquois, although they are very proud and have never yet learned to run away, would have been glad to do so had they not been prevented by the shafts leveled at them from every direction. Hence only a very few escaped to bear such sad news to their country, and to fill their villages with mourning instead of the joyful shouts that were wont to ring out on the warriors' return. This shows clearly that these people are not invincible when they are attacked with courage.

*JR, 48:77* [*\*Eight hundred upper Iroquois try to take the Susquehannock fort by trickery, but their delegation is burned; Iroquoia is now threatened.*]

The three other Iroquois nations had no better success in an expedition undertaken by them against the Andastogueronnons, Savages of new Sweden with whom war broke out some years ago. Raising, accordingly, an army of eight hundred men, they embarked on Lake Ontario toward the beginning of last April, and directed their course toward the extremity of that beautiful Lake, to a great river, very much like our Saint Lawrence, leading without rapids and without falls to the very gates of the Village of Andastogué. There our warriors arrived, after journeying more than a hundred leagues on that beautiful

River. Camping in the most advantageous positions, they prepared to make a general assault, planning, as is their wont, to sack the whole village and return home at the earliest moment, loaded with glory and with captives. But they saw that this village was defended on one side by the stream, on whose banks it was situated, and on the opposite by a double curtain of large trees, flanked by two bastions erected in the European manner, and even supplied with some pieces of Artillery. Surprised at finding defenses so well-planned, the Iroquois abandoned their projected assault, and, after some light skirmishes, resorted to their customary subtlety, in order to gain by trickery what they could not accomplish by force. Making, then, overtures for a parley, they offered to enter the besieged town to the number of twenty-five, partly to treat for peace, as they declared, and partly to buy provisions for their return journey. The gates were opened to them and they went in, but were immediately seized and, without further delay, made to mount on scaffolds where, in sight of their own army, they were burned alive. The Andastogueronnons, by thus declaring war more hotly than ever, gave the Iroquois to understand that this was merely the prelude to what they were going to do in the latter's country; and that the Iroquois had only to go back home as speedily as possible and prepare for a siege, or at least make ready to see their fields laid waste.

The Iroquois, more humiliated by this insult than can be imagined, disbanded and prepared to adopt the defensive—they who hitherto had borne their arms in victory through all those regions. But what are they to do? The smallpox, which is the Americans' pest, has wrought sad havoc in their Villages and has carried off many men, besides great numbers of women and children; and, as a result, their Villages are nearly deserted, and their fields only half tilled. So there they are, menaced at the same time by three scourges which they have so richly deserved, for the resistance which they have offered to the Faith, and the perfidy which they have shown toward the Preachers of the Gospel. In these extremities they see no relief from their embarrassment except from the French, who alone can save them by fortifying their Villages and flanking them with Bastions in order to defend them against the enemy's army if it should come. With this end in view, they prepare a notable Embassy, which is to come with beautiful presents, and invite us to go again and dwell in their territory. They intend to give us the hope of obtaining some of their little girls as hostages, since we have often asked for these in order to place them with the Ursuline Mothers, to be trained, instructed, and prepared for Baptism under the care of those good Nuns,—who are longing only for such holy occupation, having for that purpose made an offering of their lives to the perils of the Ocean and the rigors of this country. The Iroquois were, therefore, arranging the terms of this Embassy, and were all ready (as they say) to launch their Canoe, when a fugitive,—Huron by Nation, but naturalized among the Iroquois,—escaping from Three Rivers and arriving just as the party was about to start, reported falsely that preparations were in progress at Quebec for a cruel war; that thousands of soldiers had crossed the Sea for the purpose of

capturing all the Iroquois Villages, and that the Ambassadors would be murdered, or, at least, sent to France to remain in Captivity the rest of their days. This fugitive had heard something about the relief promised us, and that was what made him speak thus. At this intelligence, alarm seized the Ambassadors; the project was abandoned; and only one man had the courage to come to Quebec, and ascertain the truth of these rumors. We received him as a friend, but regarded him as a Spy, being unable to fathom the genuine purport of his words, so covert and habituated to dissimulation are those people.

What we learned with certainty was, that they were grievously afflicted with disease, which induced some captive Frenchmen to baptize more than three hundred dying children, and even a number of adults, who,—seeing themselves in a critical condition, and well remembering the teachings received from us when we were in their villages of Onnontague and Oioquen—of their own accord, asked their captives to endow them with the freedom of God's children through the waters of holy Baptism.

**JR, 48:85** [*\*Iroquois and Huron murders at Montreal.*]

Our enemies, being this year engaged elsewhere, have suffered us to till our fields in safety, and to enjoy a sort of foretaste of the quiet which our incomparable Monarch is about to secure for us, in order to spread beyond the Sea the peace which he has extended in all directions outside the borders of France. Montreal alone has been stained with the blood of Frenchmen, Iroquois, and Hurons.

I begin with the sad calamity that befell some Hurons who had, a short time before, left the enemy's country and taken refuge at Montreal, there to live as Christians. If ever the Iroquois showed notorious perfidy, it was in the affair I am about to relate. Last May they appeared on the Hills of Montreal, to the number of seven Agnieronnons, and asked for a parley. Upon receiving a hearing they proposed the plan of a great Embassy for uniting the Land of the French and that of the Iroquois. This proposition was approved, and three presents were given them as assurance that the Envoys would be welcome, provided they brought with them the rest of the Frenchmen who were still groaning in captivity. This they agreed to do, and, in proof of their sincerity, offered to leave four of their number as hostages, while the three others would go as speedily as possible to the Elders and hasten forward the Embassy. This expedient meeting with approval, the four new guests were received with all possible ceremony and, for the sake of lodging them the more comfortably, were taken to the Hurons' Cabin. There ensued nothing but feasting and singing, dancing, and exchanging of presents; in a word, no sign of rejoicing was forgotten. When evening came, the bell for prayers rang as usual for the Savages. The Iroquois attended prayers, and gave one of our Fathers great cause for consolation at seeing such an addition to his little flock. All the rest of the evening was passed in familiar intercourse, good cheer, and all the intimacy to be desired in the most cordial friendships. After all the rejoicing cus-

tomary on such occasions, every one retired to take a little repose. At that time there were in the Hurons' Cabin only a man, two women, a young lad, and three girls, all the others having gone hunting some time before. Toward midnight, those four treacherous rogues arose and made a vigorous assault with their hatchets on these poor sleeping people, dyeing the whole Cabin with blood. After braining the man, they left the two women for dead, covered as they were with wounds, and carried away the three little girls as captives, the young lad having happily escaped the clutches of those Barbarians.

All this did not occur without some noise, and the French hastened to the spot from all directions, but too late. The fugitives, after using the darkness of the night to conceal their perfidy, used it still further to cover their flight. A pitiful spectacle was discovered in the Cabin—three bodies weltering in their own blood and frightfully disfigured. Upon approaching, it was found that one of the two women, named Helene, had yet a little life remaining—it being doubtless God's will to prolong her days as if by a miracle, in order to make manifest her virtue, which ought never to perish from the memory of man. She did in the country of the Iroquois what the good Tobias did among the Assyrians. She aided the poor and the Captive, poor and captive although she herself was; she buried the dead, and, as often occurred in the primitive Church, attended the Captive Christians when they were being burned. She shrank not from mounting the scaffolds to encourage the victims to stand firm in the Faith; or from approaching those half-burned bodies, to suggest to the victims short and fervent prayers at the height of their agony,—mingling with the Executioners for the purpose of encouraging the sufferers to die as Christians, and with public profession of the Faith. Her greatest affliction in the misfortune that had just befallen her was not her own condition, mutilated with wounds and dripping with her own blood as she was, but the loss of her poor daughters who had been carried away. She mourns them with tears of blood, not so much because they are the prey of those Barbarians as because they are in danger of falling victims to the Demons. She recites twelve or thirteen Rosaries a day to obtain from God their deliverance; and perhaps he will give heed to such fervent and righteous prayers by an afflicted mother.

Seeing themselves so badly used by their enemies, the Hurons thereupon sought an opportunity to exact satisfaction for such perfidy. The following occasion was offered.

On the twenty-sixth of May, there touched at Montreal a Canoe manned by five Onnontaghéronnon Iroquois, one of whom, being ill, asked to be admitted to the Hospital. Those Barbarians are well aware that at Quebec and Montreal there are holy Maidens (for so they call the Nuns), who consecrate their services and their labors to such charitable occupations; and, as they have become known far and wide through our forests, winning the hearts even of barbarians by such deeds of charity, these Iroquois were impelled to come and put their patient in such good hands. He was, therefore, received with kindness, and so well cared for that, at the end of a week, he was placed on his feet,

and ready to embark with his companions. But the Hurons who were then at Montreal, and whose wounds had not yet healed, were of opinion, adopting the view of the French themselves, that these Iroquois were only Spies, and thought it was time to wash away the blood of their relatives, but recently shed, with the blood of these Iroquois. Accordingly they allowed them to embark and, awaiting them at a point of land near which they were to pass, fired a volley at them, killing one man on the spot and carrying off his scalp, the usual Trophy and sign of victory. The others, dangerously wounded, were rescued from their hands by the French; and as one was in danger of dying, he was instructed by the Father then at Montreal. As they have all often heard of our doctrines, it was easy to put him in a condition to receive holy Baptism—a piece of good fortune that he will never fully pay for, even though he should shed the rest of his blood to obtain it.

*JR, 48:93* [*\*The Mohawks and Oneida capture two French husbandmen.*]

It remains to be seen by what course of events the French were made to share the bloodshed, as well as the Hurons and the Iroquois. On the day before Whitsuntide a Band of forty Warriors, partly Agnieronnons and partly Onneiochronnons, approaching our fields while some husbandmen were at work there, made a sudden sally against them. Then, according to their custom, filling the air with fearful yells to terrify those whom they were attacking, they discharged their muskets and fell upon two Frenchmen, who were more engrossed in their work than observant of their defense. These they captured and bound, and, as if they had made some great conquest, proceeded homeward in great glee over their Prey, upon whom they were about to sate their cruelty and vent their wrath, as upon poor victims destined for the flames.

One of these two Frenchmen, who had an eye put out in this engagement, had formed an alliance a short time before with several other families belonging to the most devout and exemplary in Montreal, for the purpose of putting themselves, all in company, under the special protection of the holy Family of Jesus, Mary, and Joseph....

Meanwhile, long prayers were offered in his behalf at Montreal by those with whom he had allied himself, and who could not be persuaded that an adopted son of the Virgin was destined to perish in that manner. Nevertheless, he was drawing ever nearer to the enemy's country, and consequently nearer to death. His bonds were not lessened in number, his guards watched over him unceasingly, and the wound in his blinded eye, not having been dressed for a week, became charged with pus, and threatened him with gangrene. In short, the victors—wishing to reap as soon as possible the fruits of their victory, in burning their Captives at their ease—parted company in order to take the shortest routes, the Agnieronnons proceeding directly to Agnie, and the Onneiochronnons to their own country, after dividing their two prisoners. The one of whom I am speaking fell to the Agnieronnons, who, being far greater

in number than the others, gave our poor man all the less opportunity to escape; nor, indeed, did he think of attempting it, seeing that it was utterly impossible, although he did not yet despair of being aided by his dear Protectress. The following Chapter will show us the issue of the affair.

**JR, 48:99** [*\*Forty Algonquins ambush an Iroquois war party and are victorious.*]

The Algonquins living at Sillery, after passing the Winter in innocence and piety, resolved toward Spring to go and wage petty warfare; but it was a holy war, since all the places that served them for encamping became, so to speak, so many Sanctuaries, consecrated by them with prayers. These were addressed to the Mother of God, in such a spirit of fervor and constancy that one of our Frenchmen, who chanced to be of the Party, was greatly surprised to see Barbarians so devout, and Savage warriors who were no whit inferior in piety to the best Christians. They were only forty, but their courage exceeded their number. Arriving at the Richelieu islands without discovering any foe, they entered the River of the same name and directed their course to Lake Champlain, where they lay in ambush. Scarcely had they arrived there when Providence, ever watching over its own, ordered matters so seasonably that those victors who had just dealt their blow at Montreal and were conducting our poor Frenchman in triumph, were discovered by our Algonquins, who followed them with their eyes and noted their camping-spot. When evening came, two of the boldest drew near the place to ascertain the enemy's number, position, and designs, and, after gaining all the information necessary, returned with the least possible delay to make their report. Our Christian soldiers began with a prayer addressed to the Blessed Virgin; after which, disembarking under cover of the night, they stealthily advanced and surrounded the place where the enemy were sleeping, holding themselves in readiness to attack them at the first dawn of day. But as it is very difficult to walk in the night-time without making a noise by hitting some branch, one of the Iroquois chiefs was awakened in some way or other. He was a brave man named Garistatsia ("the Iron"), vigilant and greatly renowned for his exploits performed against us and against our Savages. He gave the alarm, accordingly, to his companions, who are so nimble on such occasions that they were armed and ready to fight as soon as their assailants. Our Algonquins, well cognizant of this, merely discharged their muskets once, then threw them down, and—hatchet or javelin in hand, and entirely naked, to avoid the encumbrance of their clothing—charged furiously upon the enemy, striking to right and left, and making blood flow on every side. The shades of night, not yet entirely dispelled, increased the horror of the conflict, while the fearful yells uttered on each side, together with the groans of the dying, made the whole forest resound with tones that were indeed lugubrious. The chief of the Algonquins distinguished himself by a feat of valor by no means common. He is called Gahronho, and it is due to his bravery that his name be not forgotten.

Perceiving, then, that the leader of the Iroquois was this Garistatsia,—or, in French, *le Fer*,—so famous and renowned by the many disasters that have often made us mingle our tears with our blood, he made straight at him, aspiring to perform no less a feat than the conquest of this Conqueror. Pursuing him with eye and foot in the fray, in which he was showing his customary prowess, he gained his side and, seizing him with one hand by his thick growth of hair, determined to make him surrender. The Iroquois—too proud, and hitherto knowing only how to make captives, and not how to be captured himself—offered a haughty resistance, and, as he was stout and brave, threw himself in turn upon his adversary's hair. But just as he was on the point of dealing him the death-blow, he was prevented by a hatchet-stroke on the head, delivered by the Algonquin with such force that Garistatsia fell to the ground, where his courage forbade him to acknowledge himself vanquished, and he yielded the victory only after losing his life.

The Leader fallen, those who were left took thought only of escape, fleeing with such precipitation that one of their number ran well-nigh faster than feet could carry him, being pierced through and through with a javelin which an Algonquin had left sticking in his side.

While all this was occurring, our poor Frenchman, a witness to this Tragedy, remained by good luck with his feet and hands fastened to the ground, only waiting for the final death-blow; and indeed he was on the point of receiving it from the hand of one of the victors, who was striking blindly at every one he met, when the prisoner called out to him, "I am a Frenchman." At these words there was a pause, and he was recognized and speedily set free, in order that such precious time, wherein there were no blows wasted, might not be lost. Indeed, with such haste were his bonds severed that he very nearly had a leg cut off; but he escaped with a good fright and, sinking on his knees on the ground, reeking as it was with the enemy's blood, thanked his Deliverer for rescuing him from the flames to which he was about to be consigned. Ever since then, he has been unfailing in gratitude for this favor, being unable to hear the Blessed Virgin mentioned without giving way to feelings of devotion, and proclaiming unceasingly the wonders performed by her for his deliverance; for he was a thousand times on the point of being killed in that attack by the hail of bullets which whistled about his ears and prostrated those around him, he alone remaining alive amid so many dead.

Let us acknowledge also the same protection extended to the victors, who received the enemy's fire and were in the midst of their hatchets and swords without a single man of their number suffering the slightest injury. Beyond a doubt, Heaven favored their arms, which they took up with so much piety. So, too, they used their victory not as Barbarians, but as Christians. Let us see how in the following Chapter.

#### *Torture of Two Iroquois Captured by the Algonquins*

The engagement of which I have just spoken was not of long duration; for so sharp and so successful was the first onslaught of the Algonquins that ten



of the Enemy remained dead on the spot, while three were taken alive, and the rest escaped, completely covered with wounds.

After this defeat, the victors retraced their steps and proceeded in great triumph to Sillery, to return thanks to Heaven that they had been stained only with the enemy's blood in this victory. They made their captives enter the village; but instead of the shower of blows wherewith prisoners are usually received, instead of the cutting off of fingers, the pulling out of tendons, and other "caresses,"—for so they call the prisoner's first torments, which form the prelude to those that he is made to suffer by fire,—instead, I say, of all these usual cruelties, they themselves conducted the captives into the Chapel, invited them to prayers, urged them to receive Baptism, and intoned Canticles of devotion in their presence, to encourage them by their own example. Finally, they put them in the charge of one of our Fathers, who knew their language, to be instructed and prepared for the Sacrament of Baptism before dying. That was perhaps one of the most Heroic acts possible on the part of Savages; for any one knowing the intensity of the natural enmity (I may even say fury) existing between these two Nations, the Algonquin and the Iroquois, can judge of the Ascendancy of the Faith which has succeeded in gaining such power over these Barbarians' minds. The Hurons, although feeling less hatred toward the Iroquois, since they speak almost the same tongue, yet were so bitter against them at the time of first receiving our teachings that whenever they captured any of these foes, and we endeavored to prepare the latter to receive the waters of salvation in the midst of the flames, they would exclaim:

"What, my brothers, would you have those people go with us to Paradise? How could we live there in peace? Do you imagine you can make the soul of a Huron agree with that of an Iroquois?" Poor ignorant creatures that they then were, not yet knowing that, according to St. Paul, God makes no distinction between Jew and Gentile, Iroquois and Huron, Algonquin and Frenchman. This lesson our victors have learned since then, and they put it in practice respecting their prisoners.

The sentiments of our Algonquins were not greatly unlike those of a Saint Paulinus, inasmuch as some were bent on sacrificing themselves for the conversion of these poor Captives; while the rest, in their desire to procure them a far better freedom, stood godfathers to them at their Baptism—truly a beautiful ceremony, to see an Algonquin present an Iroquois at the Sacred Font, and, after fervently exhorting him, open to him the doors of Eternal happiness instead of casting him into the fire.

These poor prisoners knew not what to think of such marvels; they were bewildered, and their last songs, which they call death-songs, were only upon the life Everlasting. Reasons of State condemned them to death, but Christian piety exempted them from the stake—two being despatched with the musket; while the third proved to be the son of one of our good Hurons here. Captured in his infancy by the Agnieronnons, he had been reared in bondage until he was between fifteen and twenty years old. His good fortune was the more

wonderful that he was, at one and the same time, freed from captivity among the Iroquois, and also from imprisonment at the hands of the Algonquins—escaping the sword in the engagement, and the flames after his capture; and happily finding here his father and his life, which latter was granted him on consideration of this relationship.

Those of our number who are made prisoners by our foes are not treated in this manner, but they are none the less fortunate; for they undergo with stout hearts their Purgatory in the flames of the Iroquois, and endure the latter's cruelties rather as Penitents than as captives. This we learned very recently regarding three Hurons who were burned at Agniée a short time ago, and who made a Sanctuary of their fires, uttering amid the flames only these beautiful words, *I am going to Heaven*,—which they chanted with such ardor as to charm even their executioners. "Those people," said they, "must be well assured of the happiness of the other life, since they make so small account of the torments of this one." This report was given us by the good Helene already mentioned, who received the dying gasps of those good Christians, after encouraging them to meet death with firmness in the possession of the Faith.

**JR, 48:149** [*\*Iroquois prowess in war.*]

In another Letter, the Father [*\*Menard*] speaks in the following manner: "Here we are at Montreal, on the eve of setting out to meet the Iroquois. He does not, perhaps, equal us in number; but those Savages of ours from above are so little used to fighting, that fifty Iroquois are sufficient to put three hundred of them to flight. If they defeat us or carry us away, we shall but fulfill the designs of the Providence of God, who has perhaps made the salvation of some poor Iroquois depend upon our deaths."

**JR, 48:161** [*\*Iroquois raiding around Sillery.*]

"After several days' rest, we once more boarded our bark without fear of the Iroquois, who were beating up the country—or, rather, the neighboring Forests, Rivers, and Lakes—in order to fall upon whomsoever they might find astray."

**JR, 48:165** [*\*Game flourishes along the St. Lawrence above the Richelieu River, because the Iroquois prevent the Algonquins from hunting there.*]

It is rather a cluster of Islets than a single one, so remarkable for channels and streams that those who have attempted to count them reckon more than three hundred. They merge into one another, and form labyrinths of such surprising beauty and so rich in fish, Otters, Beavers, and Muskrats, as almost to surpass belief. The Iroquois cause this abundance by preventing our Algonquins from hunting in these beautiful regions.

**JR, 48:169** [*\*Montreal is the most exposed to the Iroquois.*]

"Thence we ascended to Montreal, the place most exposed to the Iroquois, where consequently the settlers are among the most inured to

war....The settlers there are so kind-hearted that, when a man has been captured by the Iroquois, they till his fields for the support of his family.”

**JR, 48:169** [*\*The Iroquois Captain General “Nero” is captured*]

Near this place [\*Montreal] we surprised the Captain General of the Iroquois, surnamed Nero by our Frenchmen who have been in their country, because of his notorious cruelty. This in time past has led him to sacrifice to the shade of a brother of his, slain in war, eighty men, burning them all at a slow fire, and to kill sixty more with his own hand. He keeps the tally of these on his thigh, which consequently appears to be covered with black characters.

“This man commonly has nine slaves with him, namely, five boys and four girls. He is a Captain of dignified appearance and imposing carriage, and of such equanimity and presence of mind that, upon seeing himself surrounded by armed men, he showed no more surprise than if he had been alone; and when asked whether he would not like to accompany us to Quebec, he deigned only to answer coldly that that was not a question to ask him, since he was in our power.

“Accordingly he was made to come aboard our Vessel, where I took pleasure in studying his disposition as well as that of an Algonquin in our company, who bore the scalp of an Iroquois but recently slain by him in war. These two men, although hostile enough to eat each other, chatted and laughed on board that Vessel with great familiarity, it being very hard to decide which of the two was the more skillful in masking his feelings.

“I had Nero placed near me at table, where he bore himself with a gravity, a self-control, and a propriety, which showed nothing of his Barbarian origin; but during the rest of the time he was constantly eating, so that he fasted only when he was at table.

“With this prisoner I had as prosperous a voyage down to Quebec as I had enjoyed in going up to Montreal...”

**Journal of the Jesuit Fathers, in the year 1664.**

**JR, 48:233** [*\*Le Moine brings news of negotiations with the Iroquois.*]

[\*April 1664] On the 25th, father le moyne arrived from Montreal, bringing news of the negotiations with the Iroquois, after which it was resolved that he should return to Onontae.

**JR, 48:235** [*\*One hundred Algonquins and Montagnais defeat Iroquois Ambassadors.*]

[\*May 1664] During Monsieur the governor’s stay at Montreal occurred the defeat of the Ambassadors of the upper Iroquois, Garakonie and others, to the number of 33, by the Algonquins and Montagnais, of whom there were about one hundred; *historia longa*.

**JR, 48:237** [*\*Iroquois and Huron deaths.*]

[\*August 1664] On the same Day, news was received of the death of the Enemies who had killed Aontarisati, and of some Huron refugees.

**JR, 48:237** [*\*Cayuga offer presents for peace.*]

[\*September 1664] On the 18th, the Wiogweronons arrived for the purpose of negotiating a peace similar to the others—namely, a patched-up peace. They were received, however. They gave 20 presents to the french and ten to the Algonquins. In reply they were given as many presents, and more.

**Father Jerome Lalemant. 1665. Relation of what occurred most remarkable in the missions of the fathers of the Society of Jesus, in New France, in the years 1663 and 1664.**

**JR, 48:279** [*\*Letter from Father Henry Nouvel, from the Montagnais.*]

Having set out from Kebec on the 19th of November with two Frenchmen, our host, and some other Savages, we arrived at Isle Verte on the 24th of the same month. We found on that Island all our Savages—Papinachois, as well as those of other Nations—sixty-eight in all. They had shut themselves up in a fort made of stakes, in consequence of the discovery they had made of a large Encampment of Iroquois on the banks of the great River.

**JR, 48:285** [*\*Papinachois stay one month in fort, for fear of Iroquois.*]

Since then we have changed our position several times, God has blessed our hunters, and, the fear of hunger having left us, there remains only the fear of the Iroquois, which has been very great in the minds of our Savages. We tarried a whole month in one place, not daring to leave the fort which we had built there. From time to time our hunters discovered trails of the enemy; the Iroquois were said to have been heard shouting here and there; and a certain Juggler, with whom I have had several disputes, had spread the report that we should shortly be attacked: such were the reasons why we put ourselves in this state of defense....

Leaving this position on the first day of Lent, we arrived, on the fourteenth of March, at the banks of the great River. There we have since remained, awaiting favorable weather to go over to some Island, in order to be protected there from the Iroquois until the arrival of the Shallops from Kebec.

**JR, 49:29** [*\*Drum used to counter the Iroquois war yell; a Montagnais and Algonquin victory.*]

The Papinachois had made a drum for use against the Iroquois, for counteracting the shouts and yells which the latter utter when they make an attack; and this drum was of no use to them in Isle aux Basques, where they were in a secure retreat, A thoughtless young man of another Nation suggested to them

at a feast that they should make use of it for dancing, and celebrating the victory which the Montagnais and Algonquins had gained the preceding Spring over their Enemies.

**JR, 49:35** [*\*A Montagnais is afraid his daughter's corpse will be burned by the Iroquois.*]

Before leaving Isle des Basques to go Northward, I performed the last rites over the body of a little girl who had died about two months before. Her father, a Montagnais, was very glad to have her buried in our little Chapel before a large Cross which, on Good Friday, we erected opposite the door. I will give a proof of the love and respect which these people have for the bodies of their deceased relatives. When I had admonished this afflicted father to have his daughter buried, after she had died, he asked me for time to consider what he should do in the matter. Some time afterward, he made answer to me: "Thou seest that we are in constant fear of the Iroquois. If I bury my daughter in the woods, perhaps those wicked men will find her body, which they will certainly burn. Let us avoid this danger; we will bury her elsewhere in a place where there will be nothing to fear."

**JR, 49:103** [*\*Onondaga Captain Garakontié helps the French.*]

...as there are Iroquois persecutors, there are also Iroquois Preachers. One of these is a man named Garakontié, who was formerly our host when we were in their country—one of the most notable men of Onnontaé, and a good friend of the French, so far as one can judge from results. It has been God's will often to make use of this man for his glory. Besides rescuing so many poor Frenchmen from the hands and the flames of the Agniehronnon Iroquois,—some of whom he brought back to us, while the rest he has harbored at his cabin as he would his own children,—he has by his authority maintained the Chapel that we erected in their village.

**JR, 49:107** [*\*Captives are generally killed on slightest provocation.*]

This weapon very easily strikes refractory Captives, as we have seen many times with our own eyes; for among the Iroquois the life of a Captive is valued no more than that of a dog, and it needs only a slight disobedience on his part to merit a hatchet-stroke.

**JR, 49, p 119** [*\*Two captives are tortured by the Iroquois but their lives are spared.*]

The cruelty with which the lower Iroquois treat those of us whom they make prisoners is so horrible that all New France will never bestow enough blessings on our incomparable Monarch who is undertaking to deliver his Subjects—French, Algonkin, and Huron—from these Barbarian Enemies. They have killed this year in our Fields several Frenchmen, who are less to be pitied than those whom they have carried into captivity; among the latter there

are, in particular, two poor girls, one of whom was carried away by them from the Island of Orleans, while the other, twelve years old, was taken at Three Rivers. We do not yet know what cruelties they have inflicted on these last captives, but we judge of them only too well from those with which they tormented two Frenchmen of whom we shall speak in this Chapter.

In the Autumn of the year one thousand six hundred and sixty-three, two Soldiers of the garrison at Three Rivers, while hunting on the Richelieu Islands, fell into an ambuscade that the Agniehronnon Iroquois had laid for them, and were soon taken and bound, as Captives usually are. In the attack, one of them was wounded by a ball, which, after passing through his body, stopped at the surface of the side opposite to that by which it had entered. The Iroquois—who take Pride in leading home Prisoners alive and full of strength, to endure the strain of torture to which they destine them—turned Physicians in the case of this wounded man, and, with cruel compassion, dressed his wound and bled him with an assiduity only too charitable to him. They probed the wound full through his body, and finding the place where the ball had stopped, made an incision there and removed it, with admirable skill. After this successful operation, it is incredible what pains and care they took of this poor patient. Some would cleanse the wound and infuse into it the juice of roots, either boiled or chewed, which is a sovereign remedy with them; others would bandage it, and acquit themselves with such delicacy in handling it that they seemed to fear giving him the least pain in the world. Others would prepare his meals for him, with all the kindness one could wish for in any Hospital; some would support him under the armpits when he walked; while others would encourage him with kind words, full of tenderness. “Courage, my brother!” they would say to him; “we shall soon be there. Thy wound is getting better and better. Thou seest well that we are sparing no pains to restore thy health; so take courage, and do not put an affront upon us at the entrance to our Village.” Their real meaning was, that the ill of which they were curing him was only to prepare him for greater ills, which awaited him upon their arrival in their own country. In fact, as soon as they were perceived, every one came out to meet them with rods and staves in hand; and when they had all arrayed themselves in rows on both sides of the road, they made our two Frenchmen pass through their midst entirely naked, discharging on them as they advanced such a shower of blows, each one striving to hit them, that they fell fainting at the entrance to the Village. Such was the purpose of all the care that they had taken of this poor sick man on the way; they had feared that he would die and thus deprive all this Barbarian tribe of the pleasure which they take in these cruel executions.

While our two Frenchmen were in this pitiful condition, lo! a Huron approached them to console them. He was one of our good Christians of Kebec, who was captured by the same Iroquois a few years ago; and having been treated with the same severity, he knew well what consolation they needed. “Courage, my brothers!” he said to them; “pray to God earnestly, in this

little time which you have still to live. To-morrow you will go to Heaven, for they have adopted the resolution to burn you at daybreak. You will soon be rid of the woes which you will be made to suffer; but the reward that the master of our lives will give you in return will never end. Remember me when you are in Heaven." It is incredible how much this little exhortation cheered them, and what joy they felt in their hearts at seeing in the midst of such a frightful state of Barbarism so good a Christian. All his words seemed to them to be fiery arrows, burning their hearts with much greater heat than that of the fires which were being prepared for their bodies.

Day breaking, the captives made themselves ready for that cruel torture, and were surprised at the delay in beginning the execution. They did not know that God was working for them; and that, at the very time when they were about to offer themselves to him as a sacrifice, he was procuring their deliverance. It was through an Ambassador recently arrived from Onnontaé, who asked of the Elders that the two Captives be delivered up to him, to help to bring about a projected compromise with the French. Behold, then, our two victims summoned. They tremble at every word that is said to them; they are unbound, and they think that it is in order to make them mount the scaffold. Sentence is pronounced on them, not of death, but of life; and they are put in charge of an Onnontaeronnon, who undertakes to conduct them in safety to Onnontaé, there to join the other French Captives and be ready to embark when it is desired to take them back to Montreal. All these things appeared to them so surprising that they could scarcely believe them; nevertheless, seeing themselves really delivered, they thanked Heaven for so signal a favor. They were not yet, however, in safety; for a certain Iroquois, who had already devoured this prey with his eyes, and who was vexed that it had been taken from him, resolved to satisfy his desire with the death of one of the two Captives. He pursued him with hatchet in hand, no one, either Elder or Captain, opposing the insolent man. There was only a good Huron Christian woman, who—captive although she was, and consequently liable to have her head broken, in the event of discovery—did not hesitate to take this poor Frenchman into her Cabin, where she concealed him under some bark for three days, until means was afforded the Frenchmen to escape with their guide without being noticed by this furious man....

After walking three days, with incredible sufferings, they saw themselves at the gates of the village of Onneyout. But what now? Had they the courage to give themselves up, of their own accord, into the hands of the most cruel executioners of the French? They had recourse again to the blessed Virgin, who impelled them to throw themselves, by stealth, into an abandoned Cabin, which happened to be situated all by itself outside the village, in order to hold themselves in hiding there, and decide, more at leisure, what they were to do. They entered it accordingly, and were much surprised to find a woman inside, who—instead of crying out at the sight of these fugitives, and going to announce their arrival—invited them to enter, gave them kind looks, and even

addressed them in good French. Our two pilgrims did not doubt that she was a guardian Angel sent them by their holy deliverer, hearing as they did their own language spoken by a Savage woman, and receiving from her acts of charity which would deserve admiration among the most fervent Christians. For she set about entertaining them kindly, preparing a fire for them, giving them something to eat, and wiping the matter from their sores, without showing any disgust at the stench which arose from those ill-dressed ulcers. She even went to fetch some medicinal roots, and made of them a dressing, which she applied to all the places on their bodies where the gangrene seemed most dangerous, and cleansed the others,—all this with extreme charity, omitting nothing of all that a wise and kind Surgeon could do.

She played, in truth, the part of an angel; and they would have believed her such, if she had not made herself known to them. “I am,” said she, “poor Marguerite Haouenhontona, well known to the black gowns, from whom I received Baptism, and to the holy maidens, the Ursuline mothers of Quebec....”

During all this pleasant talk, by which she tried to cheer them up to the best of her ability, the news was carried into Onneiout that two Frenchmen had gone into the Cabin outside the village; that they had been seen going in that direction toward evening. The Elders assembled to deliberate upon this matter; and it was proposed to go immediately and knock these men on the head, and make them enter the Village as prisoners—that is to say, under a hail-storm of blows; to tear out their nails, cut off their fingers, and burn them, like the other Captives. Meanwhile, the men themselves were peacefully enjoying the pleasant conversation of their hostess, and were offering up devout prayers with her, before taking a little rest during the night, after so many fatigues and sufferings. But hark! a loud noise was heard at the door of the Cabin, made by those who were sent by the Elders to seize the Frenchmen. What a reverse of fortune! Oh, how short were those moments of cheer and comfort! Scarcely had their wounds been bandaged when they had to prepare to receive new ones. But the protection of the blessed Virgin toward these unfortunate men had begun too well not to continue to the end. In fact, contrary to all the laws and customs of those Barbarians, the Council of the Elders had decreed that no injury should be done them, and that they should be conducted in perfect safety to the place whither they desired to go. It was done as they had determined. They were given a peaceful entry into the Village, where French Captives had never been seen to enter except amid horrible yells and countless blows with cudgels. And as they were so exhausted that they had not strength enough to pursue their journey, God inspired an Iroquois Matron to ask that they might be lodged in her hut; and she thereupon took care to clothe them, dress their wounds, and feed them well for five days. At the end of this time, after many kindnesses, she furnished them with the provisions necessary for the rest of the journey and courteously conducted them a long distance outside the Village.



They went on their way, accordingly, and at last reached Onnontaë, where they found several Frenchmen, rescued like themselves from the hands of the other Iroquois by that Garakontie, who is styled the father and protector of Captive Frenchmen, about whom we spoke in the preceding Chapter; he will furnish material for a good part of the following one, in which we shall relate the remaining adventures of our two Frenchmen.

*JR, 49:137* [*\*A large Iroquois embassy offers peace but the Algonquins ambush and rout them and war continues.*]

Since war broke out between the Iroquois and ourselves, we have not yet seen on their part a more solemn Embassy—whether in point of the number and rank of the ambassadors, or the beauty and number of the presents—than that which they despatched last Spring.

Upon investigating the causes of such an extraordinary event, it is not easy to hit on the true one. They proclaim that they wish to unite all the nations of the earth and to hurl the hatchet so far into the depths of the earth that it shall never again be seen in the future; that they wish to place an entirely new Sun in the Heavens, which shall never again be obscured by a single cloud; that they wish to level all the mountains, and remove all the falls from the rivers—in a word, that they wish peace. Moreover, as an evidence of the sincerity of their intentions, they declare that they are coming—women, and children, and old men—to deliver themselves into the hands of the French,—not so much in the way of hostages for their good faith as to begin to make only one Earth and one Nation of themselves and us.

All these words are specious, but for more than five years we have known from our own experience that the Iroquois is of a crafty disposition, adroit, dissembling, and haughty; and that he will never descend so low as to be the first to ask peace from us, unless he has a great scheme in his head, or is driven to it for some very pressing reason.

Some think that the Agnienronns—the nation nearest to us and the most arrogant and cruel—ask us for peace because they are no longer in a condition to make war, being reduced to a very small number by famine, disease, and the losses that they have suffered in the last two or three years, on all sides whither they have directed their arms. Quite recently they suffered a bleeding which greatly weakened them. We learn that an army of six hundred Iroquois, the greater part of whom were Agnienronns, went out to sack a Village composed of certain Savages called Mahingans or the Wolves. The latter saw that the army which was about to pounce upon them would put the whole place to fire and sword, if it were allowed to approach the Village; and so they resolved to advance against it and take it unawares. They accordingly went out, to the number of a hundred only, and after going two leagues, encountered the Enemy and gave battle. The fight lasted a very long time with great loss on both sides. Nevertheless, superior numbers prevailing, the Mahingans were forced to retire into their Village, leaving the Field of battle to the Iroquois,

who found themselves so hardly used in this first engagement that they thought only of retreat. But when they saw such a large number of their men, fallen on the spot, they resolved to revenge themselves for this loss, although they should all perish in the attempt. In order not to give the Mahingans time to recover and rally, they set out on that very evening, and at daybreak made the attack on the Village with great fury and frightful yells, as if they had already made themselves masters of the place. The heat of the combat was great on both sides, and the Iroquois lost many men, because they made the assault without taking the precaution to cover themselves, which obliged them at last to retreat, leaving many dead around the Enemy's Village. This check, with some others that occurred at the same time, humbled them greatly, and brought them very low; and that is thought to have been the reason which forced them to come to us and ask for peace. Others think that the Sonnontouaehronnons—the nation farthest distant from us, simplest in nature, and most numerous—asked us for peace in order to be able to make head against the Andastogueronons; these are Savages of new Sweden, very warlike, and better able than any others to exterminate the Iroquois. In order to secure themselves against so redoubtable an Enemy, the Sonnontouaehronnons ask the French to come in large numbers and settle among them. They ask this, hoping that the French will surround their Villages with flanked palisades, and furnish them with the munitions of war,—which they hardly dare any longer to go and obtain of the Dutch, as the Mahingans render the roads very dangerous. Finally, they beg that some black gowns be sent them, to take control of an entire Village of old Huron Christians, and to convert the others. Father Simon le Moyne had already gone to Montreal with this design; he was delighted at being destined to expose his life for the sixth time to the Iroquois; and would be there now, if the Embassy had succeeded.

As for the Onnontaehronnons, some think that they desire peace, others believe that they are far from it; and both may be said to be right. For Garakontié, that famous liberator of the French Captives, has done too much not to wish for peace; on the other hand, there are other families who are too envious and too much opposed to him to suffer him to have the glory of concluding a general peace with the French. Nothing of that sort, however, is apparent; but as the Iroquois are more crafty than is imagined, both the one side and the other may conceal some knavish trick under that fair appearance; and the richer the presents are that they wish to make, the more are they to be mistrusted.

But, without pausing longer to examine the designs of this Embassy, let us see how it succeeded. The Onnontaehronnons, its prime movers, did not wish to expose rashly the most prominent men of their entire country; and so, in order to assure themselves fully in the matter, they sent to Montreal, as early as the month of August, advance couriers, as it were, to sound the way, and find out whether the envoys would be well received there. They appeared, accordingly, above our settlement with a white flag in their Canoe, in order not

to be taken for Enemies. Under such protection they landed at Montreal, and made some presents as a declaration that all the Iroquois nations, except that of Onneiouté, asked for peace, and that even the Agnehronnons were thus inclined,—confirming the whole with a letter written to Monsieur de Mesy, our Governor, by one of the prominent men of new Holland, who gave his guarantee of their good faith. This proposition was listened to with joy, but nevertheless with distrust, since at the very moment when they were talking to us of peace, they were making war on us in our Fields, where murders were being committed upon our Husbandmen. Yet, in order not to rebuff them entirely, they were sent back from Montreal with friendly words; and they departed with a resolution to go and hasten the departure of the Ambassadors.

In fact, a short time afterward, Captain Garakontié—who was the soul, as it were, of this enterprise—joined the Sonnontouaehronnons, together with those of his nation; and to this end he made a prodigious collection of porcelain, which is the gold of the country, in order to make us the most beautiful presents that had ever been given us. There were, among other gifts, a hundred collars, some of which were more than a foot in width. They embarked to the number of thirty, laden with these riches; and, in order to be still more welcome, they took with them the two Frenchmen of whom I spoke in the preceding Chapter, to begin their presents by giving these men their liberty.

But their ill luck seems to have accompanied them wherever they went. After they had made some days' journey, our Algonkins, who were waging war in that part of the country, perceiving traces of these Ambassadors, laid an ambuscade for them below the great sault, and, attacking them unexpectedly, put them all to rout. Some were killed on the spot, others were made prisoners, and the rest took flight. As for the two Frenchmen, they sustained the first onset, and had great difficulty in making themselves recognized as Frenchmen by the Algonkins,—who, in the heat of the conflict, throwing aside their guns to take their hatchets, were striking right and left without considering on whom the blows fell. They were finally recognized, but had the grief of seeing that their liberty would cost their liberators their lives or their freedom.

Thus the grand project of this Embassy has vanished in smoke, and instead of the peace which it was bringing us, we have on our hands a more cruel war than before; for the Iroquois would cease to be Iroquois if they did not make every effort to avenge the deaths of those Ambassadors. Perhaps they will dissimulate for some time, if they find themselves too much weakened by their late losses; and then—if they are not either entirely exterminated or put into such a condition that they cannot stir again—sooner or later they will take vengeance on the French, as they did on the Hurons, ten years after having become reconciled with them.

Beyond this, it is very difficult to judge whether this defeat is advantageous or disadvantageous to us. There is much to be said on both sides. In general, we can assert that the great body of the Iroquois do not love us, and that they have a deadly hatred for the Algonkins. Consequently, when we see them

so remarkably urgent for making peace with us, we do not doubt that they are afraid of the victorious arms of our triumphant Monarch, and that for once they really fear the plan which he has adopted to exterminate them, learning of it, as they have—partly from new Holland, and partly from some French Captives. And so, seeing themselves within two finger-breadths of total destruction,—famine and disease having begun it; the Andastoguehronnons, Mahingans, Algonkins, and other Savages having advanced it; and the French being interested in completing it, if they undertake it,—feeling, then, in this way the approach of their ruin, they pretend to wish for peace, or rather necessity forces them to wish for it. But they do so to let the storm pass, and to renew the war more vigorously than ever after they shall have evaded this blow, and recovered from the extremity to which divine Providence has reduced them.

**JR, 49:149** [*\*An embassy is sent from the Iroquois except the Oneidas; they seek peace because they are overextended.*]

Since despatching the Relation by the Ship which sailed from here on the 31st of August, the Onionenhronnons have come on an Embassy, reaching Quebec on the 18th of September. Its Chief is one of our old friends; he was Father Rene Menard's host when the latter was Missionary among the Iroquois. They spoke through twenty presents, of which six of the finest were for the Ecclesiastics,—Monseigneur the Bishop of Petrea, and the Fathers of our Society, for whom they ask with urgency to instruct them in the Faith,—and for the Hospital Nuns and the Ursulines, whose kind offices they hope to receive when they shall be sick here, and when they bring their daughters here to receive instruction.

Ten of these twenty presents were for the Algonquins, their old Enemies, with whom they testify their desire to form a friendship which shall never be broken.

They spoke for all the Iroquois Nations except that of Onneiout.

Had we not been often deceived by such Embassies, which have concealed deadly treasons under these appearances of Peace, we might have been deceived in this; but our experiences make us mistrust these faithless Barbarians, even when they trust us implicitly.

To render more lucid the information desired regarding the Iroquois Nations, let it be stated that there are five of them,—forming, as it were, five different Cantons, leagued against their common Enemies.

The Anniehronnons are the nearest to us, and neighbors to New Holland, where they obtain firearms, powder, and lead; with the Dutch, too, they carry on all their trading.

The Onneiiochronnons are two days' journey farther distant.

The Onnontaehronnons are still farther away.

The Onionenhronnons are about three days' journey beyond the last-named tribe.

The Sonnontouchronnons, who are the most populous and have several Villages, are the farthest distant, by about three days' journey.

They are all situated along the great Lake of the Iroquois called Ontario, from 20 to 30 leagues inland.

They are settled in Villages, and till the soil, raising Indian corn, otherwise called Turkish corn. Wheat grows there very well, but they do not use it.

Behind them, farther southward, they have Savage Enemies who for some time past have been making vigorous war on them,—the Nation of the Wolves, the Abnaquinois, allied with New England, and the Andastochronnons, allied with New Sweden.

Thus seeing themselves attacked on both sides, they fear the arms of France, and that with reason.

## **Section Four**

# **“Chastisement by a Vigorous War”**

## **The French Retaliation**

### **1665–1666**

*In February 1664 the French crown at last sent the long-awaited troops to Canada: the Carignan-Salieres Regiment, which arrived throughout the Summer of 1665. The rest of that year was spent organizing the men and building strategic forts including Richelieu at that river's mouth, Saint Louis at the falls of the Richelieu, and Saint Theresa nearest to Lake Champlain.*

*Emboldened by the military presence, early in 1666 the first French expeditions head toward the Mohawk country, the Upper Iroquois having promoted peace. The first, under the leadership of De Courcelles, is hampered by cold weather and then heads in the wrong direction and arrives near the Dutch by mistake. The second, Sorel's, sets out to avenge raids on Lake Champlain but is recalled when restitution is made. The third, de Tracy's, reaches the Mohawk villages in October, burning four of them to the ground and ravaging their food supplies before returning.*

*Some Iroquois raids are recorded in 1665 around Lake Nemiscau, the Ottawa country, and towards the Atlantic seaboard. During 1666 the Onondaga suffer a substantial defeat at the hands of the Susquehannocks, and the Iroquois once more are forced to treat for peace with the French.*

### **Journal of the Jesuit Fathers, in the year 1665.**

**JR, 49:159** [*\*A Frenchman escapes from the Iroquois.*]

[\*April 1665—at the beginning of the month, 2 or 3 days before Easter] *Item*, from 3 rivers, that a frenchman had arrived there from Montreal, saying that he had escaped from the yroquois, who had captured him.

**JR, 49:159** [*\*A war party leaves Three Rivers.*]

[\*May 1665] On the 5th, Monsieur de Mesy, the Governor, died; and, on the 7th, 150 savage warriors left 3 rivers to go to war.

At the same time we heard of several Massacres at Montreal.

**JR, 49:161** [*\*Eight companies of soldiers arrive from France.*]

[\*June 1665] Father Thiery (Theodoricus) beschefer arrived on the 19th, in Le Gangneur's Ship, with 4 Companies of the Carignan regiment. Sieur petit's ship had arrived on the 18th.

And, on the 30th, father Claude bardy and Father françois duperon arrived, with Monseigneur de Tracy and 4 other Companies.

**JR, 49:161** [*\*Four companies begin rebuilding Fort Richelieu.*]

[\*July 1665] On the 23rd, the first 4 Companies left to commence fort richelieu; father Chaumonot went with them.

**JR, 49:163** [*\*Salieres and Capt. Guillon arrive with four companies each.*]

[\*August 1665] The 10th. Monsieur de Chambley left three Rivers, with his troops, for the falls of the Richelieu....

The 19th. Monsieur de salieres, the Colonel of the Regiment, arrived with Monsieur his son, 15 *annorum*, and 4 companies....

The 20th. Captain guillon arrived, with 4 companies.

**JR, 49:167** [*\*False rumors of Sokoki attacks against Mohawk villages.*]

[\*September 1665] News came from 3 Rivers, that two canoes had arrived from New England, and reported the destruction of two villages of Anniené by the sokokiois, etc.; that 80 women had been made captives, and that the remainder had been killed; also that another band of 700 or 800 was preparing to go and destroy Tionontogen, the largest village. All this turned out to be false.

**JR, 49:169** [*\*Four companies go to Three Rivers.*]

[\*October 1665] The 1st. 4 companies departed, to wait for Monseigneur de Tracy at three Rivers.

**JR, 49:173** [*\*Twenty Nipissings are attacked near the Petite Nation.*]

[\*October 1665] The 28th. A vessel arrived from Mon-real bringing news of the defeat of 20 Nipicirinién Algonquins, with their wives and their children, toward the petite nation; only one escaped, and he had his fingers cut off; 7 were killed, and 12 taken alive, with some women.

**JR, 49:177** [*\*The Iroquois offer presents for peace.*]

[\*December 1665] The 2nd. Monsieur le Moyne arrived here with 6 onnonta,eronons, who brought him back. There is an onneiout with them, the chief of a band of 25, who had come on a hostile expedition, and whose hatchet they had restrained....

The 4th. The Iroquois spoke, and gave 7 or 8 presents to renew the peace, and this at Monseigneur de Tracy's. On the following days, they were entertained several times in the french fashion, by The Gentlemen. We also treated

them, but in the savage fashion, by giving the chief the wherewithal to give a good feast to the hurons and Algonquins; and, in the evening, by taking to each of them a small loaf, some roasted eels, some prunes, and beer.

The 8th. They started on their return with Monsieur le Moyne, and others. La grand gueule [“big mouth”] then learned, I know not from whom, of the design of Monsieur the governor respecting Anniée; and he informed garakontié of it in our reception-room. They were 9 days on the road, before returning to three Rivers.

**Father François le Mercier. 1666. Relation of what occurred in new france, in the years 1664 and 1665. Quebec, November 3, 1665.**

*JR, 49:213* [*\*Canada thankful that France has sent troops.*]

Never will New France cease to bless our great Monarch for undertaking to restore her to life and rescue her from the fires of the Iroquois. For nearly forty years we have been sighing for this happiness. Our tears have at length crossed the sea, and our plaint has touched the heart of his Majesty, who is about to make a Kingdom of our Barbarous land, and change our forests into towns and our deserts into Provinces. This transformation will not be very difficult when we have peace; for, as these lands are in the same latitude as France, they will also have the same benign atmosphere, when we are able to cultivate them and clear them of their woods.

Hitherto Canada has been regarded simply as Canada—I mean, we have considered only its rigors and ice, and the severity of its winters. It has been believed that to come hither was to enter the region of frosts, and the most ill-favored country in the world; and this view seems to have been held with some reason, inasmuch as war with the Iroquois has hitherto kept us so closely confined that we have been unable to clear our fields, in order to breathe the same atmosphere as in those of France, or to enjoy the fair realms either occupied, or closed to us, by our foes.

But our chief complaint was not so much that, groaning under the Iroquois’ cruelty, we could not convert all these regions into a noble French Kingdom, as that we were prevented by Barbarians from turning them into a great Christian Empire.

We know that, whithersoever we cast our eyes, everywhere are conquests to be made for the Faith; and if the Gospel is not yet established among those Tribes to whom one of our Fathers went this last Summer, and who comprise more than a hundred thousand fighting men, he was only prevented by a mere handful of one or two thousand Iroquois.

It is certain that there are few foes to contend against, but those few are Iroquois—that is to say, very nearly such as were of old the tribes of Germany and ancient Gaul, when those countries were still nothing but dense forests, inhabited by wild beasts and by men in a state of savagery. But it was those men who so long braved the entire forces of the Roman Empire, and who so



often surprised those troops that had been victorious over all the world,—making sudden and unexpected sorties from their dense forests, without fearing lest those triumphant arms should come and attack them.

Our Iroquois are redoubtable only in that kind of warfare; I shall likewise venture to assert that not less courage is needed for undertaking their reduction than that displayed by the ancient Romans.

We bless God that his Majesty has chosen for this war veteran troops already inured to fighting, and commanded by men of courage and Noble birth, who have already succeeded in crossing the Alpine snows and opposing the progress of the enemy of the Christians in Germany,—with such success that this foe now knows by experience the just cause he has to fear the French arms, as he has done for so many years.

**JR, 49:217** [*\*Voyage of de Tracy from France through the Caribbean and to Canada.*]

The King, purposing to reestablish the glory of the French in the Island of Cayenne, which we had evacuated some years ago, and to secure a visitation of all the Colonies owned by us in both Americas, South and North, made choice of Monsieur the Marquis de Tracy, with whose capacity he had become acquainted in the different offices which he had given him in his Armies. He caused a Commission to be sent to him, of the most ample and honorable nature yet known; gave him four Companies of Infantry; decreed that his guards should bear the same colors as his Majesty's; and ordered to be equipped for his use the ships named the *Bresé* and the *Teron*,—the former of eight hundred tons, and the latter of somewhat less,—together with several other vessels laden with provisions and munitions of war. His Majesty also provided people to till the soil, a number of artisans, and everything necessary for an expedition of such importance.

Monsieur de Tracy sailed from la Rochelle on the 26th of February in the year 1664, accompanied by many of the Nobility, besides the troops, and by well-equipped vessels. He was complimented by the Portuguese of Madeira and the Cape verd islands with all the honor due to his rank and merit. Monsieur de la Barre, upon landing, was given a splendid reception.

Then the vessels sailed directly to Cayenne, where they arrived in a short time. Upon Monsieur de Tracy's summoning the Dutch Governor to surrender the Island to the French, to whom it belonged, he readily complied; and Monsieur de la Barre stopped there, in accordance with the King's orders....

God blessed his courage, and his resolve to obey as exactly as possible the orders of his Majesty. His vessel, thanks to the wind that he desired, cleared the Caicos without danger; and, encountering soon afterward the currents of that strait of Bahama which render the sea very rapid along the coasts of Florida, he doubled the Bermudas without mishap, coasted along Virginia, and, in one month after leaving San Domingo, entered the great river Saint Lawrence.

To enter the gulf he passed between the Island of Saint Paul and Cap de Raze [i.e., Cape Ray], and, the wind still continuing favorable, went on and cast anchor at Isle Percée, in order to take water and wood there.

At this place were a number of vessels engaged in Cod-fishing, and they all saluted the King's standard.

Monsieur de Tracy had no farther trouble, except in regard to the troops which he was expecting from France, and which were to have sailed from la Rochelle at the same time when he himself left the Islands. Happily, on the next day, they saw two vessels appear, bearing the first Companies of the Regiment sent by the King against the Iroquois.

Upon leaving Isle Percée, the Pilots hoped, in order to hasten their course, to take the *Bresé* as far as Bic; but the winds changed, and forced them to abandon their purpose. In order not to risk a ship of the importance of the *Bresé* in the Saint Lawrence river, it was deemed more expedient to hire two vessels of lighter draught, and better suited for ascending the river; and still the winds were so steadily contrary that the Pilots could not reach Quebec until a month later.

This delay was unseasonable for Monsieur de Tracy, who had fallen ill. Nevertheless, he finally arrived in our roadstead of Quebec on the last day of June, 1665,—so weak and reduced by fever that nothing but his courage sufficed to sustain him.

The people of Quebec had prepared to give him the most magnificent reception in their power; but Monsieur de Tracy declined all such honors, and contented himself with the shouts of joy which began at the moment of his leaving the vessel, and accompanied him as far as the Church, whither the ringing of the bells invited him.

Monseigneur of Peträa, our Bishop, awaited him at the Church-door, clad in pontifical robes, and attended by his Clergy. Offering him some holy water and the Cross, he led him into the choir, to the place prepared for him upon a prie-dieu; but Monsieur de Tracy, although feeling very weak and still suffering from his fever, would not use it, but knelt on the pavement, refusing even to avail himself of the cushion offered him. The *Te Deum* was chanted, with organ and music.

When it was time to leave the Church, Monsieur the Bishop came again for Monsieur de Tracy, and escorted him as far as the door, in the same order and with the same honors as upon entering.

**JR, 49:227** [*\*The natives' reception of de Tracy.*]

Our Algonquin and Huron Savages also determined to receive Monsieur de Tracy according to the customs of their country—that is, with compliments accompanied by presents, These latter serve them as symbols to represent, after they have spoken, the speeches that have been made; and this usage they observe with much intelligence, for Barbarians. For to each of these presents they give a name, very appropriate in their own language, to indicate briefly

their entire meaning,—in order that the gifts, which are preserved, may also preserve by their names the remembrance of what they signify.

The Hurons took the initiative, because they were at that time all assembled at Quebec, although only ten or twelve of their chief men acted as their representatives.

One of the oldest acted as spokesman, but made as much use of gestures as of his tongue. After displaying the presents which he was about to offer, he spoke with vehemence, and in a tone of voice expressive of both the grief and the joy that overcame him.

“Great Onnontio,” said he, “thou seest at thy feet the wreck of a great country, and the pitiful remnant of a whole world, that was formerly peopled by countless inhabitants. But now thou art addressed by mere carcasses, only the bones of which have been left by the Iroquois, who have devoured the flesh after broiling it on their scaffolds. There was left in us nothing but the merest thread of life; and our limbs, most of which have passed through the boiling caldrons of our foes, had no more strength,—when, raising our eyes with extreme difficulty, we saw on the river the ships that were bringing thee, and, with thee, so many soldiers sent us by thy great Onnontio and ours.

“Thereupon the Sun seemed to shine upon us with brighter beams, and to illumine our fatherland of old, which had been so many years overcast with clouds and darkness. Then our lakes and rivers appeared calm, and without storms or breakers; and, to tell thee the truth, I seemed to hear a voice issuing from thy vessel, and saying to us, from as far as we could discern thee: ‘Courage, O desolate people! Thy bones are about to be knit together with muscles and tendons, thy flesh is to be born again, thy strength will be restored to thee, and thou shalt live as thou didst live of old.’ At first I distrusted this voice, and took it for a sweet dream which was beguiling our wretchedness, when I was undeceived by the sound of so many drums, and the arrival of so many soldiers. After all, although I see thee with my eyes and embrace thy feet, the joy thou bringest is so unexpected that I would fear that I was deceived by a beautiful dream, did I not already feel myself thoroughly fortified by thy mere presence. I see thee, O brave Onnontio; I hear thee; I address thee. Be welcome, and receive this little present from the emptiness of our land, as a sign of the joy we feel at thy fortunate coming, and of the homage we render to the greatest of all Onnontios on earth, who has taken pity on our wretchedness and sends thee to deliver us therefrom.”

Thus speaking, this Huron Captain threw down at Monsieur de Tracy’s feet a moose-skin, dressed and painted in native style.

This was but the beginning of his harangue, and the first of six presents made by him, one after another. With the second he said that, as Monsieur de Tracy had come to destroy the cruel Anthropophagi and devourers of human beings, he bore too much gentleness in his countenance; and so many charms as shone upon his person were not calculated to inspire fear in those man-eaters. Therefore they wished, at least for this war, to render his countenance

forbidding, by clothing it in a blackness that makes terrible those who are painted with it.

He alluded to the custom of Savage warriors, who, when about to attack the enemy, paint themselves all colors, but especially black; so that they make their attack like an army of Demons, with Hellish yells and frightful cries.

With the third present he exhorted the French soldiers to load their muskets so well that, when they were in the enemy's country, the noise made by their discharge should not only spread panic among those Barbarians, but should also resound as far as this place, and cause here the joy which cannon-shots give when they announce some signal victory. His meaning was that the Iroquois, Savages although they were, were not so contemptible as to render it unnecessary to provide good arms and equipment for their conquest.

"It is true," he added, producing a fourth present, "that the enemy places half his prowess in his fast running, fighting usually entirely naked, and with only his musket in his hand and his hatchet in his belt,—either to make it easier for him to win the victory, or to render his flight more unimpeded. When you have defeated him, you will not have captured him,—especially as you are embarrassed with clothing ill adapted for running through thickets and underbrush, unless it is well girt up and secured. Here, then, is a girdle suitable for fastening your garments so properly that you will have the advantage of being clothed in your pursuit of the enemy, and yet will be not less agile than he for running in the woods."

The fifth present accompanied a clause of importance; for he said that the element of greatest strength among the Iroquois was not the Iroquois themselves, but that their might resided in the large number of captives,—French, Huron, Algonquin, and those from other Nations,—who formed more than two-thirds of the Iroquois Nation, and were compelled by the latter to bear arms against us.

He added that, if we could draw all these Captives to our side, we could defeat that haughty Iroquois without striking a blow; and he would fall to the ground either like a tree whose roots have been cut, or like a mountain whose base has been undermined. Furthermore, he said, it was not so very difficult to entice all these Captives away from the service of those cruel masters, for whom they had only fear and hatred in their hearts, and not love. It would only be necessary to announce to the Iroquois, when the French army approached their villages, that they must hand over to us all these Captives, and leave them entirely free; that otherwise we would resort to violence. If they delivered them up, they themselves would be defenseless; if they refused, we could compel them by force, while the Captives would voluntarily take our side, seeing that their own safety lay with us.

Finally, the last present was meant to encourage the French army to face the length and obstacles of the route leading to the Iroquois, and to serve as a fresh attestation of the donors' obedience and fidelity to the King's service.

Monsieur de Tracy declared his great pleasure at these native compliments, having caused an interpreter to explain to him all that was said, and he

found therein no indication of the savage. He assured that poor Huron Nation that no pains should be spared to restore it to its pristine splendor.

The Algonquins could not so soon acquit themselves of this duty, because, when Monsieur de Tracy arrived, they were scattered in the woods for the purpose of hunting. But, reassembling some time afterward, they came to seek him at Quebec; and Noël Tekouerimat, the Christian of longest standing, delivered, in the name of all, his harangue, which was accompanied by nine presents.

With the first he declared that he recognized the King of France as Master of all the earth, and that he rendered him the homage that all faithful subjects owe their Master.

With the second, that he regarded Monsieur de Tracy as the King's right arm, come to establish the country on a firm basis, and to revive the French and the Algonquins.

With the four following he gave him arms suitable for fighting the Iroquois.

With the seventh present he rekindled the war-fire, which had been nearly extinguished by so much bloodshed.

The eighth was to promote the continued firm union of the French and Algonquin Nations, because, without such mutual understanding, the conquest of the Iroquois would be too difficult and very uncertain. Besides, as they were both Christian peoples, they were fighting for the same cause and ought thus to act in concert, having both but one and the same end in view—the destruction of the Iroquois and the publication of the Gospel.

With the last present, this Captain caused the Algonquin Chiefs who stood around him to step forward, and offered them to Monsieur de Tracy, to march with him and attend him on the expedition that he was about to undertake.

It is true, the delay of the other vessels, which were bringing the larger part of our troops, and could not all arrive before the middle of September, compelled a postponement of this war until next Spring and Summer; but Monsieur de Tracy, unwilling to lose a single moment, immediately ordered four Companies of the Carignan-Saliere Regiment, which were the first to arrive, to go with all expedition and seize the most advantageous positions, in order to have an open passage into the Iroquois country.

They started from Quebec on the 23rd of July, and, after reinforcing their troops with a Company of Volunteers from this country, commanded by Sieur de Repentigny, arrived at Three Rivers at a time most opportune to relieve the people from their fear of the Iroquois. These enemies had recently approached that place on one of their customary marauding excursions, and had slain some of the settlers, and taken some captives.

*JR, 49:241* [*\*The Ottawas are attacked on both sides by the Sioux and the Iroquois.*]

While these advance-troops were waiting, at Three Rivers, for a favorable wind to continue their voyage and cross lake Saint Pierre, they had the pleasure of witnessing the arrival of a hundred canoes, filled with Outaouax and

some other Savages allied to us. These came from the neighborhood of Lake superior, four or five hundred leagues from here, to do their usual trading and supply their wants—giving us in exchange their Beaver-skins, which they have in their country in very great abundance.

A Frenchman who had followed them the year before, and who accompanied them on their excursions, reports to us that there are more than a hundred thousand fighting men among those Nations; that warfare causes constant devastation there; that the Outaouax are attacked on one side by the Iroquois, and on the other by the Nadouessiouax—a warlike people living more than six hundred leagues from here, and waging also other cruel wars with other still more distant Nations; and that there are more than a hundred villages, with different laws and customs.

*JR, 49:243* [*\*Nipissings besiege an Iroquois fort but depart; de Tracy promises them assistance against the Iroquois and the Sioux.*]

These Savages [Nepissiriniens], coming from such a distance, were twice attacked by the Iroquois during their journey. The first time was soon after they set out, when the Iroquois laid ambuscades for them in the most dangerous places which they must pass in coming hither to carry on their traffic and commerce with our French. Now, the Algonquins of that Nation are traders rather than soldiers, and they are always encumbered with their burdens, and scantily provided with powder and firearms,—which they come here to obtain. Therefore, however numerous they may be, they always avoid any collision with their foes, however few of the latter they may encounter, ever fearing there may be others in the field, about to fall upon them.

Indeed, when they met with the Iroquois on their way, the latter having ensconced themselves, to the number of twenty or thirty only, in a wretched fort of stakes, the Algonquins, although more than three hundred strong, actually made a feint of besieging them, and lingered for some days about this fort, preventing the Iroquois from coming out, but themselves not daring to attack them.

The Iroquois soon found themselves reduced to great straits for want of water; therefore, in order to be allowed access to the river, some of their number came out of the fort with presents in their hands, and asked for a parley. “Brothers,” said they, “why do you delay so long about attacking us? We are fully resolved to receive you like brave men, and to sell you our lives at a very dear price—since, owing to your great superiority of numbers over us, we cannot escape you. But the engagement will not be without great bloodshed on both sides. Furthermore, we are in want of water in our fort, and I offer you this present to allow us free access to the river.”

The present was a Collar of Porcelain—the pearls and diamonds of this country—and it captivated the gaze of the Outaouak. They gladly accepted it, and left their enemy free passage to go and draw water in a stream not far from there.

As this first delegation proved so successful for the Iroquois, and as, moreover, they still saw themselves besieged, and their provisions were fast diminishing, they made a trial of a second. Some of them issued from the fort

with other presents, more beautiful than the first, and cried out from afar: "Why do you linger here so long, Brothers? Come and attack us, or continue your journey. We make your departure easy, and remove the rocks that might check or shatter your canoes." With these words they threw down additional presents at the feet of the Outaouak, as if to make smooth their path; and, indeed, the travelers deemed themselves fortunate to be able to pass on and continue their journey with some appearance of honor, after the occurrence of several skirmishes on each side, in which a few men had been slain.

The second encounter that they had with the Iroquois during their journey, was a little above the Richelieu river, at the so-called Cap de massacre, where some Iroquois, lying in ambush, fired a volley on the last of the Outaouak canoes, as they were defiling past near the water's edge. They killed several men, and then fled at once into the woods, fearing an attack from so large a body of foes, whom they had allowed to pass.

After these two encounters, then, they arrived at Three Rivers, where they did their little trading, and immediately hastened home again, in order not to give the Iroquois time to gather their forces, and come to intercept them in some defile, where they could have fallen on them unawares.

Father Allouez hastily joined them, and accompanied them to their country, there to proclaim the Faith to so many vast Regions, and, meanwhile, to bear them the good news of the succor come from France, which at last would free them from the Iroquois.

Monsieur de Tracy gave into the Father's care three presents, which he was to give to these People when he arrived among them, declaring to them:

First, that the King was finally about to bring the Iroquois to their senses, and hence would grant his support to all their own land that was on the verge of ruin.

Secondly, if the Nadouessiouek, other enemies with whom they also had to deal, would not listen to terms of peace, he would compel them to do so by force of arms.

The third present was to exhort all the Algonquin Nations of those regions to embrace the Faith, of which certain individuals have already received some tincture from the tireless labors and Apostolic zeal of Father René Menard, who, by a special dispensation of Providence, lost his way in their woods and died there of hunger and want, destitute of all human succor.

**JR, 49:253** [*\*The construction of forts on the Richelieu river.*]

At the same time when the Outaouak were embarking to return to their country, the wind having become more favorable, the soldiers who had been forced to halt at Three Rivers embarked also; and, crossing lake Saint Pierre, proceeded to the mouth of the Richelieu river, which leads to the Iroquois of Anneguë.

The purpose in view in this first campaign was to erect along the route certain forts, which were deemed absolutely necessary, both for maintaining

open communication and the freedom of traffic, and also for serving as magazines for the troops, and places of refuge for sick and wounded soldiers.

For this purpose, three advantageous positions were chosen—the first at the mouth of the river of the Iroquois; the second seventeen leagues higher up, at the foot of some rapids called the Richelieu Falls; and the third about three leagues above these rapids.

The first fort, named Richelieu, was erected by Monsieur de Chamblay, who commanded five Companies sent thither by Monsieur de Tracy.

The second, named fort Saint Louis,—because it was begun the week in which the festival of that great Saint, Protector of our Kings and of France, was celebrated,—was built by Monsieur Sorel, who commanded five other Companies of the Carignan-Salieres Regiment.

Monsieur de Salieres, Colonel of the Regiment, determined to take in person the post nearest to the enemy, and the most dangerous. Hardly did we dare hope that this work would be done before snow came, as it had been impossible to begin it until very late; but the Leader,—who has grown gray in military service, although he has not yet, despite his advanced age, lost any of his vigor or courage,—being the first to put his hand to the work, so greatly encouraged the soldiers by his example that the fort was fortunately completed in the month of October, on Saint Theresa's day, whence it took its name.

From this third fort of Sainte Terese there is ready access to lake Champlain, without encountering any rapids to check a boat's progress.

This lake, which is sixty leagues long, finally ends at the territory of the Annieronnon Iroquois, where it is intended to erect, as soon as Spring opens, still a fourth fort which shall command those regions, and whence repeated sorties can be made against the enemy, if the latter refuse to come to terms.

At the end of the following chapter, after noting some particulars concerning these Peoples,—who, because they have never been vigorously attacked, have so long been thwarting our purposes,—we shall give the Plan of these three forts, together with a Map, which has not yet been seen, of the country of the Iroquois.

**JR, 49:257** [*\*Fighting strength estimates of the Iroquois nations.*]

It must be stated that the Iroquois are composed of five Nations, of which the nearest to the Dutch is that of Anniegué, embracing two or three villages, which contain perhaps three to four hundred men able to bear arms.

These people have always made war upon us, although they have at times pretended to ask for peace.

Forty-five leagues Westward is situated the second Nation, called Onneiout, which has at most only a hundred and forty warriors, and has never consented to any peace parleys, but has always embroiled our relations whenever an understanding seemed to be at hand.

Fifteen leagues farther Westward lies Onnontagué, which has fully three hundred men. We were, in times past, received there as friends, and then treat-



ed like enemies; and this treatment forced us to abandon that post—which, as being the center of all the Iroquois Nations, we had occupied for two years, and from which we had proclaimed the Gospel to all those poor people; we were aided by a garrison of Frenchmen sent by Monsieur de Lauson, then Governor of New France, to take possession of those regions in his Majesty's name.

Twenty or thirty leagues thence, still in a Westerly direction, is the village of Oiougouen, containing three hundred warriors. Here, in the year 1657, we had a Mission which, amid this barbarism, formed a Church filled with piety.

Toward the end of the great lake called Ontario is situated the most populous of the five Iroquois Nations, called Sonnontouan, and embracing fully twelve hundred men in the two or three villages which compose it.

These last two Nations have never made open war upon us, and have ever maintained a neutral attitude.

**JR, 49:265** [*\*The Iroquois most often attack via the Richelieu River.*]

It is called the Richelieu river, from the fort of the same name that was built at its mouth at the beginning of the wars; it has been quite recently rebuilt, to guard the entrance to that river.

It is also styled "the river of the Iroquois," as it forms the highway leading to them; and by that route those Barbarians have most often come to attack us.

**JR, 50:37** [*\*The Iroquois attack the Montagnais at Lake Piagouagami and carry off prisoners, but are defeated in a counterattack.*]

Whatever disgrace the Iroquois may suffer, he will ever be the same—that is, arrogant and cruel—until he is utterly crushed. The late humiliations that have befallen him in the last few years, have not rid him of his desire to proceed Northward in quest of people to slaughter. Following is what we know with certainty on this subject.

A hundred Iroquois, partly Annieronnonns and partly Onnontagueronnonns, having determined to go upon a hostile expedition, set out from their country about the middle of Winter. The better to succeed in their purposes, they divided into three bands, each taking a separate direction. Thirty proceeded toward the country of the Mistasiriniens, another thirty came to lake Piagouagami, while the destination of the remainder we have not ascertained. Whatever it may have been, we relate below the fortunes of those who made war around lake Piagouagami.

These thirty, commanded by two Chiefs, after killing in two places five men, and taking one woman prisoner, forced this captive woman, as they were not well acquainted with the country, to give them a description of it. She, after doing so with exceeding simplicity, received for her only recompense nothing but a hatchet-stroke on the head, from which she died on the spot.

These Barbarians, after sacrificing this poor victim to their fury, discovered the trail of the people of the lake, who, entertaining some fear of the

Iroquois, had, to the number of forty-five, ensconced themselves with their women and children within a palisaded enclosure. A few, however, persisted in leaving the rest, for the purpose of living by their hunting; and, of two young men remaining in the woods, one fell into the enemy's hands.

The latter suspected, after capturing this prisoner, that he could not be alone. Indeed, the Iroquois' trail having been discovered by a young Montagnais who had come out of the fort, he retraced his steps, and gave the alarm to his countrymen.

Thereupon, fourteen of the bravest went out to reconnoiter the enemy, but were soon surrounded and attacked on all sides. The Iroquois, superior in numbers, killed four of them at the outset and took three prisoners, although our men made a gallant defense, killing two of their foes on the spot and wounding others.

The seven Montagnais who were left withdrew into their palisade, and thought only how to strengthen their position; while the Iroquois, astonished at our men's courage, concluded to return in haste with their four captives.

They plied their paddles vigorously for two whole days; but the nights, which bring rest to all mankind, were employed in burning our Captives unmercifully. They began by cutting off a thumb of each, to make them unable to unbind themselves, and continued their other cruelties upon them.

But God, doubtless touched by the fervent prayers offered him by our poor unfortunates, broke the bonds of one, who, after his happy escape from captivity, became the liberator of the others and the cause of the victory achieved by the conquered over the conquerors.

This Captive, animated with courage, returned to that palisade which his companions dared not leave, for fear of the enemy, and inspired them with hopes of a glorious victory, encouraging them to follow him whither he should lead them.

Leaping into their canoes with a determination to fight bravely, they arrived in four days at the spot where the Iroquois had landed before them, and whence they had entered the woods. Our men followed their trail, and at length discovered the enemy in a sort of redout where they had intrenched themselves with considerable strength. They resolved to attack them at daybreak.

Then these good Christians—having offered up their prayer, in order thus to begin their battle—charged the Iroquois and forced their palisade, with such success that eighteen men were left dead on the ground, two women were taken prisoners, and their own three companions who had fallen into the enemy's hands were happily set free.

Our Montagnais Christians lost in this engagement only two men, although the Iroquois fired two volleys of musketry at them.

All the Iroquois were either killed or wounded, except a single one, who, fleeing at the very beginning of the attack, seems to have survived for the sole purpose of bearing the tidings of their defeat to the country of the Iroquois.

God's protection of those three prisoners, whom the Iroquois were lead-

ing away, is indeed worthy of attention. They were three young Christians, fifteen or sixteen years old, and the enemy kept them bound and manacled in a peculiar manner.

When the assault began, the three Iroquois who had special charge of these three prisoners, ran directly to them to brain them; for such is the usual custom.

The first one, when about to let his hatchet fall upon his captive's head, was killed that very instant by a musket-shot, which saved the Christian's life and brought death to the Infidel.

The second captive saw the hatchet stroke already descending on his head, when an arrow, guided by God's Providence for his deliverance, pierced through and through the one who was about to despatch him.

Another accident, of similar nature, delivered the third; and it cannot have been without Heaven's special favor that the bullets and arrows paid respect—as they seemed to—to these three young Christians, who saw on all sides the Iroquois falling stark dead at their feet, without a single shot hitting themselves.

**JR, 50:55** [*\*Frenchmen are captured near Montreal and tortured.*]

I give below a letter that has fallen into our hands concerning the cruel treatment which some Frenchmen received from the Iroquois two years ago, and of which we had not before learned.

I make no change either in the wording or in the style of the letter, since its simplicity will, in the reader's mind, prove its chief claim to trustworthiness.

On the 25th of the month of August, in the year 1662, fourteen Frenchmen were unexpectedly attacked by the Iroquois on a small Island near Montreal, and fled in disorder without offering much resistance.

Only Monsieur Brignac and two other Frenchmen, disregarding their comrades' flight, assumed an attitude of defense, and Monsieur Brignac killed the Captain of the Iroquois at the outset.

The latter were immediately seized with fear and, seeing their Captain fallen, were already taking flight, when one of them began to harangue the others, saying to them: "Where, then, is our Nation's courage and renown? What ignominy for thirty-five warriors to flee before four Frenchmen!"

Meanwhile the other Frenchmen, who were in a boat, let themselves drift with the current and were exposed to all the enemy's shots, so that some were instantly killed, and others wounded.

At length, to return to the Iroquois, having recovered their courage, they came and fell upon the Frenchmen, mortally wounding an Ecclesiastic named Monsieur Vignal.

The two Frenchmen, their firearms being wet, were soon captured, together with Monsieur Brignac. The latter, however, made a stout resistance before letting himself be taken. Having his arm broken by a musket-shot, he still presented his pistol to the enemy; but, lacking strength to fire it, he

plunged into the water, followed by the Iroquois, who caught him and dragged him over the rocks, head and face downward, around nearly the whole Island.

The Iroquois embarked with their prisoners, and all proceeded together to encamp at prairie de la Magdeleine, where they erected a fort; and, taking the body of *Sieur Vignal*, who was dead, the Iroquois stripped it and removed the flesh for eating.

As for the two other Frenchmen, who were uninjured, they were bound each to a tree; and as one of them, named *Rene*, was murmuring a prayer to God, a Savage who observed him asked him what he was doing, whereupon the Frenchman made answer that he was praying to God, and the Savage unbound him and said to him, "Kneel down, and pray at thine ease."

Thus they passed the night in the fort which they had built; and on the next day, after eating the body of that good Priest and removing his scalp, pushed on to the Falls.

After this meal the Barbarians divided their forces, those of the Nation of *Anniegué* carrying off one Frenchman, whose name was *du Fresne*, and those of the Nation of *Onneiout*, who were much superior in numbers, leading away the two others.

They proceeded eight days by land, *Rene* always laden like a packhorse, and most of the time entirely naked. *Monsieur Brignac* went along very quietly, scarcely able to walk because of the wounds on his head, feet, and whole body—which did not prevent him from ceaselessly praying to God.

After journeying for a week, the two bands which had separated reunited, and once more encamped together, loudly rejoicing and indulging in good cheer after their hunt.

Two among them went ahead, and carried the news to the villages.

The Iroquois, perceiving that *René* had a psalter, and was reading therein, determined to cut off one of his thumbs, and forbade him to keep further company with *Sieur Brignac*, because they prayed together.

Arriving at length at the village of the Nation of *Onneiout*, they stripped the two Frenchmen—*Sieur Brignac* and *René*—and painted their faces in native fashion. Then, after the enemy had arranged themselves for giving them the salute,—which consists in making the prisoners pass between two hedges, so to speak, each person giving them a blow with a stick,—one of the elders cried out, "Enough, stop! Make way for them;" and, being conducted to the central space of this village, where a scaffold was prepared, they mounted it. Then an Iroquois took a stick, and struck *Rene* seven or eight blows with it, and plucked out his nails. After this, the two captives were made to come down, and were led into a cabin where the Council of the elders was in session.

The whole night was spent in making the two French prisoners sing, while to them was added an Algonquin captured from among the *Outaouaks* by another band.

One of the cruelties exercised was the forcing of these three prisoners to exchange insults, and torture one another with coals of fire,—the Frenchmen

being pitted against the Algonquin, and the Algonquin against the Frenchmen. But the latter would not obey such cruel orders, so that a Captain who saw that the Frenchmen were unwilling to harm the Algonquin, although they were maltreated by him, made them sit down near himself, as if to assure them of protection.

Finally, upon the Council's decreeing that the two Frenchmen should be burned, the sister of the Captain slain by *Sieur Brignac* said that she wished to have *René* to take the place of her dead brother. One of the old men declared this to be only fair, and it was granted, but not without opposition.

*Sieur Brignac*, however, was burned throughout the whole night, from his feet up to his waist, and on the next day these Barbarians still continued to burn him; but, after they had broken his fingers and had grown weary of burning him, one of their number stabbed him with a knife, tore out his heart, and ate it. They cut off his nose first, then his eyebrows, lips, and cheeks.

Throughout all that bloody and cruel execution, this poor Frenchman never ceased to entreat God for the conversion of these Barbarians, offering on their behalf all the agonies they made him suffer, and constantly saying: "I pray you, O God, to convert them; O God, convert them,"—ever repeating these words, and never crying out, however they might torture him.

Finally these Barbarians cut open his body and drank his blood—afterward cutting the body in pieces, putting these into a kettle, and eating them.

*René* received his freedom, but not without fears on his part; for, a sedition having arisen some time afterward, an Iroquois, holding a cocked pistol in his hand, entered the cabin where our Frenchman was, and asked him a question which greatly frightened him. He addressed him, as if he had said in our language, "Long live who—Father *le Moyne* or Father *Chaumonot*? " Then his adopted sister told the Frenchman to say, "Long live Father *Chaumonot*;" and so his life was saved on that occasion.

At length, after nineteen months of hardship and fatigue, encountered now in hunting, now in fishing, and again in an attack, which he had, of small-pox,—which swept away more than a thousand souls in the country of the Iroquois,—when he was out hunting young pigeons, in company with the Nations of *Anniegué* and *Onneiout*, it occurred to him to make his escape. Upon asking his comrade, *du Fresne*, who was with the people of *Anniegué*, whether he would run away, the latter told him no. Then, after devising a scheme with two other Frenchmen of the same village, when preparations for breaking up and returning home were in progress, he one evening asked one of the Iroquois in which direction the village lay, and in which one should go to reach the Dutch, and how many leagues distant they were. Being informed, he went and marked a tree, in order to remember the way he must take to reach them.

Indeed, when morning came, he noted the spot which he must pass in order to make his escape; and, while all were preparing to set out, each one loading himself with packages, the three Frenchmen took another route. Very fortunately, owing to a fire that some women had started among the leaves on

the ground, causing them all to be reduced to ashes or even to be dissipated, their footprints were not discovered.

They journeyed nine days before coming to New Holland, eating for their entire sustenance nothing but herbs which they found; for they had abandoned their packs in order to be more nimble for running. Nevertheless they were in great danger of recapture, and, as its necessary sequel, of being committed to the flames without hope of mercy.

They traveled only at night, and yet were constantly rushing, so to speak, into the enemy's hands, passing now inadvertently near the fishers' cabins, now near the hunters; again by day finding themselves in the immediate neighborhood of a village, and still again by night in the very midst of the cabins.

Four or five times they were pursued by the Iroquois, while on one occasion, among others, nearly all the youth of the second village of Anniegué started in pursuit of them. At other times, they were followed by the warriors; and, still another time, by some men who were returning from trading with the Dutch.

After many dangers, they at last reached the country of the Dutch, but did not make themselves known until they ascertained whether any Iroquois were there. As there were none there at that time, they declared themselves to be Frenchmen, and were received with open arms. They were conducted to the Governor of fort Orange, who received them very cordially, clothed them, and even freighted a shallop to convey them to Manhate, lest they might be discovered by the Iroquois and carried off.

From Manhate they proceeded to Baston [Boston], and following all the coast as far as Quebec, they everywhere met with a kind reception. Thus ended happily their captivity, in which they were every day in danger of a cruel death.

Such are the contents of the Letter, which does not tell the half of the sufferings endured by those poor Frenchmen. Can the King's arms be better employed than in delivering us from the cruelty of those Barbarians?

**JR, 50:81** [*\*French troops arrive in Quebec and build forts.*]

On the 17th and 19th of June, 1665, there arrived at Quebec two vessels from la Rochelle with four Companies of the Carignan-Salieres Regiment. All the soldiers debarking, in good health, it was necessary to pass from a large vessel into small boats made of planks, purposely made to be dragged through the rapids and swift currents, and carried by land up past the Richelieu Falls, at the foot of which these four Companies have constructed a fort, as we related in the fourth chapter.

On the 30th of the same month, there appeared in the distance two sails, which filled us with joy when we learned that they were bringing Monsieur de Tracy. It is impossible to express the gratification of all the people at his landing.

On the sixteenth of July, the ship from Havre arrived, bringing some

horses, with which the King intends to supply this country. Our Savages, who had never seen any, viewed them with admiration, and were astonished that the Moose of France (for so they styled them) were so tractable and so obedient to man's every wish.

On the 18th and 19th of August there arrived at our roadstead two more vessels, laden each with four Companies,—Monsieur de Salieres, Colonel of the Regiment, at their head.

The soldiers, being in good health, after a short period of recuperation on land, started out under the lead of the said Sieur de Salieres, to go with the utmost expedition and build two additional forts,—one at the mouth of the Richelieu river, the other above the Falls, below which the first fort had already been built.

On the twelfth of September appeared two other vessels, one named the *Saint Sebastien*, and the other the *Jardin de Hollande*; and two days later a third, called the *Justice*, bearing eight Companies.

Our period of waiting was thus happily brought to an end, since these vessels brought Monsieur de Courcelles, Lieutenant-general for the King in this country, and Monsieur Talon, Intendant for his Majesty.

Monsieur de Courcelles, breathing nothing but war, immediately set about serving his Majesty therein under Monsieur de Tracy's orders,—proceeding by water, in rather inclement weather, to visit the works in progress at a distance of forty, fifty, and sixty leagues from Quebec, in order to prepare for the Campaign of next Spring and Summer.

Monsieur Talon made it evident to us at the outset that the King loves this country, and has great plans for its upbuilding—convincing us by his verbal assurances to that effect, and also, much more, by his personal merits, which cause us already to taste the sweets of a superintendence so guided by reason, and of a policy in all respects Christian.

As to other matters, the soldiers enjoyed constant good health as far as Tadoussac; but, by some unknown mishap, sickness broke out in one of the vessels and more than a hundred patients debarked, who were received by the Hospital Nuns with all conceivable kindness. Furthermore, as the ward for the sick, large as it is, could not hold them all, the nuns found themselves obliged to turn their Church into a second Hospital, Jesus Christ willingly yielding his place to his members.

**JR, 50:89** [*\*Troops sent into winter quarters; they will attack the Iroquois in the Spring.*]

After the disease which had broken out among these last troops had ceased, they were sent into their winter quarters until Spring, when they are to march against the Iroquois.

We are led by the foregoing events to hope that the doors of the Gospel are about to be opened to all these poor barbarous Nations; and that, instead of our being obliged, as we have been in the past, to seek a passage through

the fires and hatchets of the Iroquois, and to choose the most difficult routes, in order to avoid the most dangerous, we shall go with head erect into those vast regions of the North and of the South. For our great Monarch is about to smooth the roads for us, in order that, while with his victorious arms he converts this land of Barbarism into a French Kingdom, we may strive to make it a Christian Kingdom, which shall extend more than six hundred leagues in all directions.

**Father François le Mercier. 1667. Relation of what occurred most remarkable in the missions of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, New France, in the years one thousand six hundred sixty-five and one thousand six hundred sixty-six.**

*JR, 50:127* [*\*Accounts of the Courcelles, Sorel, and De Tracy expeditions into Iroquoia.*]

The great variety of Nations in these countries, the fickle and perfidious disposition of the Iroquois, and the barbarism of all these tribes making it impossible for us to hope for any lasting peace with them, except so far as it shall be maintained by the fear of the King's arms, we must not wonder that peace gives place so easily to war, and war is so soon terminated by peace.

Within one year there have been seen at Quebec the Ambassadors of five different Nations, who came to ask for peace, but whose coming did not prevent the chastisement, by a vigorous war, of those who in their actions failed to fulfill the promises of their deputies.

The first of these Embassies, from the upper Iroquois, was presented to Monsieur de Tracy in the month of December of the year 1665, the most important man in it being a famous Captain called Garacontié, who has ever signalized his zeal for the French, and used the influence he enjoys among all these Nations to rescue our prisoners from their custody. For example, it was only recently that he set at liberty sieur le Moine, a settler of Montreal, who had been captured three months previously by those Barbarians.

Monsieur de Tracy having testified to him by the usual presents that he would give him a favorable hearing, Garacontié made him a speech, full of good sense and of an eloquence that had no savor of barbarism. It contained only civilities and offers of friendship and service from his whole nation, prayers for a new Jesuit Mission, and polite expressions of condolence upon the death of the late Father le Moine, the news of which he had just learned. *Ondessonk*, said he in a loud voice, addressing that Father, whom the Barbarians called by this name, *hearest thou me from the country of the dead, whither thou hast so quickly passed? Thou it was who didst so many times expose thy life on the scaffolds of the Agniehronnons; who didst go bravely into their very fires, to snatch so many Frenchmen from the flames; who didst carry peace and tranquillity whithersoever thou didst go, and who madest converts wherever thou didst dwell. We have seen thee on our council-mats*



*deciding questions of peace and war; our cabins were found to be too small when thou didst enter them, and our villages themselves were too cramped when thou wast present,—so great was the crowd of people attracted thither by thy words. But I disturb thy rest with this importunate address. So often didst thou teach us that this life of afflictions is followed by one of eternal happiness; since, then, thou dost now possess that life, what reason have we to mourn thee? But we weep for thee because, in losing thee, we have lost our Father and Protector. Nevertheless we will console ourselves with the thought that thou still holdest that relation to us in Heaven, and that thou hast found in that abode the infinite joy whereof thou hast so often told us.*

He finally concluded this speech by rehearsing, with modesty, all that he had done for the French, and asking of them, for sole reward, their good graces and the freedom of three prisoners of his nation. His harangue was interrupted by the usual ceremony of offering presents, of which, at each of the heads of his speech, he laid one at the feet of Monsieur de Tracy, who replied to his petitions with all the kindness the other could desire. Not only did he grant him the three prisoners and promise him peace and the King's protection for his nation, but he even led him to hope for the same grace toward the other Iroquois nations, if they preferred voluntarily to assume a respectful attitude, rather than suffer themselves to be constrained thereto by force of arms.

Still, as we must not expect to enjoy any advantage over those nations, except so far as we seem able to harm them, preparations were made for a military expedition against such as had not concluded peace with us. Monsieur de Courcelles, who was the Leader of the party, used all possible diligence, so that he found himself ready to start on the 9th of January of the year 1666. He was accompanied by Monsieur du Gas, whom he took for his Lieutenant; Monsieur de Salampar, a Gentleman volunteer; Father Pierre Raffeix, a Jesuit; 300 men from the Regiment of Carignan-Salieres; and 200 habitants of the French Colonies as volunteers. This march could only be slow, as every man wore snowshoes, with the use of which they were unfamiliar; while all, without excepting the Officers, or Monsieur de Courcelles himself, were burdened each with 25 or 30 livres of biscuit, blankets, and other necessary supplies.

In all history there can scarcely be found a march of more difficulty or greater length than that of this little army; and it needed French courage and Monsieur de Courcelles's firmness to undertake it.

Besides the encumbrance of snowshoes, which are a very inconvenient kind of fetters, and that of the packs which all were forced to carry, it was necessary to march three hundred leagues on snow; to cross repeatedly lakes and rivers on the ice, with the danger of falling at every step; to make one's bed on nothing but snow, in the heart of the woods; and to endure cold far exceeding the severity of the harshest winters in Europe.

Nevertheless, our Troops proceeded on the first day to Sillery, to commend the fortunes of their undertaking to the Archangel saint Michael, Patron of that place. On the third day, many had noses, ears, knees, and fingers, or

other parts of the body, entirely frozen, and the rest of their persons covered with scars; while some others, being utterly overcome and benumbed with the cold, would have died in the snow had they not been carried, with great difficulty, to the spot where the troops were to pass the night.

Sieurs de la Fouille, Maximin, and Lobiac, Captains in the Regiment of Carignan, having joined this little army at three Rivers on the 24th of January,—each with 20 soldiers from his Company, and some of the habitants of the place,—the cold treated them more harshly on the very next day than it had on the preceding days. It was necessary to carry back many soldiers, some of whom had their legs cut by the ice, and the others their hands, arms, or other parts of the body completely frozen. These losses were made good by sieurs de Chambly, Petit, and Rogemont, Captains in the same Regiment, and by sieur Mignarde, Lieutenant of the Colonel's company, who were drawn from forts St. Louis and sainte Therese, where the Troops held their rendezvous on the 30th of the same month. The army, still having, therefore, an effective strength of 500 men, arrived at length, on the 14th of February, under the same hardships and exposed to the same dangers as before, in the enemy's country, 20 leagues from the latter's villages. This remaining march occupied a long time, because of the prodigious depth of the snow and the delay of the Algonquin guides,—in default of whom it became necessary to try unknown routes, and run the risk of constantly going astray.

Finally it was ascertained—from the prisoners captured in some frontier cabins which were seized, and from the Commander of a hamlet inhabited by the Dutch of new Holland—that most of the Agnieronnons and Onneiouthronnons had pushed on still farther, to make war on some other peoples, called "porcelain-makers," and had left only the children and infirm old men in their villages: And so it was seen to be useless to proceed farther on an expedition which had produced all the effect that had been expected, owing to the alarm it had spread throughout all those Nations, who were haughty and perfidious only because they believed themselves inaccessible to our troops. The latter did not return, however, until they had killed a number of Savages who appeared from time to time on the edge of the woods to skirmish with our forces. Sieur d'Aiguemorte and some of our soldiers were also killed in pursuing them.

In the following May, we saw at Quebec what effect the fear of his Majesty's arms had produced in the breasts of those Barbarians, from the arrival of Sonnontouaeronnon Ambassadors with a request, on behalf of their Nation, for the King's protection, and a continuance of the peace, which they alleged they had never violated by a single hostile act. Monsieur de Tracy had at first refused 34 presents which they offered him; but seeing that they felt this refusal keenly, and that they considered it the greatest affront that could be offered them, he finally accepted their porcelain. He again assured them that it was not their presents or their goods that the King desired, but their real happiness and their salvation: that they would receive every kind of advantage

from the trust which they reposed in his goodness: and that it rested only with the other Nations to experience also all the most favorable results from the same source, if they took like care to make supplication to him by sending their Ambassadors at the earliest possible moment.

These envoys were closely followed by those from the remaining tribes, and among others, by those from Onnëiout and even from Agnié; so that the Deputies from five Iroquois Nations were present at Quebec almost at the same time, as if to ratify by common consent a lasting peace with France.

In order the better to attain this end, it was deemed advisable to send back some Frenchmen, as deputies, with the Ambassadors from Onneyout, who answered also for the Agnieheronnons' conduct, and even gave hostages for them. The Dutch of new Holland had likewise written on their behalf, and guaranteed the good faith of all those Barbarians in observing exactly the terms of peace that should be made with them. These French Deputies had orders to inquire into everything carefully on the spot, and to see if it was at all safe to trust the Savages once more, in order that his Majesty's arms might not be checked by a false hope of peace.

But hardly were the Ambassadors two or three days' journey from Quebec, when word was received that some Frenchmen from Fort sainte Anne, who had gone out hunting, had been surprised by the Agniehronnons; and that sieur de Traversy, a Captain in the Regiment of Carignan, and sieur de Chusy had been killed by them, and some volunteers taken prisoners. This intelligence caused the immediate recall of the French Deputies, and the detention of the Savages from Onneiout who had remained as hostages,—whose heads, according to the laws of war in this country, ought to have been split with a hatchet. But, without following these barbarous laws, we considered how we might best obtain satisfaction for this perfidy; and Monsieur Sorel, a Captain in the Regiment of Carignan, immediately organized an expedition of three hundred men, whom he led by forced marches into the enemy's country, resolved to use vigorous measures there without stint. But when he was still twenty leagues from their villages, he met a fresh Embassy bringing back the Frenchmen captured near Fort sainte Anne, and coming to offer all possible satisfaction for the murder of those who had been slain, and fresh guaranties of peace. Consequently, this Captain returned with his troops; and there was no further talk of anything but peace, which it was proposed to conclude by a common council of all the Nations having Deputies at that time in Quebec.

These Negotiations did not yet meet with all the success hoped for, and Monsieur de Tracy concluded that, to assure their satisfactory issue, it was necessary by force of arms to render the Agniehronnons still more tractable, as they were always the occasion of new obstacles to the public tranquillity. Despite his advanced age, he determined to conduct, in person, against those Barbarians an army, composed of six hundred soldiers drawn from all the Companies, six hundred settlers of the country, and a hundred Huron and

Algonquin Savages. All the preparations for this war were completed, through the assiduous efforts of Monsieur Talon, on the 14th of September, which was the date assigned for the departure, as being the day of the Exaltation and triumph of the Cross, for the glory of which the expedition was undertaken. The rendezvous was set for the 28th of September at Fort sainte Anne, which had been recently built on an Island in lake Champlain by sieur de la Mothe, a Captain in the Regiment of Carignan. Some troops having been unable to reach this place soon enough, Monsieur de Tracy could not leave it with the main body until the 3rd of October. But Monsieur de Courcelles, yielding to his customary impatience to gain the scene of action, set out some days in advance with four hundred men; while sieurs de Chambly and Berthier, commanders of Forts saint Louis and l'Assomption, were left behind, to start with the rear-guard four days after Monsieur de Tracy. As it was necessary to push forward six-score leagues into the country to find the enemy's villages, and as there were many large lakes and rivers to cross in order to reach them, it was also necessary to provide conveniences for water and land travel. The necessary boats had been provided for this expedition, from pursuing them. It was evident enough—from the triple palisade, twenty feet high, with which their place was surrounded; from the four bastions flanking it; from their prodigious hoard of provisions; and from the abundant supply of water they had provided, in bark receptacles, for extinguishing the fire when it should be necessary—that their first resolve had been quite different from that which the fear of our arms had made them suddenly adopt. There were found only some persons who had been prevented by their great age from leaving the village, two days before, with all the women and children; and also the mutilated bodies of two or three Savages of another nation, whom these people had, with their wonted rage, half burned over a slow fire. So our people were forced to content themselves, after erecting the Cross, saying Mass, and chanting the *Te Deum* on that spot, with setting fire to the palisades and cabins, and consuming the entire supply of Indian corn, beans, and other produce of the country, which was found there. Then they turned back to the other villages and wrought the same havoc there, as well as in all the outlying fields. As a result, those familiar with these Barbarians' mode of life have not a doubt that almost as many will die of hunger as would have perished by the weapons of our soldiers, had they dared await the latter's approach; and that all who remain will be forced by fear to accept such conditions of peace, and observe such a demeanor, as would have been secured from them with greater difficulty by more sanguinary victories.

The return march of our Troops was more fatiguing than the outward journey had been, because the rivers, having been swollen seven or eight feet by the rains, were found much harder to cross; and a storm which arose on lake Champlain caused the loss of two canoes and eight persons,—among whom we especially regretted the death of sieur du Luques, who was Lieutenant in a Company, and had often signalized his valor in France as well as in Canada.

The courage of our Troops always received a wonderful spur in the labors of this enterprise, and while they were expecting danger, from the examples of Monsieur de Tracy, Monsieur de Courcelles, Monsieur de Saliere, Commander of the Regiment, and the Chevalier de Chaumont—the latter of whom always, upon approaching the villages, sought a place in the forlorn hope. Their bravery was also animated by the zeal and the sentiments of piety with which Messieurs du Bois and Cosson, secular Priests, and Fathers Albanel and Rafeix, Jesuits, constantly strove to inspire them.

Our excellent Prelate, who had ceased not to raise his hands to Heaven, and had set every one to praying, during the absence of our Troops, ordered thanksgivings to God, and the chanting of the *Te Deum*, upon their return. All the people here have conceived new hopes from the favors lavished on this country by the King, and from the attachment manifested toward it by the Company of the West Indies, to whose care it has been entrusted by his Majesty. Hence there is no doubt entertained that soon we shall see well-peopled Cities in place of these great forests, and Jesus Christ worshiped throughout all these vast domains.

**Letter from the Reverend Mother Superior of the Hospital Nuns of Kebec, in New France. October 3, 1666.**

*JR, 50:155* [*\*de Courcelles brings back Iroquois prisoners.*]

You will learn from the Relation how the great courage of Monsieur our Governor prompted him to conduct a campaign against the Iroquois during last winter's severe cold. Without pausing to give you the particulars at great length, I will merely relate to you that, upon his bringing back some prisoners of both sexes, there was found among them an Iroquois woman who could not endure that any one should speak to her concerning our mysteries, and who, with the utmost scorn, turned a deaf ear to everything that the Reverend Father Chaumonnot, in his zeal and charity, could say to her.

**Father Thierry Beschefer. 1666-67. Three Letters of Father Thierey Beschefer.**

*JR, 50:167* [*\*Fr. Beschefer's peace mission is recalled because of Iroquois attacks.*]

[\*Quebec, October 1, 1666] For about 3 months I have been on the point of starting on an embassy to the Iroquois and to New Holland, which has been occupied by the English for 2 years. This journey was somewhat perilous, according to report; and the issue gave ample proof of it: 1st, because it was found, a few Days after our departure from Kebec, that the Iroquois of a nation other than that to which we were going, who had remained as hostages for our safety, were secretly making a canoe ready, in order to escape. 2nd, as we were about to leave three rivers, 30 leagues from here, we received news that bands

belonging to the very nation who had asked us for peace through the Ambassadors of the Oneiout nation, had quite recently killed or taken prisoners seven persons, both officers and volunteers, who were out hunting, among whom was a relative of Monsieur de Tracy. He wrote me that I was not to go farther, and directed me to conduct in safety to Kebec the Iroquois whom we had caused to be arrested. I was sincerely affected when I saw the journey interrupted. Although I considered it somewhat perilous, nevertheless the hope of there baptizing some children, or succoring the Huron captives, made me feel a special attraction for it.

Since then, we have waged war against them. In truth, those barbarians are good soldiers; and the french, who despised them when they first came here, have changed their minds since they saw them last winter in a hot skirmish; the winter, too, was more severe and protracted than it had been for 30 years.

*JR, 50:175* [*\*Peace with the Iroquois; Jesuits are in Iroquois country.*]

At the present moment [*\*August 25, 1667*], we are at peace with the Iroquois. Father Pierron is already among them, with Fathers Fremin and Bruyas. Three others are to follow them, as soon as the upper nations will come to get them; these are expected every day.

*JR, 50:175* [*\*De Tracy returns to France but soldiers remain.*]

Monsieur de Tracy sails in 3 days to return to France. . . . The troops remain, and the King again sends us, this year, 350 laboring men, and 60 girls, to populate the country.

### **Journal of the Jesuit Fathers, in the years 1666 and 1667.**

*JR, 50:181* [*\*Chronology of the Courcelles expedition.*]

[January 1666.] The 9th. Monsieur the governor leaves for the war, with about one hundred of the frenchmen of the Country.

The 10th. He started from Sillery.

The 15th. He arrived at the cape, where he gave orders to the troops who are to accompany him.

The 16th. He arrived at three Rivers, where he found that Monsieur Boucher had given orders about everything.

The 18th. He departed thence with 80 soldiers, 4 officers, and 45 habitants who are natives of the country and volunteers.

The 29th. He left fort St. Louys with 500 or 600 men in all.

The 30th. He left fort ste. Terese...

The 17th [*\*of March*]. Monsieur the governor returned to quebec in good health. Through want of a guide, as he had not a single Algonquin with him, he took the road to new holland instead of to Anniée. Two iroquois cabins were captured, near a dutch town 6 leagues from orange. In addition, 4 Iroquois were killed while skirmishing over the country; 6 frenchmen fell

there. The above happened on the 20th of february, a Saturday. It rained during the whole night that they passed at that spot, and throughout sunday, when Monsieur the governor had various interviews with the dutch commandant. At his request, the French gave up an old woman, and a young half-breed boy who was claimed by his uncle, a dutchman. On the sunday evening they hastily raised camp, and marched during the whole night and a portion of monday. In the evening they met the Algonquins, about 30 in number, whose drunkenness had detained them on the road. They brought some relief to the troops by supplying game.

Monsieur the governor found his provisions almost exhausted, when he was near the middle of lake Champlain; he sent men to look for a cache of provisions, where Father Rafeix and Boquet had left some food, to the value of about 80 livres in all. Everything was found to have been stolen.

On the 8th of March, Monsieur the governor arrived at fort st. Louys. Many died of hunger; the number is not yet known, but it was over 60. Onnontio had a dispute with Father Albanel, who is at fort st. Louys, where he officiates as curé. He accused the Father of having purposely delayed the Algonquins, which proved to be untrue. But, as he was not satisfied, he tried to cast the blame upon the Jesuits. When he passed by three Rivers, he said to Father Fremin, while embracing him: "My father, I am the most unfortunate gentleman in the world, and you are the cause of my misfortune."

The 17th. He reached Quebec safely. At first he attributed the entire ill success of the expedition to the fathers who, he said, had stopped the savages, etc. He spoke privately to Monsieur de Tracy and to Monsieur The Intendant. What he said on the subject (as we have learned from Monsieur d'Auteil) produced a great impression on the mind of the latter. On the feast of st. Joseph, he performed his devotions, and confessed to his usual confessor, Father Chastellain; he was for some time in doubt whether he would not confess to another.

Monseigneur de Tracy having expressed some satisfaction respecting his expedition, he seems to have changed his mind. In fact, there is no foundation for the belief that Father Albanel stopped the savages for a moment, as Monsieur de Normanville, who was with them, has protested.

On the same day, Monseigneur de Tracy made a general confession of his whole life, and received communion at the ursulines'. He presented 3 fine loaves of blessed bread, and two louis d'or, both at the offering of the taper and at the collection—in all, 20 écus for the ursuline mothers. Father Bardy had written about it to Monseigneur the Bishop, to induce him to approve it; *sed nihil omnino respond tulit.*

The 20th. We received word from the forts that most of the soldiers who were considered lost are coming in daily.

The 24th. 3 hurons who had gone to three Rivers, to take nails there for the boats, returned with the information that a frenchman from Mon-real had arrived at three Rivers, who said that 16 savages of oioigwen had arrived there

on an embassy. Monseigneur de Tracy assured me that Monsieur the governor had completely altered his opinion respecting us and that he remembered very well the advice that he himself had given him last summer in our avenue, not to quarrel with the black gowns.

**JR, 50:189** [*\*Two murders committed by the Iroquois.*]

[\*June 1666] The 4th. Monsieur le Ber came down from Mon-real, bringing the news of two murders committed by the Iroquois within 3 weeks, both at Mon-real and at fort Chambly.

**JR, 50:193** [*\*Mohawk raids cause the recall of Beschefer's Embassy; Sorel sets out.*]

[\*July 1666] The 20th. News has come from the forts of the building of fort ste. Anne in Lake champellain, on an Island 4 leagues from its outlet; and at the same time of the death of monsieur de chasy, who, with two others, was killed by the Anniés; 4 were made prisoners—Among others, Monsieur de Leroles, a cousin of Monsieur de Tracy. In consequence of this, the embassy of Father Bechefer is stopped, and all the onneiout are coming back to Quebec.

The 22nd. It was resolved to send an onneiout back to that country with the sieur cousture, straight to new holland, to complain of the attack made in spite of the assurances of a Truce that they had given us.

The 24th. Monsieur sorel's detachment will consist of about two hundred french, and 80 or 90 savages. They are to march 4 or 5 days behind Cousture. News has come that Monsieur de lerole and 3 others of his party have been taken alive....

The 28th. Father Bechefer Arrived from three Rivers with the onneiout Ambassadors, who were again shut up in the fort.

**JR, 50:199** [*\*The upper Iroquois offer presents.*]

[\*August 31, 1666] A council was held in our enclosure, at which representatives from all the five Iroquois nations were present. The two nations who dwell above gave a present of 52 porcelain collars.

**JR, 50:199** [*\*De Tracy decides to invade Mohawk country; Seneca try to prevent it.*]

[\*September 6, 1666] The 6th. Monsieur de Tracy resolved to go in person to Annie, with a thousand or 12 hundred men. Thus the mission of Father Fremin and Father Rafeix, who were to go to goiogwen, is stopped.

Onnonkenritewi, the chief of the sonnontwan, who is here in person, with 3 others, took Father Chaumonot and myself aside in our house, and presented to us a collar to stay Onnontio's arm raised against Annie. We replied: 1st, that we did not interfere in affairs of war; and, that the Annie is hotheaded; 3rd, that onnontio will not brook his insolence; 4th, that whatever onnontio may do at Annié, the Sonnontwan are always welcome etc.



Sieur Couture arrived with two Anniés escorting him; one of them belongs to the neutral nation, and is the chief of the band that killed Monsieur de Chasy.

The sonnontwan and the Goiogwen reëmbarked, fairly satisfied.

**JR, 50:201** [*\*Departure of the De Tracy expedition.*]

[\*September 1666] The 14th. Monsieur de Tracy and Monsieur the governor embarked to go to war with over 400 habitants, natives of the country, volunteers, and others. He asked me for Fathers Albanel and Raffeix. Of our own accord we gave six men—among others, Guillaume Boyvin and Charles Boquet.

**JR, 50:201** [*\*De Tracy is at Lake Champlain.*]

[\*October 1666] On the same day [\*the 5th], we received good news of the army, which numbers fully 14 hundred men. All the Gentlemen were in very good health. They entered lake Champlain on the 28th or 29th of last month. The weather was very fine....

The 9th. We received good news from the army, which will have started on the 3rd or 4th from fort Ste. Anne which is situated four leagues up lake champellain. Monsieur de Tracy is in good health, etc.

**JR, 50:203** [*\*Return of de Tracy.*]

[\*November 1666] The 5th. In the evening, Monsieur de Tracy returned from Annié with his troops,—to the number of about 13 hundred men, including the savages,—with the exception of 9 or 10, who were drowned in lake Champlain. The Anniengueronons took to flight on hearing the noise of the drums. He caused the 4 villages to be burned, with all the corn; there were fully 100 large cabins in all.

They learned from some old men, who remained behind, that quite recently news had come that the army of onnonta,é had been defeated by the Andasto,e'ronons.

The 8th. The flemish bastard was sent back with an elder of Annié; *item*, two from onneiout—among others, a captain named Soenres; they were commissioned to tell their people that within the space of four moons they were to give satisfaction to onnontio on the propositions made by him for the good of the people,—and, among others, to bring some of their families.

**JR, 50:209** [*\*Delegation of Mohawk and Oneidas goes to Quebec.*]

[\*April 1667] The 2nd. News came from Mon-real that the five nations manifest favorable inclinations for peace.

The 20th. The flemish bastard, with two Onneiout, arrived, without bringing either the hurons or the Algonquins, or the families that we had asked from them.

The 27th. It was resolved in council to keep all the women here, and to

send all the men, with the exception of two, back to their country, with a declaration on the part of Monsieur de Tracy that if within two moons they did not obey and fulfill the proposed conditions, our army would go and destroy them in their own country.

**JR, 50:211** [*\*The Mohawks and Oneidas offer presents to French.*]

[\*July 1667] The 5th. The Anniené arrived, with the onneiout. Father fremin came down in company with them.

The 8th. The Annienge'ronon and the Onneiout gave their presents—among other things, the former asked for two black gowns, and the onneiout for one.

The 10th. An answer was given to them, and they were granted what they asked; they left their families as hostages....

The 14th. Fathers Fremin, Pierron, and Bruyas, with Charles Boquet and François Poisson, left with the Iroquois for Annie and onneiout.

**JR, 50:215** [*\*Loups waiting to ambush Iroquois delegation*]

[\*August 1667] The 9th. We learned that Father Fremin and the others were detained at the forts, on account of a band of 60 louns, who are lying in wait for the ambassadors as they pass. It is not considered advisable to give them an escort, for fear of causing war to break out against the louns, our near and powerful allies.

**Fr. François le Mercier. 1668. Relation of what occurred most remarkable in the missions of the fathers of the Society of Jesus in New France, for the years one thousand six hundred sixty-six and one thousand six hundred sixty-seven. Quebec, Nov. 10, 1667.**

50:237 [*\*Canadian economy revives because of de Tracy's expedition and the continued presence of French forts and soldiers.*]

Since the King has had the kindness to extend his protection over this country, by sending hither the Regiment of Carignan-Salieres, we have witnessed a notable change in the appearance of Canada....

The Iroquois used to keep us so closely confined that we did not even dare till the lands that were under the cannon of the forts, much less go to a distance to ascertain the points of excellence of a Soil which hardly differs at all from that of France.

But now, since the fear of his Majesty's arms has filled these barbarians with alarm, and compelled them to seek our friendship instead of constantly molesting us with bloody wars, as they used to, we are, during the calm, bringing to light the possibilities of this country's wealth, and the extent of its probable resources in the future.

Monsieur de Tracy has gone to carry the King these good tidings, after having made at the same time both peace and war, and opened to the Iroquois Nations the door of the Gospel. He went away from us bearing the universal

regret of all these peoples, leaving the country in charge of Monsieur de Courcelles, who, as he contributed greatly by his courage to the happiness we now enjoy, so continues with the same zeal to secure us in its possession. Having made himself feared by the Iroquois, through the expeditions which he led into their country, he will hold those barbarians—whether with their consent, or by force—to the terms of the treaty which they came hither to obtain. He is, moreover, making us taste already the resultant blessings, which we had never before experienced.

Indeed, peace being concluded with all the Iroquois Nations,—having been granted on the part of the King at the pressing instance of their Ambassadors, with whom three Jesuits went back to preach the holy Gospel, and maintain this peace among the lower Nations,—thereupon the Settlers of the Colonies saw that they could spread abroad, and could till their lands in perfect quiet and great safety. They can do so, not only on account of this peace, but because of the continued care that is taken to guard and increase the frontier forts, and to provide them with everything needful for their maintenance, and for that of the Soldiers who defend them.

**JR, 50:245** [*\*Soldiers settle in the country.*]

We mention at present only the changes that have been wrought in this country since the arrival of the Troops, which have of themselves contributed greatly to its development, and helped to open it up in many places—especially on the Richelieu River, where the forts that have recently been erected are surrounded by fields cleared of woods, and covered with very fine grain.

But two things, among others, materially aid the plans that have been formed for the good of New France, namely,—in the first place, the Villages built in the neighborhood of Quebec, as much to fortify it by peopling its vicinity, as to receive families which have come from France. To these are assigned lands already brought under cultivation, some of which were this year covered with grain, to serve as a first store for the settlers' sustenance. This practice will be followed in the future, with all the care given to it at the beginning.

And, secondly, the settling in the country both of Officers—Captains, Lieutenants, and Ensigns, who unite themselves with the country by Marriage, and secure fine grants, which they cultivate—and of Soldiers, who find good matches, and become scattered in all directions. Both the former and the latter recognize the advantages mentioned above.

**JR, 50:307** [*\*Petun escaped from Iroquois to Chequamegon.*]

"The Tionnontateronnons of the present day are the same people who were formerly called the Hurons of the tobacco nation. They, like the rest, were forced to leave their country to escape from the Hyroquois, and to retire to the head of this great Lake [Superior], where distance and scarcity of game furnish them an asylum against their foes."

**JR, 51:21** [*\*Ottawa displaced from their homeland by the Iroquois.*]

“The old home of the Outaouacs was a district on the Lake of the Hurons, whence the fear of the Iroquois had driven them, and whither all their longings are directed as to their native land.”

**JR, 51:63** [*\*Nipissing forced to flee to Lake Nipigon by the Iroquois.*]

The Nipissiriniens formerly received instruction from our Fathers who sojourned in the country of the Hurons. These poor people, many of whom were Christians, were compelled by the Incursions of the Iroquois to flee for refuge even to Lake Alimibegong [Nipigon], only fifty or sixty leagues from the North Sea.

**JR, 51:67** [*\*Two Nipissings women escape by killing their Iroquois captor.*]

“Here I must relate a remarkable circumstance which occurred not long ago. Two women, mother and daughter, who had always had recourse to God from the time of their instruction, and had received from him unfailing and extraordinary succor, very recently learned by experience that God never forsakes those who put their trust in him. They had been captured by the Iroquois, and had happily escaped from the fires and cruelties of those Barbarians; but had soon afterward fallen a second time into their clutches, and were, consequently, left with no hope of escape. Yet one day, when they found themselves alone with a single Iroquois, who had remained behind to guard them while the rest went out to hunt, the girl told her mother that the time had come to rid themselves of this guard, and flee. To this end she asked the Iroquois for a knife to use on a Beaver-skin that she was ordered to dress; and at the same time, imploring Heaven’s aid, she plunged it into his bosom. The mother, on her part, arose and struck him on the head with a billet of wood, and they left him for dead. Taking some food, they started forth with all haste, and at length reached their own country in safety.”

**JR, 51:77** [*\*A Montagnais family is ambushed by the Iroquois.*]

The second noteworthy circumstance has to do with a Papinachois family, converted some time ago to Christianity, and composed of five persons only. While they were foraging in the woods, they were fallen upon unawares by ten Iroquois. The husband had only time to take his eldest son, aged eight, on his shoulders and flee, accompanied by a daughter of his who was large enough to follow him. The mother, with a babe at her breast, fell a victim to those vultures.

This capture, insignificant although it was, still caused them to celebrate their victory for two days, while the poor captive was obliged, according to their barbarous custom, to sing with them for their entertainment.

After these first rejoicings hunger scattered them, compelling them to separate in all directions, in order the more easily to subsist by hunting.

Our captive, who found herself very tightly bound, was inconsolable over her misfortune and that of her child, whom she saw crying in the arms of

another Savage,—when lo! all at once she found herself borne aloft by an unknown power, by which her bonds were loosed, to the great astonishment of her guards; and she was carried to a great distance, and set down in a place of safety. Thence it was easy for her to go by land to the spot where they had left their Canoe, in which she immediately embarked, joining her husband and relatives soon after.

The Father to whom she gave this whole account had difficulty in consoling her over the loss of that innocent babe, left alone in the Iroquois' hands, although he told her that, if they killed it, they would procure it a life of eternal happiness, as it had been baptized; and if they spared its life, there was hope of recovering it from the hands of those Barbarians, since the King's arms had forced them to come and ask us for peace, which had been concluded since the time of her capture.

**JR, 51:81** [*\*The French invasion compels the Mohawks to seek peace.*]

The military expeditions made, during the past year, into the country of the Anniehronnon Iroquois left such terror behind them that those Barbarians came this Summer to present us a most earnest petition for peace; and even brought some of their families to serve as hostages, and be answerable for their countrymen's good faith.

They declared, among other things, that all their desires were to have some of our Fathers with them, to cement the peace, and to enable them to follow the example of those of their number who had received instruction during a year's detention at Quebec, where eighteen of them had been given holy Baptism.

Monsieur de Tracy, on seeing these barbarians thus humiliated at his feet, declared to them that, although it was in his power to bring them to utter ruin,—as they could well believe from the late destruction of their Villages,—yet he would have the goodness to spare their land, and even grant them the Fathers whom they demanded, in order that nothing might be wanting to confirm the peace.

**JR, 51:83** [*A Mahican ambush delays Mohawk and Oneida ambassadors.*]

The three above-named Fathers [*\*Jacques Fremin, Jean Pierron and Jacques Bruyas*], after receiving the blessing of Monsieur the Bishop of Petræa, who ever burns with extraordinary zeal for the Iroquois' salvation, set out from Quebec last July with the Anniehronnon and Onneiiochronnon Ambassadors. Upon reaching fort sainte Anne, at the mouth of Lake Champelain, they learned that a band of fifty or sixty Mahingans—Savages whom we call the Loups—were in ambush on the Lake for the purpose of attacking these Ambassadors of the Iroquois, with whom they were at war.

A delay ensued, vexatious to those who were longing only for those dear Villages, in order to plant the Faith in that soil already sprinkled with the blood of our Fathers who first went thither, and who were either cruelly tortured or murdered there.

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They lingered thus for more than a month at this last fort, to allow the enemy time to disperse; but this delay was of no avail, and they were forced to expose themselves to a manifest danger, entering in this manner upon that Mission, alike perilous and arduous.



## **Section Five**

### **“300 Leagues...To Remove One Scalp”**

#### **The Mahican Wars and Raids along the Ohio and Susquehanna**

**1667–1675**

*Having concluded peace between the French and all the Iroquois nations, a council at Onondaga closed with discussion about Mahican hostilities against the Iroquois, and in the following years war broke out between the two former allies. The Mahicans attacked a Mohawk village, and the Iroquois retaliated by assaulting a fort of Mahican allies near Manhattan.*

*Despite the debilitating setbacks of 1666, the Iroquois quickly regrouped and directed their arms away from the Saint Lawrence. A hasty and unplanned sack of an Upper Algonquin town occurred in 1669, followed by a large invasion of Ottawa country in 1670 by the Upper Iroquois. Beginning the same year, war parties were raiding far toward the west among the Algonquian-speaking tribes in Wisconsin and down the Ohio Valley towards the Shawnee and various poorly-known tribes there.*

*In their perennial war with the Susquehannocks the Iroquois were not particularly successful during these years, but by 1675 the Susquehannocks have nevertheless abandoned their homeland to settle along the Potomac. The Iroquois declare victory over their longtime enemies, and the way is prepared for future campaigns in the south.*

**Father Jacques Bruyas. 1668. Letter from Reverend Father Jacques Bruyas. From the mission of St. Francis Xavier among the Iroquois, this 21st of January, 1668.**

*JR, 51:123 [\*The Oneidas are identified as the most cruel and warlike Iroquois.]*

The onneiouts have hitherto had the reputation of being the most cruel of all the Iroquois, and, In fact, They have Never spoken of peace until within the last two years; it is they who have always made war against the algonquins and the hurons. Two-thirds of this village is composed of these two nations, who have become Iroquois in temper and Inclination. The nature of the onneiouts is altogether barbarous,—that is to say, cruel, secret, cunning, and



inclined to blood and Carnage. The Youth are reared and nourished in war, and would Never choose peace if the old men, who have some influence over them, did not compel them to it. If they have no Enemies, they make these anew; and the passion for killing men is so great that they willingly go 300 Leagues and more to Remove one scalp.

*JR, 51:139* [*\*Iroquois and Ottawa military strength in 1668.*]

All the Iroquois Together are not more than 2,000 men bearing arms. The Outawaks, among whom we established ourselves 2 years ago, are more numerous, it is said: I know nothing certain about them.

**Fr. François le Mercier. 1669. Relation of what occurred most remarkable in the missions of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, in New France, in the years one thousand six hundred sixty-seven and one thousand six hundred sixty-eight.**

*JR, 51:167* [*\*French military presence and nearby forts keep the Iroquois quiet.*]

We began more than a year ago to enjoy the fruits of peace, and taste the sweets of repose, procured for us by the arms of his Majesty through the subjection of the Iroquois....

Fear of the enemy no longer prevents our Laborers from causing the forests to recede, and from sowing their fields with all sorts of grain, to which the soil is as well suited as is that of France, if it only receives similar cultivation. Our Hunters go to a great distance in perfect safety to hunt the Moose, a pursuit which brings them in extraordinary profit. The Savages, our allies, no longer fearing that they will be surprised on the road, come in quest of us from all directions, from a distance of five and six hundred leagues,—either to reestablish their trade, interrupted by the wars; or to open new commercial dealings, as some very remote tribes claim to do, who had never before made their appearance here, and who came last Summer for that purpose.

Even the Iroquois, as if they had ceased to be Savages and Iroquois, fill some of our settlements during a good part of the year, and carry on their traffic with our Frenchmen with all the familiarity that could be desired. They would do much more, and would even come and make themselves at home among us, if the war which they are carrying on with a tribe called the Loups did not prevent them from coming to us in safety.

These blessings will continue so long as peace continues, and the latter so long as the Iroquois are kept in a state of fear,—in which it is important to keep them, if we wish to continue the planting of the Colonies which have had such auspicious beginnings.

It is to effect this that Monsieur de Courcelle, Governor of all this region, is making strenuous exertions; for, having spread the first alarms in the enemy's territory by his bold marches, he maintains them therein by the fear

of some similar disaster; for there is nothing which they may not apprehend from a courage like his, of which they have had such astonishing proofs.

Meanwhile, he keeps the Iroquois at peace by the fear of war, and by the maintenance of the Forts of sainte Anne and saint Jean,—the proximity of which retains them in a state of alarm, and in respectful attitude.

*JR, 51:171* [*\*Good pay and benefits encourage the soldiers to remain in New France.*]

Among other forces may be mentioned the Regiment of Carignan-Salieres, of which a good number of the Officers, and more than 400 Soldiers, have increased the Colony by becoming settlers, under very advantageous conditions. Each one of the Soldiers has been given a hundred francs, or fifty livres with rations for a year, at his choice; and each Sergeant fifty crowns, or a hundred francs with rations for a year, likewise at his choice. For that reason, very few are going back to France with Monsieur de Salieres, Colonel of the said Regiment,—who, after growing gray in the armies of France, where he made himself very well known, came over here to take part in the glory of subjecting the Iroquois. Of the savages he has taken with him five, of different tribes, and even from that of Andastoé, to present them to the King.

*JR, 51:179* [*\*Mahican war with Iroquois causes an embassy to be delayed at Lake Champlain.*]

The Fathers Fremin, Pierron, and Bruyas, having set out in July of the year 1667, to go to the lower Iroquois, in order to restore the Missions there which the wars had discontinued; and having been detained a long time in Fort sainte Anne, at the entrance to Lake Champlain, by the fear of a band of Mahingan Savages,—called by us the Loups, who are enemies of the Iroquois,—left this Fort at last, resolved to run the same risks and pass through the same dangers as were to be encountered by the Iroquois Ambassadors, in whose company they were going to their country. We cannot give a clearer knowledge of their journey, their arrival, their reception, and the success they have begun to realize in planting the Faith in these desert and barbarous regions, than by listening to their own account in the Journal which they kept from their departure up to their fixed and permanent abode in the Iroquois villages. It begins thus:

*Article I. Journey of three Jesuit Fathers to the Lower Iroquois.*

The delay which our fear of the nation of the Loups caused us to make in the Forts gave us an opportunity of rendering some service there to the Soldiers, by a kind of Mission that we gave them. But at last, on the eve of St. Bartholomew's day, about four o'clock in the afternoon, we embarked to go and take shelter at a league's distance from the last Fort of the French, which is that of St. Anne; and thereafter we went on our way, both day and night, without any mishap, and without discovering any trace of the enemy. They

had taken a Southerly direction, to return to their own country, while we kept to the Northern part of Lake Champlain.

**JR, 51:185** [*\*The Mohawks receive a French peace embassy with respect.*]

The whole country of the Iroquois was at that time so overcome with fear of a new French army, that for several days fourteen warriors had been constantly on the watch at the entrance to this Lake, in order to discover the army's line of march, and bear news of it with all haste to the whole Nation. Their purpose was to lay ambuscades for it in the woods, by means of which they intended to attack it at an advantage, and harass it in the defiles; accordingly, there was also a third band posted there, for the purpose of making this reconnaissance. But, by great good fortune for them and for us, instead of being enemies to them, we were Angels of peace; while on their part, from being Lions as they had been, they became our menials, and served us very opportunely as porters...

We proceeded accordingly in company, by short marches, and came to within three-quarters of a league of their chief Village, called Gandaouagué, the one which the late Father Jogues watered with his blood, and where he was so maltreated during eighteen months of captivity. We were received there with the customary ceremonies, and with all imaginable honor. We were conducted to the cabin of the foremost Captain, where all the people crowded in, to contemplate us as their ease,—quite delighted to see among them Frenchmen, so peaceably inclined, who not long before had made their appearance there as if infuriated, setting fire to everything.

**JR, 51:201** [*\*The Mohawks have rebuilt Tionnontoguen, previously burned by the French.*]

However, we had to leave this second Village, in order to journey on to the Capital of this whole country, called Tionnontoguen,—which the Iroquois have rebuilt, at a quarter of a league from that which the French burned down last year.

**JR, 51:205** [*\*Fremín threatens the Iroquois, and they deliver some captives.*]

...Father Fremín made a harangue before all this great assembly, adapting himself in discourse and gestures to the usage of their most celebrated Orator, who speak not less by gesticulation than by language. He made them see the great blessings produced by peace, and the evils that accompany war—of which they had felt the effects, a year before, in the destruction of their Village by fire. He reproached them for the acts of perfidy and cruelty that they had committed, with such barbarity, upon our Frenchmen, without having received any ill treatment from these. Then he declared to them that he came for the very purpose of changing this barbarous disposition, by teaching them to live like men, and then to be Christians; and that our great Onnontio would then receive them as his subjects, and would take them thenceforth

under his Royal protection, as he had all the other tribes of those regions; and that, moreover, they must take good heed in the future not to commit any act of hostility, either upon us or upon our allies.

But, in order to inspire them with greater terror, and make more impression on their minds, as these peoples are greatly influenced by external phenomena, the Father caused to be erected, in the middle of the place where the Council was being held, a pole forty or fifty feet in length, from the top of which hung a Porcelain necklace. He declared that, in like manner, should be hanged the first of the Iroquois who should come to kill a Frenchman or any one of our Allies; and that they had already had an example shown them in the public execution, which took place at Quebec of the preceding year, of a man of their country who had violated some of the terms of peace.

It is incredible how much this present, so unusual, astounded them all. They remained for a long time with their heads down, without daring either to look at this spectacle or to talk about it, until the most prominent and most eloquent of their Orators—having recovered his spirits—arose and performed all the apish tricks imaginable about this pole, to show his astonishment. It is impossible to describe all the gesticulations made by this man, who was more than sixty years old.... In a word, he employed all the artifices of the most excellent Orators, with surprising eloquence; and, after discoursing on this theme a very long time, continually manifesting mental traits which were out of the ordinary, he ended by delivering to us the captives for whom we asked, and giving us the choice of a site for the erection of our Chapel, in the construction of which they offered to work with all diligence. They delivered to us also a Frenchman whom they had held a prisoner for some time, and promised us the liberty of twelve Algonquins,—part from the Nation of the Nez Percez, part from that of the Outaouacs,—whom they will put into our hands, to send back each to his own country.

**JR, 51:211** [*\*Captives have been brought back from Hudson Bay and from the Loups.*]

As the Iroquois have made conquests in all parts of Canada, they give us means of opening the Treasures of grace to every kind of Nation, by instructing their Captives.

A poor Slave woman, taken in war and brought from the North Sea, is experiencing a blessing, as the effect of this instruction....

Another Captive woman, of the Nation of the Loups, was prepared for Baptism, before being burned according to the Sentence that was pronounced upon her....

**JR, 51:213** [*\*An Ottawa is tortured in secret by some young Oneidas.*]

For that reason, we put forth all our efforts to save the life of an Outaouac whom the Iroquois of Onneiout had sent hither as a victim destined for the fire. "They brought him to this Village in order to keep all knowledge of the

matter from us; and the fires were prepared which were to have lighted up that horrible night chosen for this cruel execution. Unfortunately, it happened that there was not here, at that time, any one of the Elders, to whom it belonged to arrest these acts of violence. The young people, who breathe only war, had already seized their prey, and had shut the man up in a Cabin which had all its fires lighted, in order to execute their usual cruelties there in concealment, when an Iroquois woman came to notify me secretly of the affair.” (It is Father Fremin who is speaking.) “I ran to the spot in haste; I spoke, I exhorted, but in vain. I threatened; I made the women and children retire. All obeyed me, with the exception of two men who, notwithstanding all my efforts, continued to burn this wretch. Through all the streets of the Village I raised the cry: ‘Old men, you are dead! Children, no life remains to you! The peace is broken. Behold the Loups coming on one side, and, on the other, I see Onontio with his army. Your land is going to be devastated, your Fields, your Cabins, your Villages are going to be ruined.’ After running through all the streets with these cries, I halted before the Cabin where the prisoner was being burned—contrary to one of the principal articles of the Peace; but the door was barricaded. I called more loudly, saying that the whole country was lost; but I received no answer. By good luck, I found an old man, a relative of those who were the authors of this tragedy. I spoke to him so vigorously, and my menaces had such an effect upon him, that, with the authority which his age and his kinship gave him, he proceeded to rescue this poor man from the midst of the flames, and handed him over into my keeping.”

**JR, 51:231** [*\*Four Susquehannock women are burned at Oneida.*]

These comforts are interspersed with many Crosses. The heaviest I have had in my life was to see four women, who had been captured from the Nation of Andastogué, burned here without my being able to administer to the holy Baptism...

I was a little consoled in my affliction by the excellent sentiments of the daughter of our Agathe, of whom I have spoke; for she came to find me when those Slaves were being led in, and received after the manner of the country,—that is, with a prodigious discharge of blows from sticks... Meanwhile, shouts and yells were heard all over the Village, calculated to arouse the curiosity of the most retiring person; and it needs not less virtue to keep from joining in these ceremonies than would have been required, in former times, not to look at the triumphal Entries of the Romans into their city after some celebrated victory. It is, relatively, the same thing in the case of our Savages, who rest all their glory on leading home their Captives and having them make a triumphal entry, so to speak, into their Village.

**JR, 51:241** [*\*The Onondagas and French exchange presents at Quebec.*]

In their Company he [*\*Garaontie*] arrived at Quebec on the 20th day of last August, where, appearing before Monsieur the Governor and Monsieur

the Intendant, he made five presents. These were the Interpreters, as it were, of five words, which he brought in behalf of the whole Nation.

*Article I. Presents Given by Garakontié, Ambassador from the Iroquois of Onnontaé. He Spoke in these Terms to Monsieur the Governor:*

I formerly boasted of having done for the French Nation what never among ourselves had one Friend done for another,—having ransomed more than twenty-six of its Captives from the hands of those who would have burned them, if I had not rescued them. But now I no longer dare to glory in what I have done in this respect, inasmuch as you, Onnontio, have done much more for us. For you have given life not only to the people of Onneiout who were among you, while those in whose name they came to ask for peace were killing you, but also in granting it to all those who compose our five Nations. At the time when you brought a powerful army and might have put all to fire and sword,—inasmuch as every one fled before that army,—you were satisfied to humble Agnié alone. Thus you exceeded the hope I had reposed in the clemency of the French; and for that reason I have come to-day to thank you. I wish also that I could thank our great King Louis for having desired neither our blood, nor our total ruin, but merely our humiliation.

2. I come also to wipe from your faces the tears that Father Garnier told us had been shed by you, in consequence of the death of our people who were killed by the Andastoë.

3. Father Garnier, on setting foot in Onnontagué, said that it was Onnontio who had ordered him, on departing from Mont-Royal, to come and visit us, in order to see in what condition our poor Nation was. This courtesy so won our hearts that we lavished on him all sorts of caresses, and begged him not to leave us; and when he agreed to this, on condition that we should build him a Chapel, and should come and get a companion for him, we did both. The Chapel was built two days after his arrival; and you see us here, first to thank you for having remembered us, and then to ask you for a black Gown to serve him as companion. Give us also a Chasseur.

4. You cannot doubt my fidelity. I beg you to believe that all our Nations will henceforth observe the respect that they promised to your great Onnontio. Do not listen any longer to the Huron fugitives, who wish to make you distrustful of us.

5. We have never regarded the Loups as our enemies, and yet they kill us. Make your voice, O Onnontio, reëcho in their country; and cause them no longer to infest the roads which you and we travel for exchanging visits; for otherwise they will soon kill you as well as us.

After he had spoken thus, he was answered by the same number of words, accompanied by five presents.

*Answers Given on the 27th of August, 1668, to the Words of the Iroquois  
of the Onnontagué Nation, Brought by Captain Garakontié*

“The Frenchman agrees with thee. Thou hast shown on every occasion that thou didst love him, so clearly that he has received assured evidences of it, which do not admit any doubt of the truth of thy words. He has also made it plain to thee that this was very agreeable to him; and he has shown his gratitude for it. He declares also that noble actions are esteemed meritorious when they are sustained by a conduct always constant. It is hoped that thine own conduct will never belie itself; and that thou wilt inspire thy brothers and nephews to observe it inviolably, as far as the French are concerned,—since thou recognizest in them so excellent sentiments of compassion and clemency; and since thou art persuaded that, although they could have destroyed thy brothers and thy nephews, they had the kindness not to do so. Then dispel the thought which some giddy young people among thy brothers and nephews seem to have, that, if the French have not destroyed the Village of Onneiout, it is because they could not or did not dare to do so. Make them also understand that, even if there were not at present any troops here who are capable of such an enterprise, the great Onnontio named Louis is so powerful, and so jealous of the respect that his children owe him, that he would send hither twenty times as many as there are here now, on the least notice that he should receive that some Iroquois of the five settlements had done the slightest injury,—not merely to his own Subjects, but even to those of the Savage Nations who have put themselves under his protection, and have acknowledged him as their Sovereign, as thou hast done for thy five settlements.” For that word, a present.

2. “The interest that the Frenchman has shown by his tears in the death of thy brothers, slain by the people of Andastogué, is a result of the tenderness he feels, in his quality of Father, for thee as for his child; and the gratitude thou showest for the favor he has done thee in that particular, will oblige him to do thee others on every occasion. Therefore always pursue the course of showing gratitude for benefits received, because it is the most fitting means of retaining his good will, and continuing his favor toward thee.” For that, a present.

3. “What thou askest is granted thee the more willingly because, on one hand, thou hast well received the first favor shown thee, in sending Father Garnier. Thou hast shown this by treating him kindly, and still more by having thy whole Cabin entertain him; and by having a Chapel built for him, where he can make thee and thy brothers pray,—in order to procure for thee thy Salvation and theirs, which is the greatest blessing thou canst receive,—and also that thou mayst manifest gratitude for this benefit received.” For that, a present.

4. “The Frenchman has already told thee that he has never doubted, and doubts still less to-day, thy fidelity, and the truth of thy words. Thou must also be persuaded that, as he is in a condition to forestall, not merely thy personal

acts of infidelity, but also those of which thy brothers and thy nephews may be capable, he will not give thee time to make them manifest, but will carry war into thy country and destroy thee suddenly, without leaving any vestiges of thy Nation. But, as a mark of his confidence in thy words, and of his conviction, besides, that he will always be able to punish thee if thou permit any one of thy words to be violated, he sends thee a black Gown, and will send young men into thy settlements, to engage with thee in the common defense." For that, a present.

5. "The Frenchman does not fear the Wolf, and he cannot persuade himself that the latter wishes to kill him; but, if he should attempt it, he would not be more exempt from ruin and total destruction than are the other enemies. Thou must know that the Wolf has declared that the Iroquois was making war upon him; and although, as thou claimest, only thy nephews of Onneiout and of Agnié did so, he has declared that there were often young men of thy Cabin, and of the upper Nations, who made war upon him in company with thy nephews. It would then be well for thee to take such action that thy nephews should cease to make war on the Loups, in order that the Frenchman may with justice forbid the latter to make war on the Iroquois of whatever Nation. Nevertheless, the Loups will be told, on first opportunity, to make a distinction in thy case, since thou wilt not make war upon them; for we are willing to defend thy interests on all occasions. This Nation of the Loups has also added that, when they have inquired as to the author of the murder, and have appealed to the people of Agnié and of Onneiout, they have received answer that the latter were not the murderers; but that the head-breakers came from your three upper Nations, Onnontaé, Gioen, and Sonnontouan." For that, a present.

The Ambassadors, well pleased with these presents, went back again, taking with them Father de Carheil and Father Milet to labor at their conversion.

**JR, 51:255** [*\*The Cayugas have not formally warred against the French.*]

This tribe [*\*Cayuga*] is quite peaceable, for Iroquois; they have never, properly speaking, borne arms against the French; even if some have done so, it has been only owing to some alliance, and not by preconceived plan, and still less through agreement of the whole Nation.

**JR, 52:53** [*\*Character of the Seneca not so warlike.*]

Thus in the five Iroquois Nations we have, fortunately, five Missions. This last one—that of saint Michel [*\*among the Seneca*—being alone more populous than all the others, offers a field calling for vigorous assistance. This is all the more necessary, since the prospect for a harvest is very bright there,—not only because of the gentler and more tractable nature of the people of that Nation, who are more Husbandmen and Traders than Warriors; but because there are a great many Hurons who have taken refuge there, especially an entire Village where there were a goodly number of Christians, consti-



tuting a considerable Mission. This Mission, in the old Huron Country, at the time when the Iroquois war laid it waste, in the year 1649, we called saint Michel.

**Father François le Mercier. 1670. Relation of what occurred most remarkable in the missions of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus in New France, in the years 1668 and 1669.**

*JR, 52:117 [\*The Mohawks were among the most warlike Iroquois, and now have become more receptive to the faith.]*

The People of Agnié were formerly one of the most flourishing Iroquois Nations, and have always, up to the present time, passed for one of the most valiant, and one of the proudest. That martial spirit, which occupied them in war, separated them so effectually from the Faith that it was thought that the Agnez would be the last to submit to the Gospel. But God employed the arms of France to give their conversion a beginning; their courage weakened after their defeat; and they are now, of all the Iroquois tribes, the one that gives the greatest hopes of its conversion to the Christian Faith.

*JR, 52:123 [\*The Iroquois are at war with the Mahicans and their allies.]*

It is difficult to say whether the war which the Iroquois are waging with the nine nations of the Loups, who are scattered all the way from Manhate to the environs of Quebec, is more advantageous than peace to the Christian faith. War humbles them by diminishing their numbers; but it also, by preventing them from remaining in one place, opposes obstacles to the conversion of the warriors, who separate into a number of bands, for the purpose of proceeding in detachments against the enemy. The Agniez and the Loups make war on each other, as far as the vicinity of new Orange; and, having taken captives on both sides, they burn and eat them. But the Loups have this advantage, that, having a great number of men, and being wandering tribes, they cannot be easily destroyed by the Iroquois, while the Iroquois can be more easily destroyed by the Loups.

*JR, 52:129 [\*The Mahicans massacre the Mohawks right outside the latter's village.]*

This woman came near being included in a massacre inflicted by the Loups on a number of Agniez, almost within a hundred paces of the palisade of one of their Villages, where the enemy had stationed themselves in ambuscade. It happened that this woman, having to go with the others to work in her field, sent them on ahead of her with the assurance that she would follow them immediately afterward. Thereupon she suddenly fell asleep; and, at the same moment, the cry of the persons being massacred was heard. "Ah!" said that good Christian, I recognize clearly that it was God's Will to preserve me, and I do not cease to thank him for that favor."

**JR, 52:131** [*\*A woman defends herself against a Mahican attack.*]

Here is an occurrence that is not less remarkable. One of those women wounded by their enemies, the Loups, relates that she was attacked by one of the latter, who gave her three blows on the head with a hatchet, while she defended herself courageously against him. But another blow, which was given her near her right eye, threw her to the ground, and left her faint and bleeding. Then—as she reported the event to the Father—she uttered this prayer: “Jesus, you are the master of my life; take pity on me, for if I die in the condition in which I am, without being baptized, I shall be eternally burned in the fires that are never extinguished.” Scarcely had she finished these words, when she felt a strength diffused through her whole body. She straightway arose, and as she was about to seize the hatchet of her enemy, who was easily able to kill her, he at the same instant fled. That constrained the woman to ask for Baptism, and to say, “I will believe in and honor, for the rest of my days, Jesus my liberator.”

**JR, 52:137** [*\*The Mohawks seek French help with defending their land against the Mahicans.*]

These Barbarians have now so high an idea of the valor of the French, that they think there is nothing but the King’s protection that can defend them from their enemies. That is why they came to ask help of Monsieur our Governor against the nation of the Loups, as for the defense of a country which already belongs to the King by force of arms, and which they hold only because he is pleased to let them have it. It is thus that the Ambassadors from Agnié explained themselves in their harangue.

**JR, 52:145** [*\*The Oneida do not fear French.*]

The Onneiouts—distant from the nation of the Agniez about thirty leagues toward the South, and from Quebec about a hundred and forty leagues—are the least tractable of all the Iroquois; and as the arms of the French have not yet penetrated to them, they do not fear us, except from the experience of their neighbors the Agniez. This tribe of Onneiout, despising the others since their defeat, is of a temper greatly opposed to the Christian Faith; and, by its pride, gives much exercise to a Missionary’s patience.

**JR, 52:147** [*\*Continual alarms among the Oneida due to Mahican and Susquehannock attacks.*]

In the midst of the continual alarms that the Loups and the peoples of Andastrogué cause the Onneiouts, the Father ceases not to enable some old persons—who die soon after Baptism—to find peace for their souls, and Paradise.

**JR, 52:155** [*\*An Onondaga man dreams heaven is full of enemy Susquehannocks.*]

One day there was held a notable council on the dream of a sick old Man. He had said that he had seen in his sleep a man, of only a cubit in height; and that this being had shown him first some drops of blood that were falling from the Sky. He added, moreover, that there was even some that had fallen from men,—but that the latter were in a pitiful condition, for their fingers and noses had been cut off; in a Word, they had been treated as Captives. Finally, this old man asserted that one of those little men had told him that people were treated in that way in Heaven; and that all those who should go there would fall into the hands of the Andastoguez, their enemies.

**JR, 52:161** [*\*Susquehannock captives are burned.*]

The aid that Father Millet went to render to Father Garnier at Onnontagué, was absolutely necessary. He arrived there toward the end of the month of October, in the year 1668. Since then he has instituted both public and private prayers, and he very soon acquired sufficient acquaintance with the Iroquois Language to teach the Catechism every Sunday. Upon arriving at the seat of his Mission with Father de Carheil, who has since been sent to the Oïogouens, his joy was greatly moderated by the sad spectacle of the captives from Andastogué, who arrived at the same time,—a part of whom were destined for the flames.

**JR, 52:167** [*\*The torture of a Susquehannock at Onondaga.*]

I will finish this Chapter with the Baptism of a Captive brought from Andastogué. He was about fifty years old, and appeared to be a very considerable personage among his own people. He was kept for several days in uncertainty whether he would be put to death; and, during that time, he thought rather about procuring his ransom than about assuring his salvation. Finally, upon learning from Father Garnier that his captors were not inclined to receive any gift for his deliverance, he thanked the Father with as much affection as if he had been given assurance of his life; and began then, in good earnest, to listen to the instructions given to him in the Chapel.

Father Millet, after having him elicit the necessary acts [of faith, hope, etc.], baptized him. The captive was then led back into the same cabin, where, during the rest of the day, he served as a diversion for those who came to see him, and who made him sing, according to their custom. It was a piece of good fortune for him that the Father met this man on his way, in the evening, while they were leading him into another cabin, to burn him. “I approached him,” says the Father in one of his letters, “and, after comforting him, and encouraging him to suffer with firmness, I was in doubt whether I might proceed farther; but, a Savage telling me to go with him boldly, in order to instruct him, that determined me to do so. I entered the cabin as soon as the Captive did, and seated myself at his side.

“Already the fires and the irons that were to serve for his torture were being made ready; then, seeing this melancholy preparation, he turned to me and asked if he were going to Heaven. That question touched me deeply, and I told him that he would go to Heaven if he only took courage; that he would suffer only a short time; that he would be eternally happy; and that he must say with me: ‘Lord, have mercy upon me.’ I repeated these words to him from time to time, until I was told that the time for his instruction was past, and that I must retire.

I went away accordingly, with regret, and resolved to return on the next day. In fact, I went back to the cabin on the next morning as soon as day dawned, and, approaching the Captive, told him that I felt pity for him at seeing him in that condition. He showed me that I gave him pleasure by speaking to him in that way; and, when an Iroquois was on the point of applying a red-hot iron to his foot, I saw him raise it himself, and hold it up in that position until the glowing iron had lost the intensity of its heat and its power to burn.

“As yet, they had burned him only as far up as the knees; but scarcely had the Sun risen when the cry was raised, throughout the whole Village, to assemble the people; and then he was led out of doors, where two fires had been lighted, and a stake driven down, to which his hands and feet were to be bound. When this wretched Captive saw himself thus bound between those two fires, he began to tremble all over; and I have never seen anything that better represented to me our Lord at the Pillar, and the dread that made him sweat blood in the garden of Olives. The more distressed I saw him, the more I tried to comfort him, and give him courage to die. During the whole time of his torture, I remained near him,—now kneeling and praying for the salvation of his soul, now giving him some helpful word, when he was allowed a little respite, and exhorting him to turn his eyes toward Heaven and pray, himself, for his eternal salvation.

“He suffered with such fortitude that he was admired by every one; and there are those who believed that the rains, which continued a very long time after his death, came as a result of his execution. Our Savages were much edified at seeing the manner in which I helped him in his torture; and they asked me afterward a great many questions, that gave me an opportunity to instruct them in our religious belief.”

This occupation of helping the Captives that are burned alive and eaten, in the Missionaries’ presence, is an exercise demanding great courage; and as one naturally has a horror of seeing people burned and eaten, it is, for a new Missionary, a strange spectacle, and one in which he has great need of being fortified by grace. Among these races, the victorious find their diversion in the custom; but this cruelty can but cause much pain to persons brought up in the Christian religion.

**JR, 52:173** [*\*A Susquehannock woman is burned at a Cayuga village.*]

Father Estienne de Carheil arrived there [*\*Oiogouen*] on the sixth day of November in the year 1668; and offered to Heaven, as first-fruits of his labors, a slave woman from Andastogué. He had come in her company from Onnontagué; and this journey that they made together was put to use by him in making her enter on the road to Paradise. For, having been instructed and baptized during this journey of two days, she was, as soon as she arrived at Oiogouen, burned and eaten by those barbarians, on the sixth of November.

**52:175** [*\*A false rumor of a Susquehannock attack causes many Cayugas to flee.*]

When he first arrived, there were few people who could come and receive instruction, most of them being engaged in either fishing or hunting; but the report of the army from Andastogue brought them together very soon, and gave the Father an opportunity to preach the Gospel to a great multitude.

The rumor that was spread abroad, that the enemy, to the number of three hundred men, were coming to lay siege to Oiogouen, turned out to be false; but it was of much service to the Mission father in enabling him to show the Iroquois that he loved them, and to gain credit for himself by the contempt for death that he exhibited in remaining every night with those who were doing sentry duty. Those were disabused who had thought that, in the general flight of all the people, he had been afraid, like the rest.

**JR, 52:179** [*\*The population of Cayuga villages is made up of Cayugas, Hurons and Susquehannock prisoners of war.*]

Besides the Village of Oiogouen, which is the Seat of his Mission, he has two others—one four leagues from there, and the other almost six leagues away. These last two are situated on a river which, coming from the direction of Andastogué, flows down, at the distance of four leagues from Onnontagué, and empties into the Ontario. The great quantity of rushes in this river has given the name of Thiohero to the Village that is next to Oiogouen. The peoples that compose the bulk of these three great Villages are partly Oiougouens, partly Hurons, and partly Andastogué prisoners of war.

**JR, 52:197** [*\*Iroquois debate whether to war against Ottawas.*]

The Jugglers [*\*in Seneca*] have taken such action that very few people go to pray to God without speaking of the war, for which preparation is being made, against the Algonquin Outaouacs,—which will seriously disarrange matters, and will infallibly retard the progress of the Faith among those peoples. Nevertheless, it has been learned that, at the Father's solicitation, the most influential men of the country have stopped three detachments of their warriors who were making ready to go to war. Three prisoners whom Father Aloez has brought hither with him, this year, and given over to the Iroquois from Monsieur de Courcelle, our Governor, will undoubtedly strengthen the

peace that has been made between the Iroquois and the Outaouacs,—and the more so at a time when the former have the nation of the Loups and that of the Andastogués on their hands, and fear more than ever the arms of France.

**JR, 52:201** [*\*Many Upper Algonquins are driven to La Pointe.*]

Another Place, distant a hundred and fifty Leagues from the Sault which has been chosen with the special design of preaching the Gospel there, is called Pointe du saint Esprit. The occasion of this settlement was the Iroquois war, which had driven out from their country the greater part of the Upper Savages and had gathered them together in that place.

**JR, 52:203** [*\*Iroquois seek peace with Ottawa because of war with Mahican and Susquehannock.*]

The Iroquois, to whom three of their captives have been restored, and to whom the others are still to be given back, will be delighted to continue the peace with the Outaouacs, having on their hands the war with the nation of the Loups and that with the Andastogués. We have even received word from Mont-real that the Onnontagueronnons are going on an Embassy next spring to the Sault, to confirm the peace by presents; so far are we from having any war to fear. Thus the roads will be free for the commerce of the French, and open to the Gospel Laborers, Still, the temper of these tribes, being very fickle, always leaves us some ground for fearing that the peace may not be of very long duration.

**Father François le Mercier, et al. 1671. Relation of what occurred most remarkable in the missions of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, in New France, in the years 1669 and 1670.**

**JR, 53:33** [*\*The French kill some Iroquois, but the peace is maintained.*]

It is impossible to be more convinced than we are, here, of the advantages of peace, since the victorious arms of the King have happily procured it for us. Formerly, one hardly dared go out of his house, from the well-founded fear he had of seeing himself immediately surrounded by a band of Iroquois, who overran the whole country. At present, a Missionary will go alone and without escort from the first Village of the Iroquois to the last; and will make, without running any danger, about a hundred leagues' journey in the very lands of those Barbarians. There is no longer any one among them who dares disturb us in our Apostolic functions; and if any of them—casually, or under the influence of wine—happen to maltreat us in words, or menace us, the more discreet ones of the country check them immediately and prevent them from harming us. But what will appear almost incredible, to those who know the haughty spirit of the Iroquois, is that, while this seemed to be the year for the breaking of the peace between them and us, because some of the French had unfortunately killed several Iroquois, yet the strict justice which was exercised in that instance obtained from God that the Iroquois have not, up to the present time,

shown resentment of the injury. As this blessed peace is the work of the most Christian King, there is no doubt that it will draw upon his august person the blessings of Heaven,—which he has, by this means, opened to innumerable souls. It is certainly very glorious in him to have put Jesus Christ, so to speak, in possession of what was promised him by God, his father,—who pledged himself to give him, as heritage, an absolute empire over all peoples, and even over those who dwell in the uttermost parts of the earth. But it is not less advantageous to the Missionaries who are engaged in the culture of this Church. Yet we dare not flatter ourselves with the hope of an unalterable peace: the brutality and lack of faith that have been so often recognized in our Barbarians give us cause to fear everything. The natural antipathy which seems to exist between the Iroquois nation and some others of those that are allied to us, makes us apprehend some rupture. It is hard for the old quarrels to be so extinguished that there remain not always some secret sparks, in hearts which breathe only war and pillage. Finally, peace, good understanding, and union cannot be so strong among peoples that find all their pleasure in burning one another, and in strengthening themselves by the ruin of their neighbors.

*JR, 53:35* [*\*The King sends 150 girls so that soldiers can settle in Canada and have families.*]

The five Companies which the King has had the powerful recruit for holding our Barbarians to their allegiance; and the fear that they have conceived of the victorious arms of so great a Monarch will serve marvelously to reassure our minds. His Majesty is so persuaded that it is necessary to maintain troops constantly in this country, for the purpose of subduing the Iroquois pride, and preventing them from breaking the peace,—as they have done, as soon as they thought themselves the stronger,—that he has taken care to send over, a few months ago, a hundred and fifty girls, in order that the Soldiers settling in New France may have families here, cultivate lands, and defend the colony. It will be seen, in the conclusion of this Relation, what an extraordinary impression this great care has made on the spirit of all these peoples; and I dare, indeed, say that there will be found in it things of sufficient importance to edify and, at the same time, please those who like to be informed of what is going on in foreign countries.

*JR, 53:39* [*\*Hostilities and peace talks between the Iroquois and Upper Algonquins.*]

The proud and imperious spirit of the Iroquois is well known; and we have only too often learned by experience that a very small matter is enough to make them offer an insult which shall lead to a rupture with those who are living on good terms with them. For a long time, they had been seeking some pretext, with which to disguise their passion for making war on their neighbors and pillaging them. The Upper Algonquins were the first whom they

attacked; now see what occasioned the beginning of that war. A band of twenty Iroquois, being engaged in hunting toward the region of the Algonquins, encountered two men of their own nation, who had been taken prisoners of war by the Algonquins, and had fortunately escaped from their hands. These men informed them that the Village whence they had come was not defended by any one, that the warriors who dwelt there were all gone hunting, and that, as only women, children, and some old men were left, it was very easy for them to sack the place. Immediately the resolution was adopted to make an attempt in that direction; and they succeeded so well in this that they entered the village without any resistance, and, after killing some of the inhabitants, took the women and children prisoners, to the number of a hundred. The absent warriors, being promptly notified of what was occurring, gave chase with all speed; but it was to no purpose, for they could not overtake the Iroquois. The neighboring nations—feeling themselves obliged, according to the customs of the country, to avenge the injury that had just been offered their allies—formed a considerable party by joining their forces, and came to attack some cabins of Iroquois who were out hunting; the latter were all defeated. The news of that irruption, being carried to Tsonnontouan, alarmed all the nations; from that time, they breathed only war and vengeance. Garakontie,—Captain of Onnontagué, which is chief of all the Iroquois nations,—who had voluntarily offered himself as surety for the peace made with the French, saw that it was in danger of being disturbed by these acts of hostility that were being committed on both sides. And, because all the French, ascending and descending the River with the Savages, might become involved in the strife, he sent collars of porcelain to all the Iroquois nations, to stop the bands and war-parties that they were beginning to form. He showed them that it was more expedient to launch their canoes, and betake themselves to Montreal, to meet the Upper Algonquins who were to come down thither, at the same time, for the purpose of trading; that there was the place where they ought to make and hear on each side their reciprocal complaints, and end their differences in the presence of Onnontio (for so they call Monsieur the Governor), since they had chosen him formerly as umpire in their quarrels.

Having thus given his orders everywhere, and persuaded the Iroquois to adopt this resolution, he himself was the first to set out to execute it. Fortunately, he arrived at Montreal at the same time when the last band of Upper Algonquins appeared there—to the number of 80 or 90 Canoes, in which were more than 400 persons. They were expecting to find there Monsieur the Governor, who was immediately informed of the matter; but he did not think it best to leave Quebec, and summoned the Chiefs of the Nations to come to him here,—which they did, twenty from each Nation being chosen to proceed hither. They arrived at Quebec toward the end of July. At first Garakontie was at a loss, when he found himself unaccompanied by any other Iroquois Captain,—not even by any of the Tsonnontouans, who were the most interested in that affair. Nevertheless, he continued on his way. The Council was convened, and in it were held three general assemblies. The first was



merely for the exchange of salutations, and was passed in compliments. The second assembly was held on the next day, for business; and there the Algonquins spoke first, by means of presents, according to their custom,—saying, in the first place, that they had respected Onnontio's orders touching the peace; but that the Tsonnontouan Iroquois did not imitate them, having defeated nearly a hundred of their allies, of which number the greater part had been taken prisoners. In the second place, they begged Monsieur the Governor to remember that he had declared, in full assembly of all the Nations, that he would punish those who violated the articles of peace; and so they exhorted him to keep his word to them.

On the third day, Monsieur the Governor, giving presents in return, answered them that he was true to his word; and that, inasmuch as he had caused some Frenchmen, his own nephews, to be put to death in punishment for the murders committed by them on the Iroquois,—since that deed was enough to rekindle the war,—so it ought not to be doubted that he would exact justice from the Iroquois, or from any other tribes that should dare to disturb the peace. Moreover, as for the Tsonnontouans, he began to punish them that very instant, by retaining the captives who had been brought to him from the Outaouak to restore to them.

He replied, in the second place, that the submission which they had shown to his orders in regard to peace was all to their advantage, since they reaped a considerable profit therefrom,—being able to come in safety as far as Quebec to get the things needed by them, and even Missionaries to instruct them in the mysteries of the Christian Faith.

Then a Huron Captain nearly 80 years old, taking the word, said: "Onnontio, oh, what a large family thou hast! Ah, how many children thou hast acquired for thyself! The most fruitful women have only two at a time; but thou hast produced, in the space of these few years since thou camest hither, an innumerable multitude of them. Thou hast them on all sides—Eastward, Westward, to the South, and to the North. The Algonquins are thy children, the Montagnais, the Outaouaks, the Hurons, and the Iroquois. What father is there who has ever equalled thee in multitude of children? Yes, thou art truly our father, since thou dischargest so worthily the function of one,—now checking some, and again punishing others; threatening this one, and exhorting that one to live in peace with his brothers. But we must acknowledge that, more than in all else, thou showest thyself our father in this alone, that thou procurest for us a happy and eternal life; that, by the peace which thou dost establish everywhere, thou openest the way to the Apostolic men who go forth to instruct all the nations, and teach them to thank thee for it. And surely the Onneiout have never better recognized that thou treatest them as thy children than when, contenting thyself, for their punishment, with keeping their prisoners some time, thou didst send the latter back again into their country with their father. Oh, Annonkouaiouton" (that is the Captain of those Onneiout), "never wouldst thou have returned to thy country with more glory, after a victory gained over

the proudest of thine enemies, than thou didst return from the prisons of Onnontio in company with Father Bruyas; if thou hast obeyed his voice with docility, never has Conqueror been more honored than thou wilt be. It is in that very thing that Onnontio conducts himself as a charitable father, procuring for his children the greatest of all good things. Courage, then, Nations of the Iroquois, Outaouaks, Hurons, Montagnais, Algonquins; acknowledge Onnontio as father, follow exactly his orders, obey his commandments, and listen to the advice that he gives you for the strengthening of the peace between you, if you wish to be fortunate in this world and in the other.”

Garagontié, Captain of Onnontague, spoke, in his turn, in the name of all the Iroquois; and, first, he protested that the Tsonnontouens had not offered any insult or done any injury to the Outaouaks, but only to the Ontouagannha, whom Onnontio had never taken under his protection: and that thus this last Iroquois Nation ought not to be accused of having, in this matter, broken the peace; “As for the Faith,” added he, “which Onnontio wishes to see spread abroad everywhere, I profess it publicly among those of my Nation, and no longer adhere to any superstition,—renouncing Polygamy, the vanity of dreams, and all kinds of sins. It is really I who obey Onnontio, and not these Outaouaks, who, after so many years of instruction, are not yet Christians.”

From all that was said and that occurred in this council, it was decided that the Algonquins were wrong in having begun the war again by acts of hostility; that the Iroquois were to blame for not having waited until Monsieur the Governor exacted justice, upon hearing their complaints, and for having chosen to take vengeance themselves; and that, in other respects, the Algonquins seemed to desire peace with more sincerity than the Iroquois,—inasmuch as they had set two prisoners at liberty the past year, and had sent them back into their own country; while this very year they sent back four others, and declared themselves ready to restore all those that they had in their country, if Onnontio so ordered them. On the contrary, the Iroquois had not sent back a single captive, or taken any action to show that he wished to live on good terms; while the people of Tsonnontouan, who had the most concern in this quarrel, had not even been present at the place where its amicable termination was under discussion.

The conclusion was that Monsieur the Governor should order the Tsonnontouens to restore the Algonquin prisoners; that otherwise he should consider them as disturbers of the peace, and should treat them as enemies to the King.

**JR, 53:137** [*\*The Mahicans attack the Mohawk village of Caughnawaga.*]

“One of the most important things I [*\*Fr. Jean Pierron*] have to write is the attack on Gandaouagué, which is one of our best Villages, and situated nearest to the enemy’s country. On the eighteenth of August, 1669, three hundred of the Nation of the Loups—who live along the Sea, toward Baston, in new England—presented themselves at daybreak before the Palisade, and

began to make so furious a discharge of musketry that the balls, piercing both the stockade and the cabins, soon awakened men, women, and children, almost all of whom were, at the time, sound asleep. The men at once took gun and hatchet in hand; and, while they defended the palisade, the women began, some to make bullets, and others to arm themselves with knives and defensive weapons, in view of an irruption.

“Four Iroquois were killed at the outset, in the heat of the combat; and two were wounded, one of whom died a very short time afterward. The neighboring Village, alarmed, took flight in all directions, and carried to Tionnontoguen, distant four leagues from those first two Forts, the news that the whole country was lost, that Gandaouagué was besieged by an army of Loups, that all the Young men had already fallen, and that perhaps Gandagaro, which is the neighboring Fort, was at present in desperate straits.

“When this news had spread through all the district, at eight o’clock in the morning our Warriors, without becoming disconcerted, dressed themselves promptly in all the most precious things they had, according to the custom observed by them on these occasions; and all, without any other chief to command them than their own courage, advanced on the enemy with force.

“I was among the first to march, in order to see whether, amid all the carnage that was going on at the palisade of the Village, where so many infidel souls were being lost, I could not save some one of them.

“At our arrival, we heard only mournful outcries over the death of the bravest of this Village. The enemy had already retreated, after about two hours of very obstinate fighting on both sides. There was only a single warrior of the Nation of the Loups left on the place, and I saw that a Barbarian, having cut off his hands and feet, skinned him and separated the flesh from the bones, in order to make from it a detestable repast.

“All our warriors, arriving and finding the enemy no longer there, promptly had cornmeal prepared, that they might pursue him in his retreat. The provisions being ready, they immediately embarked in Canoes on our river, which is very swift; and, as they followed the current of the stream, they made very good progress. But, night overtaking them on their march, they had some of their people go forward to search for the enemy, and discover, without any noise, the place where he lay encamped. When these scouts had reached this spot, they wished, in order better to observe its situation, to approach very close to it; but they could not do this so quietly that one of the Loups, who were posted tolerably near them, did not hear a noise, and cry out, according to their custom, *Koué, Koué*—(the Savage equivalent of ‘Who goes there?’). However, as there was no answer, and as he could discover nothing, he did not think best to give the alarm.

“When the spies had returned, and had made their report on the situation of the enemy, it was resolved not to attack him in his redout, where he seemed too strongly intrenched; but to lay an ambuscade for him, on the route that it was thought he must take.

“To execute this plan, the Iroquois made a wide detour, and went to lay their ambuscade in a place that was precipitous—a very advantageous spot, from which all the road leading toward the Dutch was commanded. In the morning, the Loups broke camp; and, as they were marching in single file, according to the custom of the Savages, twelve of their number became involved unawares in the ambuscade. A shower of balls, with which they saw themselves all at once received, immediately put to flight those whom chance had spared. Frightful yells at once arose on all sides in the forest, and the Loups, having rallied on the same spot where they had encamped, were hotly pursued thither by the Iroquois,—who, upon overtaking them there, made a furious assault upon them. At first the Loups made a vigorous resistance; but, the cowardice of some of their number forcing them to yield to the fury of the Iroquois, ten from out the entire band intrenched themselves in the earth, in order to defend themselves to the last. This new intrenchment caused our Agniés terrible vexation; but, as they are a tireless and valiant people, they lost neither courage nor the hope of dislodging them. And, in order to do it with less danger, they made use of an old tree that they found there, which they carried before them, to shield themselves,—which they could do, going up only one by one to the place where the enemy had fortified himself. Nevertheless, that manoeuver was of no use to them,—for, in spite of this device, the Loups ceased not to keep up an active fire on them from all sides, and to kill and wound a great many of our people; and the combat would assuredly have been much more disastrous to them, had not night overtaken them, and put an end to it. Our Savages had, in the beginning, taken four women of the enemy, out of twenty-four who had come on this expedition; and afterward six men, in the heat of the combat.

“On the following morning, when they returned to the charge, they found that the enemy had taken flight in the night and had left them masters of the battle-field. The victors, following the custom of the Savages, cut off the heads of those of the Loups who had been left on the place, in order to remove the scalps from them; and then they took care to bury those of their own people that had died in the battle.

“It was said that there were nearly a hundred Warriors, on the side of the enemy, that perished—by being either slain in the engagement, or drowned in the flight. Yet I found it difficult to believe that their number was so great, because the Iroquois brought back only nineteen scalps from that defeat.

“A short time ago, I learned, from some Loups who had been in this combat, that they had lost only fifty men; and the Iroquois nearly forty, counting those that the Loups killed,—on their march before the siege of the Iroquois Village, in the siege, and in the fight that occurred some days later. Nevertheless the Iroquois hold that they lost only thirteen on the battle-field.”...

“We set out two days after the battle, in company with a great number, both of those that had been in the fight and of persons who had come to see

them. The victors carried the scalps, finely painted, on the ends of poles made to bear these trophies. The Slaves, divided into several bands, sang as they marched; and, as I perceived that one of the captive women had a sick Child, which she carried at her breast, I thought I would do well to baptize it, seeing it in danger of dying. Therefore approaching it, at a time when we were crossing a brook, I baptized it. This poor Child seemed only to have been waiting for that grace, to depart this life; for it died soon afterward, to live eternally in Heaven....

“Accordingly, after I had allowed a little abatement to the fire and wrath of the hatred of the Iroquois toward these wretched persons, seeing that they had been left alone on the scaffold where they had just been tormented,—and where they were still surrounded with all their countrymen’s scalps, which were serving as trophies to the glory of the victors,—I approached them; and, making them descend from the scaffold, led them into a neighboring Cabin, in order to prepare them there for a Christian death.”

**JR, 53:155** [*\*Wars are weakening the Mohawks; they fear the French.*]

“These wars weaken the Agnieronnon terribly; and even his victories, which always cost him bloodshed, contribute not a little to exhaust him. On the contrary, I learn that our French Colonies are becoming stronger every day, by reason of the great number of families that are settling there, and the aid sent over every year from France. So, from the knowledge I have of the two countries, I can say with truth that that old and redoubtable enemy is no longer so greatly to be feared by our French people as he was; that, on the contrary, he now fears our Arms, and has only respect for those whom he despised before—which is a marvelous advantage for his conversion.”

**JR, 53:155** [*\*A combined Iroquois force unsuccessfully assaults a fort of Mahicans or their allies near Manhattan.*]

The victory of our Agniés over the Loups was more glorious than profitable, because they are very few in numbers, compared with their enemies, who can bring against them fifty men to their one. Yet it did not fail to inspire them with courage; and—without considering that even their victories weaken them, and that they lose much more in a single one of their warriors than their enemies do in fifty of theirs—they came to the resolution to avenge themselves for the affront which they thought they had received from the Loups. The four Lower Nations having joined forces, as being interested in this common cause, a troop of four hundred warriors was made up; and the plan was formed to attack one of the Forts of the enemy situated near Mannate, and to seize it rather by some stratagem than by open force. Their plan was concerted in this wise: a band of eight or nine young warriors was to go and make some murderous assault near the Palisade or Fort, in order that, at the noise of this massacre, the enemy might make a sortie from the place and be drawn into the ambushade, and the other side be enabled to make them-

selves masters of the Fort without difficulty, when it should be stripped of its garrison.

“Accordingly, arriving in sight of the Fort, they laid the ambuscade, and sent men to make the first approaches to the Palisade; but as they saw no one come out, and as every one kept himself intrenched in the Fort, they resolved to proceed to open war and to attack the place in the same manner that the Loups had attacked Gandaouagué. But, in truth, it was with much less success; for meeting with a Palisade impervious to all their blows, they despaired of being able to force it, and were at length obliged to retire in much confusion, without having killed or wounded a single one of the enemy, while two of their own number had been wounded.

“At the time when these four hundred men were coming back without having succeeded in their undertaking, a little band composed of only five warriors arrived from another direction, all boastful at having brought back a scalp and led home a prisoner.”

**JR, 53:161** [*\*The erection of cross by a Mohawk prophet is thought to bring invincibility.*]

“A devotion so new among those tribes [*\*Mohawks*], and at the same time so generally received, overwhelmed me with joy, and prompted me to inquire into the motive which they had entertained in its establishment. I was told that he whom they all recognized as the prophet of the country had learned, in a dream, that a Cross must be planted in the middle of the Village, because it would protect them and defend them against their enemies, who would never be able to conquer them as long as it stood there; and that this Cross was the master of life.”

**JR, 53:241** [*\*Frenchmen murder some Oneidas for their skins.*]

August 14, 1669. News arrives from Montreal that some Frenchmen have treacherously killed some Onneiouts, upon their return from the chase, in order to get possession of the Beaver- and Moose-skins that they had taken. It is added that the Onneiout who was imprisoned by the French of Montreal is still in irons; and that another one has been flogged there in such a manner that he died a short time afterward, from the effect of the punishment. All these tidings, true or false, fail not to irritate the feelings, and the consequences will probably fall upon us here.

**JR, 53:243** [*\*Peace entreaties from one of the “Loup” nations at peace with the Iroquois.*]

[*\*August 1669*] The 20th. An Ambassador from a certain Nation of the Loups who are at peace with the Iroquois, arrives here with twenty collars, with which he makes his presents, for the purpose of arresting the acts of hostility. This greatly elates our Onneiouts’ spirits, to see themselves thus sought after,—although quite recently, this Spring, they had been at war with that

Nation, notwithstanding the peace made with them. They had led one of their men home a prisoner.

**JR, 53:243** [*\*A daring Iroquois youth is burned by the Susquehannocks.*]

[\*August 1669] The 26th. Of two young men who had gone to Andastogué with hostile intent, one has been captured there and burned; for they are so eager to commit some murder in the enemy's country that sometimes even a single man will go and execute a stroke of prowess,—entering a hostile Village at night, and murdering one or several of those whom he finds asleep there; making his escape afterward by flight, although he may be pursued by thirty or forty of the enemy, who have awakened at the noise of the assault. The scalps which they bring back, and which they quickly snatch from the heads of those they have killed, are the sure signs of their victory. But often, too, they are captured in these assaults and cruelly burned.

**JR, 53:245** [*\*Oneidas are captured by Ottawas on way back from Ontouagannha; presents are given to ensure preservation of peace.*]

[\*September 1669] The 8th. An Onneiout returns from the Ontouagannha, who are two hundred leagues from here. He informs us that two of his comrades, together with an Onnontagué and a Tsonnontouen, were taken prisoners by some warriors of the Nation of the Nes-perce. These four Iroquois were returning from their skirmishing, in which they had taken two of the enemy; but being met by sixty Outaouaks, they were vanquished in their victory, and were themselves taken captive. Here are seeds, indeed, of war if God do not restore harmony. Sagocchiendageté returns from Montreal fairly well pleased. The Outaouaks gave him ten wild-cows' skins, well adorned with their paintings, as assurance to the Elders that they would repair to Montreal in the Spring, to plant the tree of peace there, in order to put a stop to all these acts of hostility.

**JR, 53:247** [*\*Thirteen Iroquois set out to the Susquehannocks.*]

[\*September 1669] The 9th. A band of eight warriors sets out toward Andastogué, another band of five having preceded them two weeks ago.

**JR, 53:247** [*\*Iroquois warriors depart for an unknown place.*]

[\*September 1669] The 20th. Our warriors depart, to the number of six-score,—including fifty Onnontagué and ten Oiogouen, who had joined them. If our Onneiout were gathered together, they could put into the field a hundred and sixty warriors.

**JR, 53:251** [*\*A woman dreams that the Susquehannocks will beseige an Iroquois town.*]

[\*January 1670] The 10th. The Demon, seeing the fruit of our instructions, has incited a woman of this Village to interrupt them. She affirms that

she has seen the great God of the Iroquois, Teharonhiaouagon,—who has revealed to her, she says, that the Andastogué will come to besiege this Village in the Spring, and that one of the most powerful of their enemies, named Hochitagate, will be captured and burned by the Onneiout. It is asserted that the voice of that Andastogué was heard; from the bottom of a kettle he uttered wailing cries, like the cries of those who are being burned. This woman—mad or possessed—is believed in all that she says.

**JR, 53:253** [*\*Nine Susquehannock captives are brought back, two are burned at Oneida.*]

[\*January 1670] “The 27th. Two Elders from Onnontagué bring the news of the return of their warriors, with nine Andastogué captives that were surprised while hunting. Two of them were given to Onneiout,—a young man of twenty, and a woman. This woman was baptized at Onnontagué by Father Millet.

“The 30th. They begin to burn her over a slow fire, and prolong her torture for the space of two days and two nights,—because he for whom she was given was burned at Andastogué for that length of time.

“The first day of February. Having found an opportunity to instruct that poor young man who was taken prisoner, I did so with entire publicity, in presence of the Elders and many people, who listened to me willingly,—but, more so than any one else, the one who was condemned to be burned.”

**JR, 53, 255** [*\*Iroquois war parties take the field against the Mahicans and Ottawas.*]

[\*February 1670] The 5th. Fourteen warriors go to seek their enemies, of the Nation of the Loups, who are hunting in the direction of Montreal, I learn at the same time that six hundred men, both Tsonnontouen and Oiougouen, have gone on the war-path toward the country of the Outaouak, where Father Alloues is to spend the winter.

**JR, 53:255** [*\*Garakontie assures unity with the Oneidas, and invites them to talk peace with Ottawas.*]

[\*March 1670] The 4th. Garakontié, Captain of Onnontagué, has come here with forty-six fine collars, to assure the Onneiout that he will always be at one with him. He spoke in favor of the Faith, and exhorted our Elders to attend prayers, after his example. He also gave them a present, as an invitation to light the fire of peace at Montreal, at the time when the Outaouaks come down there.

**JR, 54:21** [*\*An Onondaga victory over an unspecified enemy, and torture of their captives.*]

I was watching with unusual care for the execution of the promises that had been made to me, and even ratified by a number of presents; when the news arrived here that the warriors were returning victorious....



The reëchoing of the shouts of victory was heard from afar; every one was in a state of expectancy and impatience to know whether there were scalps or prisoners of war, and how many of them there were. At length the advance-runners entered the Village, bringing news in regard to the expedition; and a long file was drawn up on both sides of the way, from the gate where they halted to the fire where the elders were assembled. They there repeated the cries of victory,—uttering nine of them, to indicate that they had nine captives, six men and three women. Then it was that the joy of the whole people burst forth. They began to play a sort of Comedy, the persons advanced in years dancing a Ballet, which they executed by postures that were very well contrived, and steps performed in admirable measure. Then they went to meet the young warriors who had brought the good news, and led them in triumph to the fire of the elders. As soon as they reached it, several thousands of porcelain beads were presented to them; and the most important member of the band was made to recount the whole expedition in detail,—the cause of their delay, the taking of the captives, by whom each had been taken, and how many of their own men they had lost. The narrative was interrupted by shouts of joy and acclamations for the victors, that were uttered from time to time; and all ended with manifestations of public rejoicing.

Then the stage or scaffold was erected on which, it was said, all the captives were to be burned; and I noted that some carried their vengeance even to such an excess of brutality as to beg me not to instruct or baptize these captives,—in order that, after being burned in this life, they might again be burned forever in the other. Such inhumanity filled me with horror, and I made them see that there was nothing so unreasonable as to push one's resentment beyond the limits of this life. In this God gave me such success that I persuaded them not only not to put any obstacle in the way of these wretched people's eternal happiness, but even themselves to exhort the latter to receive instruction, and to render themselves worthy of Paradise.

The captives were received, according to custom, between a double file composed of all the inhabitants, who showered blows upon them with sticks as they passed. Then, all bleeding and covered with wounds, they were made to mount the scaffold that had been prepared for them, to serve as a spectacle for these Barbarians and as subjects for their cruelty.

These captives were all comely persons. They were clothed in the richest garments of the country, and the poor victims were crowned, according to custom, with the rarest feathers and the most beautiful strings of porcelain that could be found. They were even compelled to Paint their faces with the finest and brightest colors, in order that nothing might be wanting to the adornment of this triumph. Being thus arrayed, they were made to march upon the stage where they were to be burned, to serve first as a spectacle for all the people. These wretches, to give proofs of their fearlessness and to show that they did not dread death, sang and danced on the scaffold to the cadence of some martial airs, wherein they made boast of their exploits, and proudly made known to their enemies that all their proceedings would be unable to wrest from them

the least sigh. I confess to you that a brutality carried to this excess horrified me. But the utterly barbarous act which two Iroquois, without waiting longer, executed upon one of these captives, touched me with pity beyond my power to express in words.

These two Savages who wished to make a cruel test of that warrior's bravery, passing a little cord around his arm, began to draw it tight, each one on his side,—with such violence that, as it soon cut into the flesh and penetrated even to the sinews, the pain that it caused this wretched captive, by cutting them, was so excessive that it made him fall upon the spot, swooning and half dead. I had repaired to the place to try to instruct all those captives and prepare them for Baptism; but I judged it more fitting to defer this purpose until a more convenient time, and after our Barbarians should have exhausted the first heat of their revenge.

After this first exhibition, the captives were led into the cabins that were prepared for them, there to await the Sentence either of life or of death. I visited them all, one after the other, with all the tenderness and compassion inspired in me by the wretched condition in which I saw them; and, trying to sow in their minds some holy seeds for their salvation, I left there, for that first time, some favorable inclination for the grace of Baptism.

On the next day, I began my visits again, with so happy a measure of success that I baptized all those who, I thought, were to be burned; in fact, they were burned soon afterward.

Father Bruyas baptized at his Mission one of those to whom I had spoken, and who was sent to Onneiout with one of the three captive women, the two others having been taken to Goiogouen. Of the five captives who were left here, two were given their lives; but, some days afterward, one of them was killed with a knife, without my knowledge. He was one of those who listened to me with most attention, and gave me the strongest hope for his conversion. But the secrets of Providence are impenetrable, and we must be content to adore them with a humble awe.

Life had been granted to one of the two others who remained; but this unhappy man was so grieved because the same favor had not been shown to his companion, that he could not conceal his sorrow; so that, by his complaints and his threats, he obliged those who had adopted him to abandon him some days afterward,—a rare example of friendship, inasmuch as this Barbarian preferred to expose himself to the danger of perishing in torments, than to endure the death of his friend. Having learned this news, I hastened to the spot as soon as possible, mounted the scaffold, and, after offering some short prayer, addressed myself to our Onnontagués, to beg them not to take it ill that I showed this wretched man the road to Heaven. I told them that, since he was ready to depart from this life, it was a part of my duty to procure him one that should be eternally happy; and that this happiness was so great that I would, in order to procure it for them, very willingly suffer the same torments as those in which this captive was ending his life.

I approached the captive without delay, and urgently exhorted him, while our elders themselves encouraged me in this good work. The poor man, who was half dead, listened attentively, begging me to remain with him and not forsake him. The tortures were renewed, and he was burned in all parts of his body by the application of red-hot irons. As soon as these were removed for putting into the fire again, I would approach him, and have him perform the necessary acts to prepare him for Baptism. The cold was then very severe, and one of the Savages who was present at this cruel spectacle, after first lending him his blanket for a covering, took it away from him to protect himself from the severity of the season; so that the prisoner was left entirely naked and all shivering with cold, although there were, tolerably near him, many fires where the hatchets and irons were being heated to redness for application to all parts of his body. I must confess, I was keenly touched by so pitiable an abject, and covered him with a cassock that I am accustomed to wear here, being unable to afford him any greater relief. I was obliged to remove it when the hot irons were applied, and I wrapped him in it as soon as they were withdrawn. Our Savages expressed themselves differently in regard to the kindness I showed this poor man,—some approving it, others finding something to say against it, and several making fun of it.

After the captive had been burned in a number of places, he was unbound, and led, covered with my cassock, into the same cabin with that one of his companions whom they had begun to burn the day before, and who had been so fortunate as to receive baptism, I followed him, and took my place near him, to suggest to him, from time to time, some thought of Heaven and of eternity, and to baptize the man whom I had begun to instruct. There was a crowd gathered in the cabin to witness the services that I rendered these poor victims....

Finally I baptized, on the evening of that same day, this captive, whom I deem infinitely blessed in his misfortune, since he finds Heaven in the irons of the Iroquois. They both showed all the signs of a holy disposition to die a truly Christian death. I assisted them again on the next morning, when they expired, after having passed the whole night in torments.

Some days later, in a great council where the elders and the warriors were assembled, I made them a present of two brasses of porcelain, as a token of my rejoicing with them over the fortunate result of their late war. For it is fitting that, having to live among these Barbarians, I should show them the interest I take in their joy and in their sorrow,—in order that, having secured their friendship, I may be able more easily to induce them to feel as I do, and to convert them.

**JR, 54:47** [*\*Talk of confirming peace with the Ottawas.*]

Our elders have several times held their council here, to deliberate on what I had said to them about sending some envoys to Montreal, to take part in the council which, inasmuch as some rupture was apprehended, was to be held for the purpose of ratifying and firmly establishing the peace between them and the Algonquins. It was resolved to do it, and even to send some of

their people to Tsonnontouen, to oblige the elders of that Village to join with our envoys. They also received orders to beg them, on the part of all the Nation, to commit no further acts of hostility in the country of the Outaouaks, and to give the same admonitions in calling at Goiogouen. I was assured at the same time that, at the earliest date, others would set out to carry the same intelligence to the Onneiouts and the Agnies. Garakonkié told me that he was making preparations to depart in six days; and that he would wait for the other Iroquois Nations on the way, that they might all go in company.

Our Onnontaguez have begged me to write in their favor to Onnontio, which I have done with joy, because this year I have had every reason to be satisfied with their conduct, and with the kindness with which they have treated me. But if they deserve some praises, Garakonkié can be said to be entitled, alone, to more esteem and consideration than all the others. It must be acknowledged that he is an incomparable man, and the soul of every good work accomplished here: he upholds the Faith by his personal repute; he maintains the Peace by his authority; he controls the spirits of these Barbarians with a skill and prudence which equals that of the wisest men of Europe. He declares himself so boldly for the glory and the interest of France that he can justly be called the Protector of that Crown in this country; he has a zeal for the Faith comparable to that of the first Christians; in short, he knows how to conduct himself in such a way that he always maintains the fame and authority conferred upon him by his Office of Captain-general of this Nation, and uses it only to do good to all the people. I hope for a favorable result to this journey; and, if it were as easy for us to drive out drunkenness from all this country as it will be for Monsieur our Governor to strengthen the Peace between the Iroquois and the Algonquin, we would soon see our Barbarians turn Christians.

*JR, 54:73* [*\*Iroquois aspirations in war.*]

“The ideas of all these tribes prompt them to the pursuit of nothing but hunting and warfare. Among them are seen only parties of twenty, thirty, or fifty men,—of a hundred, and sometimes of two hundred; rarely do they go to the number of a thousand in a single band. These bands are divided, to go some in quest of men, and others of beasts; they make war more like highwaymen than like soldiers; and their expeditions are made rather by means of surprises than by regular battles. They rest all their glory in coming home accompanied by captives,—men, women, and children,—or loaded with the scalps of those whom they have killed in combat.

“It may further be said that there is nothing more inimical to our Missions than the victories that these peoples gain over their enemies, because by these victories they are made insolent; while there is nothing more desirable for the advancement of Christianity in this country than the humiliation of these spirits,—breathing, as they do, only blood and carnage; making it their glory to kill and burn people; and their brutal and passionate hearts offering such positive opposition to the gentle and humble spirit of Jesus Christ.”

**JR, 54:75** [*\*A Susquehannock ambassador sues for peace and is murdered by the Onondaga.*]

"We spent last winter in tolerable peace, and without the fear into which we are usually thrown by the enterprises of Gandastogué, who, being hostile to this Nation, had sent an Ambassador in the autumn, with three porcelain collars, to treat for peace. He waited until the month of March for an answer, in order that he might go back; but the men of Onnontagaté had gone out on the war-path, last winter, toward Andastogué; they brought home eight or nine prisoners, of whom they presented two to the Inhabitants of Oiogouen, with forty collars, to induce them to continue the war against Andastogué. Consequently they broke this unlucky Ambassador's head, after they had detained him five or six months, when he thought that he was on the eve of his departure. His body was burned after his death; and one of his nephews, who had accompanied him, received the same treatment from these Barbarians,—who trouble themselves but little with international law, and do not keep faith except so far as it is to their interest to do so."

**JR, 54:81** [*\*The conquered peoples at Gandougarée.*]

This Village [Gandougarée] is composed of the remnants of three different Nations which were formerly overthrown by the Iroquois, obliged to surrender at the discretion of the conqueror, and to come and settle in his country. The first Nation is called Onnontioga, the second the Neutrals, and the third the Hurons.

**JR, 54:103** [*\*Two Susquehannocks are burned to death at Gandougarée.*]

Two captives from Gandastogué were brought here to be burned, according to custom; and, after the first had had himself instructed and had given me all the signs of a holy disposition to receive Baptism, I conferred it upon him. At the end of fifteen hours of frightful torments, which he bore with a constancy and resignation wholly Christian, he left the earth to go to Heaven. The second was at first unwilling to listen to me, and even repulsed me several times, so that finally I was forced to leave him and give him leisure to reflect on what I had told him of Paradise and Hell; but, a short time afterward, he recalled me of his own accord, and told me that he really wished to obey God and be saved. I baptized him, after giving him the necessary instruction, and after he had made evident to me that faith was truly at work in his heart. Straightway he was led to the place of torture, and from that happy moment of his conversion until the last breath of his life, he sang continually, with an invincible courage: "Burn my body as much as you will; tear it in pieces; this torment will soon pass, after which I shall go to Heaven. I shall go to Heaven and be forever happy there."

*JR, 54:111* [*\*The Onondagas have lost almost all their warriors against the Susquehannocks.*]

On the twentieth of August, Father de Carheil and I arrived at Onnontague, where—while waiting for Father Bruyas, who is at Onneiout, and for Father Pierron, who is at Agnié—I had leisure to consider the remains of our old Mission. Everything there appears to me to be in the same condition in which it was when we left it in the year sixteen hundred and fifty-eight, except that the Onnontagué have been much humbled of late by the Gandastogué; for nearly all their braves perished in the war.

*JR, 54:113* [*\*French massacre of Oneidas threatens to renew the war.*]

When we were ready to separate, there came an Iroquois envoy from Montreal, from Monsieur the Governor, with porcelain collars. He also brought Letters from Your Reverence and from Father Chaumonot, from which we learned that the French had massacred, near Montreal, seven Onneiout, together with one of the most influential men of Tsonnontouen. This news made all this Nation very angry. A council, to which we were called, was immediately held, to deliberate on what was to be done. The envoy related, with considerable coldness, all that had happened. He even dared to exchange the collars, taking the finest, of five thousand beads of wholly black porcelain, which he assigned to his own Nation; and giving to the Tsonnontouen only the one that was the least valuable. But as Father Chaumonot's Letter instructed us in all particulars, we made strenuous opposition to this arrangement, and finally obliged him to make no innovations on the instructions that he had received. Garakonkié, meeting in the Village a man from Tsonnontouen, gave him the collar that was for that Nation, saying to him: "It is too far to go thither myself; thou wilt inform thy elders of the voice and thought of Onnontio." As for the collar designed for the people of Onneiout, he said that, as they were soon to come to Onnontagué to hold a general council there, they would be informed of Onnontio's will. It is beyond a doubt that an affair of this nature is very unfavorable, and capable of rekindling the war between the Iroquois and the French.

*JR, 54:115* [*\*Oneidas returning with Touagenha prisoners are attacked by the Ojibwas.*]

Scarcely was this council over, when there was heard in the Village the cry of an Onneiout, who had just had a very lucky escape from the hands of a band of warriors of the Nez-percez Nation. At this cry the people assembled, and begged him to relate his adventure. "We were," said he, "a band of five, and were returning victorious with two Touaghannha prisoners; but, unfortunately encountering a party of warriors of the Nez-percez Nation, we were defeated by them; and, my four Comrades being killed or captured with our two prisoners, I alone escaped from this encounter." That will furnish many seeds of strife, and material for arousing to vengeance a people as proud and

indomitable as are the Iroquois. We do not yet know what resolution they will adopt in this matter.

**JR, 54:117** [*\*War party sets out against Touagenha.*]

With the first day of September all the Youth of this country [*\*Senecas*] began, according to custom, to take the field; and the rest of the inhabitants who could bear the fatigues of war or of the chase set out soon after. They may amount to about five hundred for war,—divided into several bands, which are all marching against the Touagannha; and four or five hundred for the Beaver-hunt, which they will carry on in the direction of the Huron country.

**JR, 54:119** [*\*The French murderers are punished; a collar mollifies the Senecas.*]

A Tsonnontouen, calling at Onnontagué, was given charge of the porcelain collar which Onnontio presented to the Tsonnontouens, on the occasion of the death of one of their warriors who was assassinated by our Frenchmen. This collar was received here with considerable coldness; and although the exemplary chastisement, which Monsieur the Governor had given those assassins, made the Iroquois approve his conduct, still I believe that they would have preferred ten Porcelain collars to the death of those three Frenchmen, because they do not see themselves in a position to render the same justice on a like occasion. Nevertheless, they declare that they are content with this satisfaction; and I do think that they dare not push their resentment farther, or undertake any action against the French.

**JR, 54:205** [*\*Population estimates of the Green Bay nations.*]

As the Savages had gone into winter quarters, I found here only one Village of different Nations—Ousaki, Pouteouatami, Outagami, Ovenibigoutz [*i.e.*, Ouinipegouk]—about six hundred souls. A league and a half away was another, of a hundred and fifty souls; four leagues distant, one of a hundred souls; and eight leagues from here, on the other side of the Bay, one of about three hundred souls.

**JR, 54:219** [*\*Eighteen Seneca attack the village of the Fox.*]

This Nation [*\*Outagamis*] is renowned for being populous, the men who bear arms numbering more than four hundred; while the number of women and children there is the greater on account of the polygamy which prevails among them,—each man having commonly four wives, some having six, and others as many as ten. Six large cabins of these poor people were put to rout this month of March [*\*1670*] by eighteen Iroquois from Tsonnontouan,—who, under the guidance of two fugitive Iroquois Slaves of the Pouteouatamis, made an onslaught, and killed all the people, except thirty women whom they led away as captives. As the men were away hunting, they met with but little resistance—there being only six warriors left in the cabins, besides the women and children, who numbered a hundred or thereabout. This carnage was com-

mitted two days' journey from the place of our winter quarters, at the foot of the Lake of the Ilinioues, which is called Machihiganing [Michigan].

**JR, 54:223** [*\*The Fox are attacked by the Iroquois and are at war with the Sioux.*]

These Savages [\*Outagamis] withdrew to those regions to escape the persecution of the Iroquois, and settled in an excellent country... In the midst of their clearings they have a Fort, where their cabins of heavy bark are situated, for resisting all sorts of attacks. On their journeys, they make themselves cabins with mats. They are at war with the Nadouecious, their neighbors. Canoes are not used by them; and, for that reason, they do not make war on the Iroquois, although they are often killed by them.

**JR, 54:225** [*\*The Fox ask Fr. Allouez to stay the Iroquois' arms; Miamis bring back Iroquois scalps.*]

On the twenty-sixth [of April, 1670], the Elders came into the cabin where I was lodging, to hold council there. The assembly having been convened, the Captain, after laying at my feet a present of some skins, harangued in the following terms: "We thank thee," he said, "for having come to visit and console us in our affliction; and we are the more obliged to thee, inasmuch as no one has hitherto shown us that kindness." They added that they had nothing further to say to me, except that they were too dispirited to speak to me, being all occupied in mourning their dead. "Do thou, black Gown, who art not dispirited and who takest pity on people, take pity on us as thou shalt deem best. Thou couldst dwell here near us, to protect us from our enemies, and teach us to speak to the great Manitou, the same as thou teachest the Savages of the Sault. Thou couldst cause to be restored to us our wives, who were led away prisoners. Thou couldst stay the arms of the Iroquois, and speak to them of peace in our behalf for the future. I have no sense to say anything to thee; only take pity on us in the way thou shalt judge most fitting. When thou seest the Iroquois, tell them that they have taken me for some one else. I do not make war on them, I have not eaten their people; but my neighbors took them prisoners and made me a present of them; I adopted them, and they are living here as my children." This speech has nothing of the barbarian in it. I told them that in the treaty of peace which the French had made with the Iroquois, no mention had been made of them; that no Frenchman had then been here, and that they were not known; that, as to other matters, I much approved what their Captain had said; that I would not forget it, and that in the following Autumn I would render them an answer. Meanwhile, I told them to fortify themselves in their resolution to obey the true God, who alone could procure them what they asked for, and infinitely more.

In the evening four Savages, of the Nation of the Oumamis, arrived from a place two days' journey hence, bringing three Iroquois scalps and a half-smoked arm, to console the relatives of those whom the Iroquois had killed a short time before.



**JR, 54:229** [*\*Mascoutens are being “eaten” by the Sioux and the Iroquois.*]

[\*April 30, 1670] “This is well, black Gown, that thou comest to visit us [*\*the Machkoutench or Assista Ectaronnons*]. Take pity on us; thou art a Manitou; we give thee tobacco to smoke. The Nadouessious and the Iroquois are eating us; take pity on us....”

**JR, 54:235** [*\*The Menominee are almost exterminated by war.*]

On the sixth [of May, 1670], I paid a visit to the Oumalouminek, eight leagues distant from our cabin, and found them at their River in small numbers, the Young people being still in the woods. This Nation has been almost exterminated by the wars.

**Father Claude d’Ablon. 1672. Relation of what occurred most remarkable in the missions of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus in New France, in the years 1670 and 1671.**

**JR, 54:263** [*\*Governor demands that the Senecas not harm Ottawa war captives.*]

The Iroquois who are called Tsonnontouens, who exceed the others in number, having taken in war some captives from the people adjacent to the Outaouak Algonquins, our allies, and Monsieur de Courcelles, our Governor, being duly informed thereof, he sent them word at the earliest opportunity that he was much displeased by their conduct; and that unless they wished to see him with his Army in their Country, they must restore those Captives to him with the utmost despatch, being further expressly forbidden to mutilate them, or exercise toward them a single one of their customary acts of cruelty. This order seemed very harsh to those proud spirits. “For whom does Onnontio take us?” they asked. “He is vexed because we go to war, and wishes us to lower our hatchets and leave his allies undisturbed. Who are his allies? How would he have us recognize them when he claims to take under his protection all the peoples discovered by the bearers of God’s Word through all these regions; and when every day, as we learn from our people who escape from the cruelty of the stake, they make new discoveries, and enter nations which have ever been hostile to us,— which, even while receiving notification of peace from *Onnontio*, set out from their own country to make war upon us, and to come and slay us under our very palisades? Let *Onnontio* check their hatchet if he wishes us to stay our own. He threatens to bring desolation on our Land; let us see whether his arms Will be long enough to remove the scalps from our heads, as we have done in times past with those of the French.” Those insolent people still believed at that time that the rapids and floods which must be surmounted to reach their Country were impassable to the courage of the French. Yet, after delivering a part of their fire,—fearing to incur Monsieur the Governor’s indignation, and to suffer the misfortune of the people of Annie, whose Villages he had destroyed by fire a few years before,—these ruffians deemed it necessary to give him at least some satis-

faction. They decided to send him eight prisoners of war, out of twenty-five or thirty whom they had carried off from the nation of the Pouteouatami Algonquins, whom Father Allouez had, indeed, instructed during the winter at the head of the Bay des Puants. The Elders especially urged this arrangement, which was approved by the warriors and by all the Young men. For this Embassy, however, fearing lest Monsieur the Governor might spurn them if they presented themselves in person, they thought it best to employ a Captain of worth and of great repute, Saonchiogoua by name, of the neighboring nation known as Goiogouen. This man was their friend, and upheld their interests on all occasions; and he had very recently concluded with them a league, offensive and defensive, against any people who might make war upon them....

Immediately upon Saonchiogoua's arrival here in Kebec, he exerted himself without delay to discharge the Commission with which he had been entrusted by the people of Tsonnontouen. Holding council with Monsieur the Governor, he delivered into his hands the eight Captives, with emphatic protestations from the Tsonnontouens of submission and obedience to all his orders. Monsieur the Governor regaled him and all his suite. Everything being concluded with assurances of satisfaction on each side, this Captain bent all his mind, and concentrated all his attention upon accomplishing the important business of his salvation.

**JR, 54:279** [*\*A Mohawk woman is attacked by the Mahicans.*]

Marie Magdeleine [a Mohawk woman] the mother, surnamed Skaouendes, had long wished for this grace. She asked it from God when she was completely covered with her own blood and surrounded by a band from the Nation of the lousps, enemies of the Iroquois.

**JR, 54:281** [*\*Women hold councils and are respected—they persuaded the Onondaga to seek peace with the French.*]

The discovery of her [*\*Marie Magdeleine, a Mohawk*] purpose, which she had kept secret, so incensed all her family that, out of spite, they degraded her from her noble rank, in an assembly of the Village notables; and deprived her of the name and title of *Oiander*,—that is, a person of quality. This is a dignity which they highly esteem, which she had inherited from her Ancestors, and deserved by her own intelligence, prudence, and discreet conduct. At the same time, too, they installed another woman in her place. Women of this rank are much respected; they hold councils, and the Elders decide no important affair without their advice. It was one of these women of quality who, some time ago, took the lead in persuading the Iroquois of Onnontagué, and afterward the other nations, to make peace with the French....

**JR, 54:283** [*\*A remnant of a Huron tribe seeks French protection.*]

We also expect next Spring the remnant of a Huron Tribe that was once overthrown by the Iroquois, but can still count about five hundred souls. They

sent some of their chief men to ask the protection of the French against a powerful enemy, who quite recently declared war against them.

**JR, 54:287** [*\*The Huron remnant near Quebec.*]

The little Huron Colony [about one league from Quebec], comprising about a hundred and fifty souls, is a remnant of the People of that nation, either spared by the cruel Iroquois, or escaped from their clutches.

**JR, 55:35** [*\*Native Iroquois and Iroquois captives gather at Nostre Dame de Foy.*]

[\*Huron Christians of Nostre-Dame de Foy] they are all people gathered from different countries,—Hurons, members of the neutral Nation, Iroquois, people from Andastogué, from New Sweden, etc.,—and all coming from different Iroquois Nations, and either natives of that country, or dwellers there as prisoners of war.

Having reached a common agreement this last Summer to settle there, they decided to elect two Chiefs,—one for policy and war, the other to superintend the observance of Christianity and Religion.

**JR, 55:41** [*\*The torture of two pregnant women at Annie.*]

God's Providence was especially manifest in the Baptism of two women with Child, and of their offspring. They had, fortunately for their salvation, been captured in war, and brought to the conquerors' country, with twenty-five other Captives. One of the women was only two months pregnant. The two babes, on being taken from the wombs of their mothers,—who were breathing their last at the stake, amid the horrible torments which those barbarians made them suffer,—were found to have enough life left to be placed among the number of the predestined. Father Jean Pierron, who has chief charge of that Mission, had the happiness to baptize them.

The mother of the younger Child gave very marked proofs of her faith. Besides greatly aiding in the instruction and Baptism of the other Captives who had been condemned to death, she, although herself reduced to a deplorable condition,—with the skin torn from her head, her face covered with blood, her whole body cruelly burned, and so disfigured that she no longer looked like a human being,—nevertheless went in quest of the father amid that crowd of barbarians who made a laughing-stock of her, presented herself before him, made the sign of the Cross, and said to him several times with evident marks of devotion, and in a clear voice: "My Father, Oh, my Father, I am going to Heaven, I am going to Heaven!"

**JR, 55:59** [*\*Garakontie remonstrates with the Dutch governor, who wants peace with the Mahicans.*]

On one occasion, when he had gone to trade in new Holland, where he is very well known, the Governor of the place, having declared, in an assembly

attended by some of the chief men among the Iroquois, his desire to see them all at peace with the Nation of the Loups,—who go and slay them under their very palisades,—appealed to him in particular, as to a man of good sense and of experience in affairs, to learn his opinion regarding the most efficacious method of attaining this end. Garakontié replied to him frankly. “Truly,” said he, “it becomes you to undertake such reconciliations as that; you know nothing about such matters. That glory belongs only to Onnontio.” (He referred to Monsieur our Governor.)

**JR, 55:99** [*\*The Ottawas begin returning to the islands of Lake Huron.*]

After surveying this entire Lake Superior, together with the Nations surrounding it, let us go down to the Lake of the Hurons, almost in the middle of which we shall see the Mission of saint Simon, established on the Islands which were formerly the true country of some Nations of the Outaouacs, and which they were forced to leave when the Hurons were ravaged by the Iroquois. But since the King’s Arms have compelled the latter to live at peace with our Algonquins, part of the Outaouacs have returned to their country

**JR, 55:109** [*\*Allouez impresses the Iroquois with the power of the French king.*]

But look likewise at that other post, to which are affixed the armorial bearings of the great Captain of France whom we call King. He lives beyond the sea; he is the Captain of the greatest Captains, and has not his equal in the world. All the Captains you have ever seen, or of whom you have ever heard, are mere children compared with him. He is like a great tree, and they, only like little plants that we tread under foot in walking. You know about Onnontio, that famous Captain of Quebec. You know and feel that he is the terror of the Iroquois, and that his very name makes them tremble, now that he has laid waste their country and set fire to their Villages. Beyond the sea there are ten thousand Onnontios like him, who are only the Soldiers of that Great Captain, our Great King, of whom I am speaking. When he says, ‘I am going to war,’ all obey him; and those ten thousand Captains raise Companies of a hundred soldiers each, both on sea and on land. Some embark in ships, one or two hundred in number, like those that you have seen at Quebec. Your Canoes hold only four or five men—or, at the very most, ten or twelve. Our ships in France hold four or five hundred, and even as many as a thousand. Other men make war by land, but in such vast numbers that, if drawn up in a double file, they would extend farther than from here to Mississaugenk, although the distance exceeds twenty leagues. When he attacks, he is more terrible than the thunder: the earth trembles, the air and the sea are set on fire by the discharge of his Cannon; while he has been seen amid his squadrons, all covered with the blood of his foes, of whom he has slain so many but the rivers of blood which he sets flowing. So many prisoners of war does he lead away that he makes no account of them, letting them go about whither they will, to show that he does not fear them. No one now dares make war upon

him, all nations beyond the sea having most submissively sued for peace. From all parts of the world people go to listen to his words and to admire him, and he alone decides all the affairs of the world. What shall I say of his wealth? You count yourselves rich when you have ten or twelve sacks of corn, some hatchets, glass beads, kettles, or other things of that sort. He has towns of his own, more in number than you have people in all these countries five hundred leagues around; while in each town there are warehouses containing enough hatchets to cut down all your forests, kettles to cook all your moose, and glass beads to fill all your cabins. His house is longer than from here to the head of the Sault,—that is, more than half a league,—“and higher than the tallest of your trees; and it contains more families than the largest of your Villages can hold.”

The Father added much more of this sort, which was received with wonder by those people, who were all astonished to hear that there was any man on earth so great, rich, and powerful.

*JR, 55:133* [*\*War with Sioux and peace with Iroquois cause the Ottawas to move back to their lands.*]

War and peace gave birth to this Mission [*\*St. Simon on the Lake of the Hurons*],—the war waged by the people called Nadouessi, who drove the Outaouacs from Saint Esprit point, where they lived; and the peace with the Iroquois, which permitted them to return to their own country. A part of the Outaouacs, who last summer separated from the rest, betook themselves to the Island called Ekaentouton, lying in the middle of the Lake of the Hurons, as to their former country.

*JR, 55:137* [*\*The deceased Captain of the Beaver Nation is honored for a victory against Iroquois.*]

The Captain of the Beaver Nation having died three years before, his eldest son had invited various tribes to attend the games and spectacles which he wished to hold in his father's honor. When the Festival is held in honor of some noted Captain, the assembly is large; and hence it was that the present one was well attended, because he whom they wished to resuscitate had distinguished himself against the Iroquois on divers occasions,—especially when, his enemies having made their way to this spot [*\*island called Ouiebitchiouan*], to the number of six-score, they were so severely repulsed by this Captain that only a single man escaped from his hands to carry the tidings of their defeat. That was what made his memory Revered, and had drawn thither many chiefs of different Nations, in so great numbers that there were cabins in which as many as two or three hundred persons were gathered together.

*JR, 55:139* [*\*Ottawas have the French Governor to thank for peace.*]

The 3rd present was intended to induce them to render the honor and

respect due from them to Monsieur the Governor, who gave them back their country by compelling the Iroquois to sue for peace.

**JR, 55:139** [*\*The Ottawas return to Ekaentouton.*]

It [*\*island of Ekaentouton in Lake Huron*] was formerly the Outaouacs' country, where they were instructed by our Fathers before the fear of the Iroquois drove them from so pleasant an abode, and forced them to take refuge at the head of Lake Superior,—whither our Missionaries followed them, to a spot more than three hundred leagues from their enemies. But as one's longing for his native land is not stifled by distance,—least of all among Savages, who possess an incredibly strong attachment for the country of their birth,—as soon as they saw some prospect of being able to return thither in safety, as a result of the peace with the Iroquois, they hastened to do so...

**JR, 55:159** [*\*Three Nations which were dispersed to Green Bay, now move back.*]

These advantages, in times past, attracted to so desirable a spot most of the Savages of this region, who were dispersed by the fear of the Iroquois. The three Nations now dwelling as strangers on the Bay des Puans formerly lived on the mainland, to the south of this Island,—some on the shores of the Lake of the Illinois, others on those of the Lake of the Hurons. A part of the so-called people of the Saut possessed territories on the mainland, toward the West; and the rest also regard that region as their country for passing the winter, during which there are no fish at the Sault. The Hurons called Etiennontatehronnons lived for some years on the Island itself, taking refuge from the Iroquois. Four Villages of the Outaouacs had also their lands in these regions.

But, especially, those who bore the name of the Island and were called Missilimakinac, were so numerous that some of them still living declare that they constituted thirty Villages; and that they all had intrenched themselves in a fort a league and a half in circumference, when the Iroquois—elated at gaining a victory over three thousand men of that Nation, who had carried the war even into the very country of the Agniehronnons—came and defeated them....

Hence it is that many of these same tribes, seeing the apparent stability of the peace with the Iroquois, are turning their eyes toward so advantageous a location as this, with the intention of returning hither, each to its own country, in imitation of those who have already made such a beginning on the Islands of Lake Huron.

**JR, 55:183** [*\*Tribes now near Green Bay formerly of the Lower Peninsula of Michigan.*]

Four Nations make their abode here [*\*St. Francis Xavier mission, Green Bay*],—to wit, the people named Puans [*Stinkards*], who have always lived here as in their own country, and who have been reduced to nothing from their very flourishing and populous state in the past, having been exterminated by the

Illinois, their enemies; the Pouteouatami, the Ousaki, and the nation of the Fork also live here, but as foreigners, driven by their fear of the Iroquois from their own territories, which lie between the Lake of the Hurons and that of the Illinois.

**Father Claude Dablon. 1673. Relation of what occurred most remarkable in the missions of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus in New France, during the years 1671 and 1672.**

*JR, 55:293* [*\*The Abenaki are hostile to the Iroquois.*]

Having adopted this resolution, they [two residents of the Huron colony at Nostre-Dame de Foy] accosted a Savage of the Abnaki Nation, who are our allies and are hostile to the Iroquois...

*JR, 55:299* [*\*A young Huron threatens to kill some Iroquois.*]

A Young man who had returned from the Iroquois country sang in a fit of drunkenness that he was bent on going back thither, but did not intend to make his appearance there empty-handed,—meaning by these words that he purposed to kill some one and carry off his scalp. The matter was reported to our Joachim, who had asked the Father's permission to fill the office of Dogique during Louys Taondechoren's absence, in order to atone for the scandal he had caused before his conversion. He rebuked this insolent man, who was only half intoxicated. "My cousin," said he, "art thou not ashamed to talk like that? Is it possible that thou art so unnatural as to wish to rejoice our enemies by murdering one of thy kinsfolk? Hast thou not still a brother, a sister, and other relatives here? Wilt thou, then, forsake them to go and give thyself up again as a slave to barbarians, who have brought ruin upon our country?" He was still speaking when the drunken man and two comrades of his, who were as bereft of reason and judgment as he was, threw the speaker to the ground and struck him several times with their knives, reducing him to such a state that he was taken from their hands as one dead, with three or four very dangerous wounds....

*JR, 56:29* [*\*The Mahicans are enemies of the residents at Nostre Dame de Foy.*]

They [*\*the new residents of Nostre-Dame de Foy*] were received with such benevolence that all the cabins—that is, all hearts—were opened to them, and each one freely shared his best with them. More than fifty others were entertaining the same purpose, and their canoes were all in readiness; but their well-grounded fear lest they might displease their relatives, and lest the Loup Nations, their enemies, might be tempted to take advantage of their absence, forced them to postpone their departure until a more favorable juncture.

*JR, 56:41* [*\*The Iroquois are summoned to a peace council with Mahicans.*]

This declaration he repeated in a more courageous manner in New Holland, before the Europeans who hold command in that country, and the

chief men of all the five Iroquois Nations, who had been summoned for the purpose of concluding a peace with the Loup Nations.

**JR, 56:51** [*\*The fighting strength of the Cayugas.*]

“I find the inhabitants of Goiogouen more tractable and less haughty than the Onnontagué and Onneiout, and if God had humbled them as he has the Anniez, I believe the Faith could be planted here more easily than in any of the other Iroquois Nations. There are estimated to be more than three hundred warriors here, and a prodigious number of little children.”

**JR, 56:55** [*\*Susquehannock boys rout Senecas and Cayuga in land and canoe battles.*]

“I will add this one word more,” says the Father, “to tell you the news concerning our petty wars. On Ascension day, twenty Tsonnontouans and forty of the haughtiest of our young men set out from this village, to go and strike a blow in the fields of the Andastogués, four days’ journey hence. The Tsonnontouans—who formed a band by themselves, the others having gone on ahead by water—were attacked by sixty Andastogué boys, 15 or 16 years old, and put to flight, with the loss of two of their number,—one being killed on the spot, and the other led away captive. These young victors, learning that the Goiogouen band had gone by canoe, promptly took canoes, and pursued them with such speed that they overtook and routed them,—eight of our men being killed in their canoes; while fifteen or sixteen returned badly wounded by arrows and knives, or half killed by hatchet-strokes. The battle-field remained in possession of the Andastogué boys, with a loss, it is said, of fifteen or sixteen of their number. God preserves the Andastoguez, who count but three hundred warriors, and favors their arms, in order to humble the Iroquois and maintain the peace and our Missions.”

**JR, 56:115** [*\*The Petun fled the Iroquois but war with the Sioux compels them to return.*]

The Hurons of the Tobacco Nation known as the Tionnontatés, being expelled years ago from their country by the Iroquois, took refuge in that Island so noted for its fisheries, named Missilimakinac. Here, however, they were suffered to remain but a few years, that same foe compelling them to leave so advantageous a position. They therefore withdrew farther to some Islands, which still bear their name, situated at the entrance to the bay des Puans; but, not finding themselves even there sufficiently secure, they retired far into the depths of the woods; and thence finally sought out, as a last abode, at the very end of lake Superior, a spot that has received the name of point St. Esprit. There they were far enough from the Iroquois not to fear them, but too near the Nadouessi,—who are the Iroquois, so to speak, of those Northern regions, being the most powerful and warlike People of that country.

Still, everything had been quite peaceful for a number of years until last



year, when, these Nadouessi being angered by the Hurons and the Outaouacs, war broke out between the two sides, beginning with such warmth that some prisoners captured on each side were burned to death. The Nadouessi, however, would not begin hostilities until after they had sent back to Father Marquette certain Pictures which he had given them, to convey to them some idea of our Religion and teach them through their eyes; he could not accomplish this otherwise, on account of their language being entirely different from the Huron and the Algonquin.

Such redoubtable enemies soon struck terror to the hearts of our Hurons and Outaouacs, who resolved to abandon point Saint Esprit and all their fields, which they had long been cultivating.

In this retreat the Hurons, recalling the great advantages that they had formerly enjoyed at Missilimakinac, turned their eyes thither, purposing to seek refuge there, which they did a year ago.

**JR, 56:143** [*\*The Iroquois capture a woman in the country of the Fox.*]

The baptism of sixty children and some adults, in the village of the Outagamis, represented so many marvelous designs of Providence. But these designs were still more plainly manifest in the death of two adults,—one, a woman who came to that country in quest of baptism, and a happy death under the Father's care, after many eventful wanderings. She had been captured here by the Iroquois and taken to their country, and thence conducted to Montreal, when she returned to the Outaouacs, there to find her happiness.

**JR, 56:155** [*\*Porcupine Nation of the Montagnais are 'extremely reduced' by the Iroquois.*]

“On the 2nd [\*of September, 1671], we made our quarters near the mouth of lake St. John, which is known as Pingagami...the Savages living there are called Kakouchac, taking their name from the word *Kakou*, which in their language means ‘porcupine.’ It was formerly the place whither all the Nations between the two Seas, those of the East and the North, used to repair for purposes of trade; and I have seen more than twenty Nations gathered there. The Inhabitants were extremely reduced by their latest wars with the Iroquois, and by the smallpox, which is the pest of the Savages. Now they are beginning to regain their numbers, by additions from the outside Nations who, since the peace, resort thither from various directions.”

**JR, 56:173** [*\*Fr. Albanel asserts the right of passage because the French have saved the north country near Lake Mistassini from the Iroquois.*]

“‘Sesibahoura, it is not to purchase the passage of this river and of thy Lake that I am pleased to regale thee with two presents. The Frenchman, having delivered this whole country from the incursions of the Iroquois, your foes, well deserves to be accorded the right to go and come with entire freedom through this region, which he has subdued with his arms....

“‘As your friend, ally, and kinsman, I give you a mat to cover the graves

of your dead who were slain by the Iroquois, your enemies; and to you who escaped their fires and their cruelty, it will say that you shall live in the future. Onnontio has wrested the war-hatchet from their hands. Your country was dead; he has restored it to life. He has cleared away the trees and rocks that blocked your rivers and checked the course of their waters. Fish, hunt, and trade in all directions, without fear of being discovered by your enemies, either from the noise of your arms, the odor of your tobacco, or the smoke of your fires. The peace is general everywhere.'...

"On the following day, the Captain, at the close of a fine feast, spoke in his turn, as follows:

"To-day, my Father, the Sun shines upon us; and, favoring us with thy benign presence, thou givest us the brightest day that this country has ever seen. Never have our fathers or our grandfathers had such happiness. How fortunate are we to be born at this time, for the free enjoyment of the blessings that thou bestowest upon us! The Frenchman places us under great obligations; in giving us peace, he restores us all to life."

**JR, 56:183** [*\*Remains of a village and an Iroquois fort at Lake Nemiskau.*]

[\*June 25, 1672.] Five large rivers empty into this lake [\*Nemiskau], making it so rich in fish that the latter formed the main subsistence of a populous savage nation dwelling here eight or ten years ago. The sad monuments of their place of residence are still to be seen; and also, on a rocky islet, the remains of a large fort constructed of stout trees by the Iroquois, whence he guarded all the approaches and made frequent murderous sallies. Seven years ago he killed on this spot, or led away captive, eighty persons; this caused the entire abandonment of the place, its original inhabitants departing thence. Owing to the size of the river and the nearness of the sea, there was formerly much traffic here, people coming from various quarters.

**JR, 56:191** [*\*Another Montagnais Captain is told of his debt to the French.*]

"Accordingly I called together all the Captains and chief men, and thus addressed them:

"Present 1. 'Kiaskou,'—the Captain's name, signifying 'gull,'—'we often experience, and with pleasure, a benefit whose author and cause we do not know. The blessing of peace with the Iroquois, now enjoyed by thee, is of that nature; thou knowest neither him that gives thee this peace, nor his purpose in giving it to thee.

"Look at this present, which will open thine eyes to a knowledge of thy benefactor. "It is I," says Onnontio to thee, "who have made peace, without thy knowing it. For the past five years the Iroquois has ceased to disturb you; he makes no more incursions into your territories; I have snatched from him his Pakamagan"—his battle-axe—"and have even rescued from the flames thy two daughters and many of thy kin. Very well, then, live in peace and safety; I restore to thee thy country, whence the Iroquois had driven thee. Fish, hunt, and trade everywhere, and fear nothing henceforth."

**JR, 56:267** [*\*A population estimate of the combined pre-dispersal Hurons, Petun and Neutral.*]

There [the country of the Hurons, two years after Madame le Peltiré's arrival] the fort of the Missionaries was situated, and the population was reckoned at more than eighty thousand souls, including the people of the neutral nation and of the Tobacco nation,—all situated within a stretch of sixty leagues of territory, and all since then destroyed by the Iroquois, or scattered by them to more distant Regions.

**Father Henri Nouvel. 1673. Extract from the letter of Father Nouvel, Jesuit, written from Ste. Marie du sault to Monseigneur the governor, May 29, 1673.**

**JR, 57:21** [*\*The English are established on Hudson Bay.*]

But already we see that the establishment of the english on the great bay of the North, and the proximity of the iroquois, with whom the missisakis have pursued their winter hunting, Will cause a decided prejudice against the colony. The english have already diverted a great many of the inland savages who visit lake Superior, and attracted them to themselves by their great liberality; and the iroquois have sent very considerable presents to all these nations, to confirm, they say, The Peace that Onnontio made,—but rather to get their peltries, with which the iroquois are expecting these tribes to respond to their presents. Some of the savages of these regions, who saw during the winter the Savages from the interior who made their trade last autumn with des groisiliers and the english, have assured us that two ships had arrived at that great bay. And that they were annoyed by a third, which followed them, and from which they apprehended shipwreck. They added that about two hundred men were put ashore, and that in four days they had erected a large House, which they fortified with several pieces of cannon.

**JR, 57:23** [*\*The Senecas want peace with the Ottawas, perhaps at behest of the Dutch. The Susquehannocks are the only enemies of the Iroquois.*]

[\*May 29, 1673] The Father who has Charge of the mission of St. francois Xavier writes me that the Tsonnontaouerannon iroquois have brought 20 peace-presents to the Savages of his quarter; and that they have taken away two women, who had long been captives among the latter. These presents say that the iroquois obey Onnontio as their common father; and that thus they have only gifts of peace, and are to love each other as brothers. There is no doubt that they are only using this bait either for the sake of their commerce with the outaouacs, at the solicitation of the dutch, or to beguile them into a renewal of the war, if they succeed with the andastogué, who are the only enemies that the iroquois now have Upon their hands.

**Father Julien Garnier. 1673. Copy of the letter written from Tsonnontouanan by Father Garnier, Jesuit, to Monseigneur the Governor, the sixth of July, 1673.**

*JR, 57:27* [*\*The Seneca warriors want commerce with Montreal and French blacksmiths and gunsmiths to live with them.*]

As soon as I received your orders, brought by Sieur de la Salle, I made them known to the Savages of this nation [*\*Seneca*], which comprises 3 villages,—two composed of the natives of the country, and the third of the remnants of several huron nations. destroyed by the iroquois. All together may make 800 men capable of waging war upon their enemies. The principal men of each village have been deputed to go and see you at the place you have designated; they are well disposed to receive your orders, and to satisfy you in all things. They have made peace with all the nations against whom Monsieur de Courcelle forbade them to make war, since The King had taken those nations Under his protection; they have expressly recommended to all their Young men not to turn their weapons in that direction. Their leading purpose now is for commerce with Montreal, where they would willingly take their peltries if commodities could be bought cheaper there than at orange, where wares have gone up in price this year. They are also eagerly desirous that the french should inhabit their country,—especially those who are most useful to them, as blacksmiths and gunsmiths.

**Father Jean de Lamberville. 1673. Relation of what occurred in the Iroquois missions in the years 1672 and 1673.**

*JR, 57:81* [*\*Peace between the Mohawks and Mahicans encourages drunkenness.*]

When the Agnieronnon Iroquois concluded peace with their enemies, they had not sufficient Prescience to foresee What disadvantages would befall them, and that The hatchet of the mahingan would be less redoubtable to them than the liberty of going as often as they pleased to trade for brandy in new holland. As soon as that baleful peace between them and the Loups was concluded at new orange, the Road was at once opened to them to go there all times in perfect safety, and afterward to become intoxicated daily during the greatest Heat of The summer. Formerly, they used to drink here only at intervals and at certain seasons; many had to band together and keep themselves in readiness to resist The enemy in case of attack. But since they have no fear of being insulted by the Loups, drunkenness has become so continual that they cease to drink only on leaving the village...

*JR, 57:169* [*\*Two Susquehannocks are tortured; a dream prompts an Iroquois to cannibalize one of them.*]

“Two Andastoguez who were captured by The Iroquois were more fortunate. They received baptism Immediately before The Red-hot irons were

applied to Them. One of them, who was burned during The night in a Cabin, from his feet to his knees, prayed again to God with me on The Following day, while tied to a stake in The public place of the village. I Will not repeat here what is already known—that The tortures inflicted upon prisoners of war are horrible. The patience of these poor victims is admirable; but one cannot contemplate without a feeling of horror the sight of Their roasting Flesh, and of men who Devour it like famished Dogs.

“One day, when I was passing near the Spot where The Body of one of those tortured captives was being cut to pieces, I could not help drawing near and inveighing against such brutality. I saw one of these Cannibals, who asked for a Knife wherewith to cut off an arm. I opposed him, and threatened Him, that, if he did not desist, God would sooner or later punish him severely for his cruelty: He stated, as his reason for doing so, that he was invited to a feast commanded by a dream at which They were to eat nothing but human Flesh, to be brought by those who were invited to it. Two days afterward, God permitted that his wife should fall into The hands of the Andastoguez, who Revenged themselves upon her person for The Cruelty of her husband.

**JR, 57:207** [*\*Peace with the Iroquois allows the Ottawas to settle on Lake Huron again..*]

The war that all these tribes [*\*Ottawas/Algonquins*] wage with The Nadouessi has compelled Them to leave lake superior, and to come and settle on lake Huron, where The peace that they have with The Iroquois procures Them an asylum against their new enemy.

**JR, 57. p. 275** [*\*The importance of dreams to warriors.*]

But I do not know a single savage who does not place his confidence in dreams when he intends to go to war. There are even very few who do not believe that [*\*Christian*] prayer is injurious to warriors, and who do not address themselves to the Demon whom they believe to be the master of life and death.

**JR, 58. p. 75** [*\*Twenty-two conquered nations are part of the Iroquois mission of Saint François Xavier des Prés, near Montreal*]

God the kingdom of his Gospel in this new world, that the Iroquois should carry war into countries that were deemed inaccessible to men, and among nations unknown to Europeans. They brought back thence a multitude of captives; and now these captives and the Iroquois, their conquerors,—who themselves come to dwell here with their victims,—unite, that they may all together become fervent Christians. *Habitabit lupus cum agno.*

On seeing these new believers gathered last autumn in the fold of Jesus Christ, it was very pleasant for us to count in a single nascent Mission as many as twenty-two nations, several of whom speak entirely different tongues, while the others differ only in their idioms. These were seen, mingled together; Outouagannah, Gentagega, Montagnais Algonquins, Nipissiriniens, Hurons,

Iroquois, Loups, Mahingans or Socokis, and other nations, no less opposed to one another through ancient feuds than through diversity of language.

This Mission began, about four years ago, by the gathering in this place of some Iroquois families.

**Father Claude Dablon, ed. 1674. Relation of what occurred most remarkable in the missions of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, in New France, during the years 1673 and 1674.**

*JR, 58:185* [*\*How the Five Nations keep peace between themselves.*]

In order to maintain peace among themselves, and make amends for faults committed by individuals, the Iroquois nations have instituted certain embassies which they reciprocally send one another. In these they exhibit their fine porcelain collars, with the utmost magnificence in their power; and their captains endeavor to display their eloquence,—both in relating their fables, their genealogies, and their stories; and in suitably exhorting the elders and warriors, according to the requirements of current affairs.

*JR, 58:225* [*\*Captured Susquehannocks have a good impression of the Jesuits and the French at Cayuga.*]

As to the adults, the five who were baptized all died after baptism. Three were Susquehannocks captured in war; Father de Carheil had time to instruct them before they were burned. Several from the same country, who had escaped after a captivity of some months, had told them of the charity that the black Gowns had for them as well as for the Iroquois. They had related the kindness shown them by the Fathers, and the trouble taken by the latter to assist them in every imaginable way. This report had disposed them to greater docility than had yet been met with in the other captives. One of them even thanked the Father in his death-song for the succor given him, saying that he well knew that he loved them, and that the French nation was not among the number of their enemies.

*JR, 59:39* [*\*The Montagnais at Lake Piecouagami are attacked by the Iroquois and plan to retaliate.*]

On the 6th [*\*of February, 1674*], I left him, and went with the Savages who accompanied me to encamp near a very fine river. There we remained some days in peace, until Father Albanel sent a Frenchman to warn me that fear reigned everywhere; that the Iroquois were believed to be on the war-path; that they had surprised a band of our Savages at lake Kinouagami; and that the Outabitibaecs and other tribes were gathering in a fortified enclosure for shelter and defense. This bad news compelled me to go to them, to confess and encourage them, because Father Albanel was still crippled by his injury. I set out, accompanied by one Frenchman. We walked twenty leagues in the woods, with incredible difficulty, and in continual dread of being set upon by the Iroquois. On the way we came upon a great number of cabins abandoned through fear.

On the 3rd of March, we reached the spot where the Savages had fortified themselves; there were at least eighty determined men. They were delighted to see us. I consoled them to the best of my ability, and confessed them. Meanwhile, one of their chiefs. had gone with three young men to reconnoiter the enemy; while awaiting their return we passed four nights in dread, and, during the first two, we slept in their fort and upon the snow.

On the 5th, those who had gone to reconnoiter came back and somewhat reassured us. They told us that the massacre that had caused the general panic had not taken place so close to us, but at lake Piécouagami; and that the Savages dwelling on its shores were going to fortify themselves, and gather in great numbers to attack the Iroquois the following spring.

**JR, 59:45** [*\*The Mistassini seek French protection from the Iroquois.*]

Meanwhile, a portion of the Mistassins left shortly afterward for Quebec, to present their respects to Monsieur de Frontenac, the governor of Canada. They also intended to crave his protection against the Iroquois; and to assure him that they took him for their father, and that, to become worthier of being his children, they would continue to love Prayer, for which they knew he was so zealous.

**Father Jacques Marquette. 1674. Of the first Voyage made by Father Marquette toward new Mexico, and How the idea thereof was conceived.**

**JR, 59:145** [*\*Shawnee on Ohio are being attacked by the Iroquois.*]

But this did not prevent us from passing, and arriving at Waboukigou [*\*The Ohio River*]. This river flows from the lands of the East, where dwell the people called Chaouanons in so great numbers that in one district there are as many as 23 villages, and 15 in another, quite near one another. They are not at all warlike, and are the nations whom the Iroquois go so far to seek, and war against without any reason: and, because these poor people cannot defend themselves, they allow themselves to be captured and taken Like flocks of sheep; and, innocent though they are, they nevertheless sometimes experience The barbarity of the Iroquois, who cruelly burn Them.

**Father Claude Dablon. 1675. Present condition of the missions of the fathers of the society of Jesus in New France, during the year 1675.**

**JR, 59:251** [*\*The Seneca have defeated the Andaste and seek other wars.*]

In fact, since the Sonnentouans have utterly defeated the Andastogues, their ancient and most redoubtable foes, their insolence knows no bounds; they talk of nothing but renewing the war against our allies, and even against the French, and of beginning by the destruction of fort Catarokoui.

## **APPENDICES**





## **APPENDIX A:**

### **DETAILED CHRONOLOGY 1650–1675**

- 1650** – Spring. Three hundred Iroquois defeat a party of Hurons, and then fifty Petun both along the route to Quebec (JR 36:177).
- September 1. Fr. Druillettes leaves Quebec with Noel Negamabat of Sillery on an embassy to the English; he meets up with John Winslow (JR 36:83).
  - End of Autumn, 1,500 Iroquois destroy a Neutral village, but the Neutral counterattack and capture 200 aided by Hurons. The Iroquois raid from a fort on Ste. Marie; the Hurons unsuccessfully besiege it and the Iroquois escape. Another band of Iroquois returns and erects a fort on the mainland; thirty are lured into the Huron fort and killed, the rest flee (JR 36:117, 36:177).
  - November 18. Fr. Druillettes and the Abenaki offer presents to gain the alliance of the Sokoki (JR 36:83).
  - Winter. Twelve hundred Iroquois return to the Neutrals to avenge the Autumn capture of the 200 (JR 36:117). The Sokokis hold councils with the Pocumtuck, Penacook and Mahican, in which they all agree to league with the French and Abenaki against the Iroquois (JR 36:83). Jacques Ondhwarak and Charles Aontrati are captured by the Iroquois while hunting, and the Onondagas besiege the fort at Ahwendoe and kill a hundred men (JR 36:123).
  - December 8. Druillettes arrives in Boston, meeting with the governor and magistrates (JR 36:83).
  - December 21–24. Druillettes travels to Plymouth (JR 36:83).
  - December 30. The governor of Plymouth agrees to send aid against the Iroquois (JR 36:83).
- 1651** – January 3. Boston tells Druillettes that the people would not favor aid against the Iroquois, but he will do what he can (JR 36:83).
- January 9. Druillettes visits Salem (JR 36:83).
  - February 8. Druillettes leaves New England (JR 36:83).
  - Spring. Some Hurons still at St. Marie flee to Ekaentoton (Manitoulin) Island fearing retaliation. Those unable to leave are attacked (JR 36:177). Some Algonquins fishing at Lake Nipissing are surprised and massacred by Iroquois, the woman and children made captives. 600 Iroquois had “dealt their blow” to a second Neutral village; large numbers of captives are taken, and the remaining Neutral villages are abandoned. (JR 36:177). Mohawks are said to have aided the Seneca in this victory (JR 38:45).
  - March 20. Governor Brentford at Plymouth dispatches letters to the governors of Hartford and New Haven asking for aid against the Iroquois, and to the governor of Manhattan to stop the arms trade to the Iroquois and aid in attacking them (JR 36:83).
  - April 1. Forty Iroquois are discovered near Montreal and trade fire with the French (JR 36:117).
- 1651** – April, Three hundred Iroquois are sighted above Montreal (JR 36:83).
- April 13. The Magistrates and commissioners of Plymouth agree to join forces against the Iroquois (JR 36:83).

- 1651** – April 22. News that a Huron band with Fr. Bressani has been defeated and taken captive twelve leagues from Ahwendoe. News that seven Iroquois killed three Hurons who went back to the Hurons last Autumn (JR 36:117)
- April 24. A Sokoki brings news to Druillettes of the Sokoki, Pocumtuck, Penacook and Mahican alliance; the Noutchihiuit (Wappingers?), feared by the Iroquois, will also accompany them to war. He also offers to “wipe away the blood” between Sokokis and Abenakis with Noel Tekwerimat (JR 36:83).
  - April–May. Iroquois raids around Montreal and Three Rivers (JR 36:123)
  - June 18. Fifty to sixty Iroquois fight the French at Montreal, losing a Captain in the battle (JR 36:131).
  - June 22. Fr. Druillettes, Mr. Godefroy, Jean Guerin and Noel Tekwerimat leave with the Abenaki and Sokoki for New England with seven to eight canoes (JR 36:129).
  - June 29. Two Algonquins captured by five Iroquois at the fall of la Chaudiere opposite Sillery (JR 36:129, 36:131).
  - June 30. Another Algonquin is taken toward la Poterie by the same five Iroquois (JR 36:129, 36:131).
  - July 4. News of fifty Iroquois defeating the Tangwaonronnons on Lake Nipissing (JR 36:131).
  - July 13. Fr. Druillettes departs Coussinoc for Boston (JR 36:131).
  - July–August. Various Iroquois raids around Three Rivers (JR 36:131).
  - End of Summer. Onondaga defeat a number of Hurons in the isle Ahwendoe (JR 37:99).
  - September 22. Two hundred Iroquois are discovered near Sillery, prompting a troop of Frenchmen to come defend it (JR 36:139). News that Teotondiaton has been captured and of the desolation of the Neutral Nation. The Hurons of Atahontaenrat and Arendaeronnons have surrendered to the Seneca and are leaguings with them against the Mohawks (JR 36:139, 36:177).
  - September 26. Thirty-six Huron canoes are on their way to settle in the Quebec colony (JR 36:139).
  - October 25. News that the Iroquois are in Attikameg country as far as Lake Kisakami. They kill three men in a night attack and take twenty women and children captive (JR 36:147; 37:69; cf. also 37:95).
- 1651–2** – Winter. Mohawks go to war toward the Atrakwae or Susquehannocks in full force but receive the worst of it (JR 37:95, 37:99).
- 1652** – End of winter. A band of Iroquois dealt a “considerable blow” to the Attikamegs. Another band captured twenty Algonquins at the Païsans. (JR 37:99).
- March 3. A party of 28 Hurons and Algonquins under Torotati is attacked by Iroquois near Lake St. Pierre (JR 37:93). Torotati is defeated in an engagement March 6 at the river of la Magdelaine (JR 38:45).
  - March 10. News that the Neutrals have made an alliance with the Susquehannocks against the Iroquois. Senecas were defeated by Neutrals and Seneca women have taken refuge with the Cayuga. The Mohawks and the Sokokis are killing one another (JR 37:95).
  - May–October. Iroquois raids around Montreal and Three Rivers (JR 38:45, 37:99, 37:111, 38:45)
  - May 10. Fr. Buteux a Frenchman and a Huron are attacked by 14 Iroquois at Three rivers; Buteux is killed (JR 37:99, 37:125, 38:45) Sometime after this some Attikamegs flee from the Iroquois threats to Tadoussac (JR 37:203)
  - May 13. Some Algonquins en route to the Attikameg are ambushed by the same 14 Iroquois who killed Buteux. (JR 37:99, 37:125, 38:45)

- 1652** – May 15. A Huron woman is captured by Iroquois at Montreal (JR 38:45).  
 – May 16. Eleven Algonquins hunting (or lying in wait) in the islands of St. Pierre are surprised and defeated by twenty Iroquois (JR 37:99; 38:45)  
 – June 19. News that the Iroquois are very far in the country of the Attikamegs and have defeated them for the third time (JR 38:45)  
 – July 2. Canoes and a shallop are attacked by eighty Iroquois in thirteen canoes opposite Three Rivers. Fire is exchanged, then parleys, and two Iroquois finally are captured and burned on July 4th; one of these is the Mohawk chief Aontarisati (JR 37:107; 38:45, 41:43).  
 – July 3 news (probably from the captives): A thousand Iroquois have captured Atrakwae and carried off 5–600 men; Mohawk lost ten men, all the Iroquois together have lost 130. Captures at Ekaentouton and Askikwannhe (JR 37:107).  
 – July 25. A hundred allied Indians set out looking for Iroquois return on August 7th having fought two engagements, with two killed (JR 38:45).  
 – August 7–19. Several canoe engagements on St. Lawrence; numerous casualties including du Plessis, the governor of Three Rivers (JR 37:111; 38:45). During the last battle, a band of Iroquois separates from main force and kills two Huron farmers near French settlements (JR 38:45). This attack said to be in retaliation for the death of Captain Aontarisati (JR 40:97).  
 – November. Nine Algonquin hunters capture five Abenaki, thinking them Iroquois, and bring them back to Sillery where they are beaten and about to be executed. Noel Tekouerimat demands a general council, which grants them all their lives. Three are held hostage while two others are sent home with a petition to rescue Algonquin prisoners of the Sokoki (JR 40:195).  
 – Beginning of December. The two Abenaki captured in November are sent from Sillery to their homeland (JR 40:195).  
 – December 17. Two Hurons captured a league from Three Rivers (JR 38:169)
- 1652-3.** – Winter. Neutrals numbering 800 winter west of Lake Erie; Petun at Teantorai (JR 38:179).
- 1653** – April–June. Various Iroquois raids near Three Rivers, and one at Lake Nipissing (JR 38:171, 38:175, 40:97).  
 – close of May. The two Abenaki captured in November return to Sillery as ambassadors with presents renewing the peace with the Algonquins (JR 40:195).  
 – June 9. Twenty to thirty Iroquois pursued and defeated by Hurons (JR 38:175).  
 – June 26. Sixty Onondaga come to Montreal to seek peace; some time later an embassy of Oneida follows suit (JR 40:85).  
 – July 15. News of peace negotiations between the Onondaga and Fr. le Moine (JR 38:179).  
 – July 20. News that Indians from Gaspé, some Etchemins and Montagnais going to war against the Iroquois. English at war against Dutch and Iroquois (JR 38:179).  
 – July 21?. Six hundred men, mostly Mohawks, start off to attack Three Rivers in vengeance for the death of Captain Aontarisati (JR 38:189; 40:85, 40:97).  
 – July 31. News that a thousand men are uniting against the Iroquois: 400 Potawatomi, 200 Ottawa, 100 Winnebago and “Achawi”, and from the Ojibwa 200 Saulteaux and 100 Mississauga and Achiligouan. (JR 38:179)  
 – August 20. Fr. Poncet and another Frenchman are captured by six Iroquoised Hurons and four Mohawks at Cap rouge near Sillery. (JR 38:189; 40:119).  
 – August 21. Thirty-two Frenchmen in six canoes leave Quebec to pursue the Iroquois that took Poncet (JR 38:189; 40:119). News that 30 Hurons surprised

- 17 Mohawks in ambush behind the island of St. Helene, killing one, taking five prisoner. Two Hurons were killed, two wounded. News that the Onondaga and Oneida desire peace; a nation near the English makes war on the Mohawks; the Mohawk are making an alliance with the Dutch against the English who declared war on them; the Susquehannocks are warring with the Mohawks and Senecas (JR 38:189).
- 1653** – August 22–30. The fort at Three Rivers is surrounded by 500–600 Iroquois. A shallop is attacked by eleven Mohawk canoes to a draw. The Iroquois ravage the French crops in the fields and the livestock; parleys begin on the 24th. A troop of Hurons bearing Iroquois captives from Montreal run into the Mohawks besieging the place, but spare their captives. They are all taken along with four Onondagas who warn the Mohawks not to attack their embassy. All are spared. Mohawks talk peace and send two or three canoes to pursue the band who took Fr. Poncet; the siege is broken up and following this a forty days' truce is kept (JR 38:189; 40:97; 40:119, 40:157).
- Beginning of September. a Mohawk captain named Andioura leaves Three Rivers for Quebec to offer peace terms to the Governor (JR 40:157).
  - October 3. Fr. Poncet leaves the Iroquois country for Quebec (JR 40:119).
  - October 24. Iroquois bring back Fr. Poncet to Montreal (JR 38:197; 40:119).
  - November 4 (or 5). Seven Iroquois accompany Fr. Poncet on his arrival at Quebec (JR 38:197; 40:119)
  - November 6. At Quebec Mohawks offer 16 presents to the French for peace (JR 38:197; 40:119).
  - November 9. The French offer 23 presents in return (JR 38:197). Two Frenchman accompany Mohawks back as hostages (JR 41:43).
  - November 17. News that an Iroquois and a Mahican were killed near Montreal by some Hurons. Hurons and Algonquins offer presents to Mohawks at Three Rivers, who are allied with the Mahicans (JR 38:197; 41:43).
  - November 18. Three murderers in chains arrive from Three Rivers. The Mohawks have given the Hurons presents to entice them into their country (JR 38:197).
- 1653 or 1654** – Some Onondagas are killed in the country of the Ontôagannha (JR 47:139).
- 1654** – January 31. News that the Onondaga have offered presents to the Montreal Hurons to entice them to come settle in Onondaga. A secret council is held to discuss the Onondaga sending 400 men and 100 women to Montreal Island to bring them (JR 41:19)
- February 5. Onondaga ambassadors come to Montreal, offer peace presents to the French, and secretly meet with the Hurons to entice them to move to Onondaga (JR 41:43).
  - April. After a peaceful winter, a young French hunter is captured at Montreal by a band of Oneida (JR 41:43). The Onondaga captain Sagochiendagehtë at Montreal volunteers to be a hostage until the Frenchman is returned; when the captive is returned the Onondagas offer wampum to confirm the peace (JR 41:43). News that war has broken out with the Erie. At the instigation of refugee Hurons, and/or because 25 of 30 Erie ambassadors were killed by the Seneca in retaliation for a murder by an Erie (JR 42:175), the Eries burned a Seneca village, destroyed a band of 80 Iroquois returning from Lake Huron, and captured captain Annenraes. The four Upper Iroquois tribes are banding together to retaliate this summer with 1800 men, 1200 having already set out (JR 41:43; 41:109, 42:175).

- 1654** – Summer. Twelve hundred Iroquois enter Erie country; villages are abandoned and Rigué is sacked; the 2,000–3,000 fleeing Erie warriors are pursued. After five days the Erie build a fort and dig in. The Onondaga attack it with counter-palisades and canoes; the defenders try to flee and are killed, as are the inhabitants. 300 escapees regroup and attack the Onondaga, but are defeated (JR 42:73, 42:111, 42:187, 42:175, 45:203).
- Father LeMoine leaves for Onondaga, but Mohawks waylay the party, killing some of his guides (JR 41:199).
  - A few days later, the “Flemish bastard” brings back two French hostages to Quebec (JR 41:43).
  - August 5. Fr. le Moine arrives at Onondaga.
  - August 10. Peace embassy arrives from the four Upper Iroquois nations and the Seneca and Loup captives are returned; Iroquois respond gratefully and invite French to dwell and establish a mission by the Onondaga’s lake (JR 41:109; 41:131; 41:213).
  - September 9. News that three hunters have been killed by the Eries a days’ journey from Onondaga, igniting a war (JR 41:107).
- 1655** – May 29. A band of seven or eight Mohawks murders Brother Liegeois in the fields outside Sillery (JR 42:263).
- August 17. Fr. le Moine leaves Montreal on an embassy to confirm the peace with the Mohawks, with twelve Mohawks and two Frenchmen (JR 42:37).
  - September 12. Onondaga delegation of 18 men travels to Quebec and in the name of all the four Upper Iroquois nations offer presents for peace with French, Algonquin and Hurons; request that inhabitants, priests, soldiers and weapons be sent to them (JR 42:49).
  - September 17. Le Moine reaches Agnié to a good reception and presents are traded (JR 42:37).
  - September 19. Frs. Chaumonot and Dablon depart Quebec for Onondaga (JR 43:99, 44:185). On Oct. 30, they meet sixty Oneida warriors led by Atondatochan, on warpath against the Amikwa (JR 42:75). They arrive at Onondaga on Nov. 5 and the Upper Iroquois ask them not to lump them in with the Mohawks; the French ask them to end the war with the Amikwa (JR 42:85). The Onondaga say that they are at war with the Erie and that hostilities would be opened in spring (JR 42:121).
  - September. Soon after Chaumonot and Dablon depart, the Seneca declare their intentions of peace and say that next winter they will send an embassy, but when they start home in November they are murdered along the way; the Mohawks are suspected (JR 43:99).
- 1656** – Beginning of January. A Seneca peace embassy arrives in Quebec; they grant presents and ask for priests. But while hunting between Three Rivers and Quebec the captain of the Seneca Ahriarantouan is shot by Mohawks, almost causing war between the nations (JR 43:99; 43:167).
- February 11. Deputy from Oneida calls a peace council at Onondaga and distributes presents (JR 42:189).
  - February 24. Three warriors return empty-handed to Onondaga after more than a year’s absence from the Erie war. The Hurons, Petun, Ahondihronnons, Atiraguenrek, Atiaonrek, Takoulguehronnons and Gentaguetehronnons are described as conquered (JR 42:195).
  - March 2. Father Dablon leaves Onondaga for Quebec, arriving there at the beginning of April (JR 44:185).

- 1656** – April 25. Two Mohawks kill and wound two Hurons below Quebec. Twenty Hurons pursue the Mohawks, one escapes and the other is captured and burned at the island of Orleans. Three hundred Mohawks then appear and despite peaceful overtures to the French are poised to attack Orleans in revenge. Fr. Le Moyne is sent to speak with them, and the warriors disband (JR 43:99).
- May 17. Some French and Onondagas depart Quebec to start a colony in Onondaga, passing the Mohawks unawares (JR 43:99; 43:129).
  - May 18. The Mohawks conceal themselves in the woods ten or twelve leagues above Quebec and attack the rear-guard of canoes on the way to Onondaga. When the Onondagas and French threaten them, they say they have made a mistake and return the prisoners (JR 43:99; 43:129).
  - May 19–20. Mohawks hide near the Huron village on Orleans; in the morning they ambush them, kill and take captives and then retreat to the south. Seventy-one Hurons are lost, but the Mohawks do not capture any French because of the peace (JR 43:99).
  - June 8. The travelers to Onondaga meet up with Mohawks who flee into the woods, but return and are plundered by the Onondaga as reprisal for the attack of the 300 Mohawks on May 18 (JR 43:129).
  - June 25. Some hunters see the travelers to Onondaga and flee; the Onondagas and French seize what they leave behind, but when one of these hunters is captured they are found to be Susquehannocks, with whom the French are not at war. The French return the plundered goods (JR 43:129).
  - June 29. The Onondaga travelers meet three canoes of Mohawks returning from the Amikwa with four scalps and three captives (JR 43:129).
  - July 11. The French arrive on the shore of Onondaga Lake where they are to build their settlement (JR 44:185; not in excerpts – 43:157).
  - July 24. A council is called at Onondaga and successfully resolves the Seneca-Mohawk conflict over the murder of Ahriarantouan in January (JR 43:167).
  - July 26. The Mohawks are admonished that bad behavior has led to war with the Mahican and Susquehannock (JR 43:179).
  - End of August. Thirty Frenchmen and sixty Ottawa canoes are journeying to the Ottawa country and evade a Mohawk ambush along the river. The French traders remain at Three Rivers but Fathers Garreau and Dreuilletes push on with 250 Algonquins and Hurons. The 120 Mohawks sneak ahead and lay an ambush in the river, and on the 30th they kill many of the advance guard including Fr. Garreau and take refuge in a fort. The other Ottawas disembark and attack, but cannot take the fort. Parlays are held to no avail, until the Ottawas sneak away in their canoes, leaving Fr. Dreuilletes behind. The Mohawks return Fr. Garreau mortally wounded to Montreal, and give presents of consolation to the French (JR 42:225).
  - Autumn. The remaining Hurons on Orleans sue for peace with the Mohawks; it is granted on condition that they move to Agnié next Spring (JR 43:187).
  - November 5. Fr. Le Moine returns to Quebec from the Mohawks, who maintain peace with the French, are making peace with the Hurons, and are willing to make peace with the Algonquins if they send an embassy (JR 42:255).
  - November 17. News that the Algonquins have recently spoken to the Mohawks and there is peace on all sides (JR 42:255).
  - December 26. Huron ambassadors return to Quebec from the Mohawks; the Mohawks will come in Spring in force to seek the Hurons at Quebec (JR 42:261).

- 1657** – April 1. Two Mohawks give presents to the Hurons at Quebec (JR 43:33).
- May 6–12. Despite threats of war, and sporadic incidents, the Onondaga and Mohawk renew peace with French, Hurons and Algonquins (JR 43:35).
  - June 2. Fourteen Huron women, with children, depart Quebec to live in Mohawk country (JR 43:49).
  - July 26. Fifty Christian Hurons, 15–16 Seneca and 30 Onondaga leave Quebec with Frs. Ragueneau and Du Peron to settle in Onondaga. (JR 44:69; 44:185).
  - August 3. Eight Hurons traveling from Quebec to Onondaga with Fr. Ragueneau and the Onondagas are murdered by an Onondaga captain. Ragueneau admonishes them to stop the violence and continue the journey peaceably (JR 43:59, 44:69, 44:149, 44:185).
  - August 9. Twenty Mohawks land at Quebec and try to entice the Hurons into their country (JR 44:185).
  - August 21. More Hurons leave Quebec to live with the Mohawks (JR 43:53; 43:187, 44:185).
  - August 26. Fr. Le Moine departs for Mohawk country with some other Hurons (JR 44:185).
  - September 3. A band of fifty Onondagas send a delegation to the Hurons of Quebec, to entice them to Onondaga. The Hurons decide to postpone the expedition until the next Spring, so the Onondagas are compelled to wait with them, averting an attack on the French colonists at Onondaga (JR 44:149, 44:185).
  - September 9. The priests at Onondaga send word back to Quebec of the massacre of the Hurons on August 3. Oneidas attempt to slay the messengers but fail (JR 44:185)
  - October 6. The news arrives at Quebec that Onondaga youths have killed some Hurons of Quebec (JR 43:59; 44:69, 44:185).
  - October 16. News that a band of Onondaga or Oneida is prowling around Three Rivers and Quebec and has robbed two Frenchmen (JR 43:59).
  - October 21. Monsieur D'Ailleboust calls a meeting of the chief men, who decide that force can be met with force, but no offensive initiatives taken. The same day, he tells the Algonquins and Hurons they can fight the Iroquois only out of sight of the French settlements, and that the French will protect them only within those limits (JR 44:185).
  - October 24. News from Three Rivers that nine Algonquins have gone to war against both the lower and upper Iroquois (JR 43:59).
  - October 25. Thirty Oneidas have killed three Frenchmen at Montreal (JR 43:67, 44:185).
  - October 29. Three Oneida offer presents to the French, protesting their innocence for the murders and blame the Cayugas (JR 44:185).
  - November 1. D'Ailleboust orders the blanket arrest of all Iroquois who present themselves in the French settlements (JR 44:185).
  - November 3. Five Mohawks are imprisoned as hostages for the murderers of Oct. 25 (JR 43:67); the nine Algonquins who went to war on Oct. 24 return with an Onondaga scalp; the Onondaga's companion escapes to Montreal but is arrested (JR 43:67, 44:185).
  - November 7. Some Mohawks are sent home to explain why they have been imprisoned. The French at Onondaga are also sent word, but the messenger does not deliver that and instead says that the French have allied themselves with the Algonquins who killed his companion on Nov. 3 (JR 43:67, 44:185).
  - December 1 (?). News that Iroquois' neighbors are all subjugated. Also "not



long ago” they brought war to Algonquian-speaking people beyond Lake Erie (JR 43:263; 44:49). Iroquois war-parties travel 200–300 leagues and now have more foreigners than natives in their home country. Onondaga has seven nations in it, Seneca has eleven. (JR 43:263).

**1658** – January 3. News from Father Le Moine currently in Mohawk country: 200 Mohawks under Captains Aouigaté and Anguieout went hunting near Tadoussac intending to surprise the Montagnais and Algonquins on the river, 1,200 Iroquois under Teharihoguen, including 400 Mohawks, are going to invade the Ottawa country in retaliation for the killing of thirty Iroquois there about a year ago (JR 44:185).

– February. Three Mohawks arrive at Montreal and offer presents to the governor for the release of the prisoners, but he refuses until the Montreal murderers are handed over (JR 44:85, 44:185). After deliberating in council to prepare in secret for war, two hundred Mohawks, forty Oneidas, and some Onondagas take to the field. The French colony at Onondaga is threatened and the colonists prepare to depart in secret (JR 44:149).

– March 20. Fifty-three Frenchmen secretly depart from their house of St. Marie at Onondaga (JR 44:149; 44:173; 44:185, 44:311).

– March 25. News from Fr. Le Moine in New Holland that a part of the Iroquois have been in the field for two months to exterminate the Hurons and Upper Algonquins. The remaining Iroquois plan to attack on the Sagné and Tadoussac (JR 44:185).

– April 3. The Frenchmen from Onondaga arrive safely at Montreal, and twenty days later return to Quebec (JR 44:95, 44:149, 44:173).

– May 21. Fr. Le Moyne arrives at Quebec with three Mohawks, one of whom is an elder. In the presence of the Manhattan Dutch, the Mohawks ask for the release of the hostages and this is granted (JR 44:95).

– June 13. Three Frenchmen are captured and burned by six Oneida near Montreal (JR 44:101, 44:221).

– June 15. Twenty-three Hurons in three canoes go to war against the Iroquois (JR 44:101).

– July 12 or 13. A Montagnais woman is killed, two Algonquin women wounded, and two Algonquin girls escaped when the Iroquois attack in Monsieur de Repentigni’s field; 220 men instantly give chase, and 250 set out the next day but the Iroquois have retreated (JR 44:101; 44:227). News that the Iroquois have been repulsed at Montreal (JR 44:101).

– August–September. Iroquois captures near Cap Rouge, Quebec (JR 44:101, 44:105, 44:107, 44:229).

– September 4. Seven Mohawks including Atougouaekouan are brought to Quebec, having been captured at Three Rivers posing as ambassadors (JR 44:107, 44:229). A Huron Oneida is sent back there to inform them the captives are alive (JR 44:117).

– September 16. News that two of the three Frenchmen captured on June 13 are returned to Montreal (JR 44:107).

– October 19. Eleven Onondaga prisoners escape from prison at Montreal (JR 44:117).

– October 20. Three Mohawks going to war against Tadoussac, damaged their canoe and took refuge with the French (JR 44:117).

– November 5. Twelve Mohawks capture four Frenchmen opposite Three Rivers, then 4 others toward Lake St. Pierre; seven are taken to Agnié, the other

- is sent back to notify the French. On Nov. 20, the seven Frenchmen are returned to Three Rivers by six Mohawks with Fr. Le Moine and a Dutchman, and the release of prisoners is sought. One Oneida out of five is freed on Nov. 22 (JR 44:117).
- 1658** – Late. News that the Onondaga have declared war against the Mascouten near Green Bay (JR 44:249); the Mohawks are this winter in a war against the Nation of Fire (JR 45:99). Several Algonquian-speaking nations have been “maltreated by the Iroquois” (JR 44:251).
- 1659** – April 3. Three Oneidas arrive at Quebec and offer satisfaction for the three killed at Montreal and ask for the release of the Oneida and Mohawk prisoners without which there will be no peace (JR 45:81). Receiving the Oneida’s satisfaction for the murder on April 28, the Algonquins release some captives – two Oneidas and two Mohawks (JR 45:87).
- April 18. News that fourteen Mohawks took two Algonquins prisoner, Mitewemeg and his sister, on lake St. Pierre. But Tegarihogen, Iroquois amabassador, brought the captives back to Three Rivers (JR 45:87).
- May 7. Fr. Le Moine, two Algonquins a Frenchman, the Oneida ambassadors and the freed prisoners leave Three Rivers on an embassy to the Mohawk (JR 45:95).
- June. Various Iroquois raids along the St. Lawrence (JR 45:97).
- July 3. Fr. Le Moine arrives at Quebec from Agnie, after peace councils are held, two Mohawks are sent back and two Oneidas are held until the Onondaga return the Frenchmen (JR 45:99).
- August 21. Indians arrive at Three Rivers with nine Iroquois scalps, taken a day’s journey above Montreal (JR 45:107).
- August 25. Eight French are captured by a hundred or sixty Mohawk near Three Rivers (JR 45:107; 45:109).
- August 27. A shallop with 25 men leaves Quebec for Three Rivers (JR 45:107).
- August 29. Seventeen canoes of Algonquins and Hurons leave Quebec to go to war at Three Rivers (JR 45:107).
- September. Iroquois raids around Quebec, Cap Rouge, and Three Rivers (JR 45:31, 45:113, 45:115).
- September 3. News that bands of seven, seven, ten and fifteen Iroquois are lurking about, that the Frenchmen taken to Onondaga were burned there, and that war was declared despite the release of the prisoners; the eight French taken at Three Rivers were being brought to Agnie to be burned (JR 45:109).
- November 1. Warriors return, having killed two men and taken a Mohawk youth captive (JR 45:117).
- 1659-60** – Winter. The Iroquois are attacking the Sioux, 500–600 leagues away (JR 45:237).
- 1660** – end of Winter. Forty Hurons under Captain Anahotaha, with six Algonquins under Mitewemeg and 17 Frenchmen under sieur Dolard are spotted below La Chaudiere and 200 Onondaga in canoes force the allies into a nearby delapidated fort. The Onondaga attack but are repulsed; with newly-arrived help from 500 Mohawks, the fort is beseiged for ten days and the defenders treat for peace and some abandon the fort. The Iroquois send envoys but these are shot dead. Enraged Iroquois storm the fort and eventually climb the palisade, killing all but five Frenchmen and four Hurons who are taken captive (JR 45:157, 45:241, 46:23, 46:31, 46:35, 46:53).

- 1660** – May 15. The Algonquin Tadoussac warriors return, having surprised a canoe of Iroquois, killed three and took one Iroquois Mahican prisoner. They learn that 900–1,200 enemies are gathering at the split rock. (JR 45:153, 46:85).
- May 18. The Mahican prisoner is burned (JR 45:153, 46:85).
  - May 31. Monsieur d'Ailleboust dies (JR 45:157).
  - June 5. Canoe of eight Iroquoised Hurons carries off a woman and four children at Petit Cap. At 10 PM, these are discovered passing Point de Levi by twenty Montagnais or Algonquin and eight Frenchmen. Three Iroquois drown, five are captured, of whom three were burned, one given to Three Rivers and one spared (JR 45:155, 46:85).
  - June. Mohawks bring presents to Onondagas in an effort to mount an invasion of Three Rivers in August (JR 46:119).
  - July 8. Some date after this, two Algonquins are killed by Iroquois; the governor sends a hundred men in pursuit, but they are ambushed (JR 45:159).
  - July 30. News that various Algonquin nations have fled the Iroquois to the North Sea and to the coast of Lake Superior (JR 45:217, 45:219).
  - August. Fifty Cayugas appear at Montreal talking peace and seeking missionaries. The governor believes trickery but makes use of their presence to avert an attack and to gain French prisoners (JR 46:117).
  - August 15. Two French are captured at Three Rivers by 20–25 Iroquois (JR 45:161).
  - October. News of a new Iroquois army of 600 men (JR 45:163).
  - November. Confirmation of an Iroquois army (JR 45:165).
  - Sixty canoes of Ottawas pass Montreal with Fr. Menard. One hundred Onondaga lay an unsuccessful ambush for them capturing only three men—the rest proceed in safety (JR 46:75, 46:119).
- 1661** – end of Winter. A hundred and sixty Iroquois appear at Montreal and capture thirteen Frenchmen, followed soon after by the taking of ten more French captives from Montreal (JR 46:205).
- end of May. The Iroquois attack fourteen men of the Tionontati eleven days from Keewenaw Bay, killing four (JR 46:145).
  - June 1. Forty canoes of Frenchmen with Frs. Drueillettes and Dablon depart Tadoussac for Hudson Bay; five days later 60–70 Mohawks attack the Frenchmen at Tadoussac. The 100 inhabitants of Tadoussac flee (JR 46:173, 46:251, 47:69).
  - June 18. Mohawks attack Beupré and the island of Orleans, with eight and seven victims respectively (JR 46:179, 47:69).
  - June 22. Seven or eight Frenchmen in a shallop under Seneschal Lauzon are killed by 40 Mohawks on the river of René Maheu, their bodies returned on the 24th (JR 46:179, 46:205, 47:69).
  - June 25. A shallop coming from Three Rivers encounters the Iroquois with six captives at Cap a l'Arbre. News that thirty Attikamegs traveling north to trade by way of Three Rivers were defeated by 70–80 Mohawks, part of a band of 300; 24 Mohawks perish in this engagement. One hundred and eighty Mohawks intend to rendezvous the Algonquins at Tadoussac (JR 46:179, 46:205).
  - June 29. A shallop arriving from Montreal met the same Iroquois in the islands of Richelieu. Four Cayuga ambassadors, speaking also for the Onondagas, bring four captives back seeking the release of eight prisoners, and so the French may return to Onondaga with a priest, or else the lives of twenty French captives at Onondaga are in jeopardy (JR 46:179, 46:223, 47:69).

- 1661** – July 2. News from Necouba that the Iroquois have surprised and destroyed the Squirrel Nation, terrifying and dispersing the surrounding tribes all the way to Hudson Bay; they have also lain an ambush for Drueillettes' and Dablon's party at Lake St. John but missed them (JR 46:285, 46:289, 46:291, 47:139).
- July 21. Fr. Le Moine leaves Montreal for Onondaga with the Cayuga Ambassadors, to secure the return of the twenty French captives (JR 46:155, 46:181, 47:69).
  - July 26 ? Fr. Le Moine meets three canoes of Oneida on Lake Ontario to fight the Amikwa. News from these Oneida that the Susquehannocks have killed three Cayugas in their fields. Shortly thereafter Le Moine meets a canoe of eight to ten Onondaga who are joining thirty more Onondagas under Otreouati to Montreal, in revenge for his imprisonment there (JR 47:69).
  - August 12. Le Moine addresses the Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca in council and asks for the return of the French prisoners, but not the Mohawks. Several days later, the Iroquois deliberate and agree to release seven French at Onondaga and two at Cayuga, to be escorted by Garacontie to Montreal; the other ten will remain with Le Moine during the Winter and be returned in the Spring. Three Frenchmen including François Hertel have been tortured but remain alive at Agnié (JR 47:69).
  - September. Fr. le Maistre, accompanied by eight Frenchmen, is killed at Montreal by fifty Iroquois. A Frenchman is killed, another taken captive, but the six remaining cut their way through and escape (JR 46:189, 46:205).
  - September. Garacontie and nine French leave Onondaga, and meet with Otreouati's Onondaga party, bearing scalps and the cassock of Fr. le Maistre. The Onondaga and Seneca fear to continue, but Garacontie insists; they later meet a band of Oneida on an expedition against the French, but with presents Garacontie turns them back (JR 47:69).
  - September 19. Baron Dubois d'Avaugour replaces Monsieur the Viconte d'Argenson as governor of Canada (JR 46:241).
  - October 5. Garacontie and the nine French captives arrive at Montreal, who relate how well they were treated by the Onondaga (JR 47:69).
  - October 20. News that the Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca seek peace with the French because of a new war with the Susquehannock, who are ambushing the Seneca along the trade route to the Dutch, forcing them to form large trading caravans. The Mohawk and Oneida are continuing war with the French and with three other nations: the Abenakis, Mahicans and "people of the East" who have killed many of them (JR 46:155, 47:69, 47:215).
  - November 25. Fr. Vignar and six others are killed or captured by the Iroquois (JR 46:189).
  - Beginning of winter. Iroquois capture a number of families in the North, then surprised others during a feast at Necouba, where no Iroquois had ever been. They had planned to push on the Hudson Bay, then descend via Lake St. John laden with spoils and captives (JR 47:139).
- 1662** – February. Sieur Lambert Closse, leading 26 men to aid Frenchmen in danger, is killed by 200 Onondagas (JR 47:155).
- March 25 (feast of the Annunciation). Five Iroquois and a woman arrive at Quebec, including Otourewati and Aharrihron. The offer presents and the French offer some in return to bring back Le Moine and the French (JR 47:277).
  - Early Spring. A hundred Mohawk and Oneida set out to lay an ambush for the Ottawa at some difficult rapids. After hunting for a considerable time, and near-

ing the enemy's country, they are surprised by a band of Saulteaux, who toward daybreak boldly fire upon and rush them from every direction, leaving only a few Iroquois alive to bring word of the defeat (JR 48:75).

**1662** – April 9 (Easter Sunday). News of a battle between French and Iroquois at Montreal, two French and several Iroquois wounded (JR 47:277).

– April. News that thirty Mohawks went to exact tribute from the Abenaki (Etchemin?) on the River Kennebec but were slain, triggering the Mohawks to send 200 warriors and sack a village (JR 47:139, 47:279).

– August 25. Thirty-five Iroquois attack fourteen Frenchmen on an island near Montreal. Monsieur Brignac and two others stand and fight, killing the Iroquois captain which demoralizes the enemy, but they soon recover themselves and take the three captives back to Agnié and Oneida (JR 50:55).

– September 15. Fr. Le Moine returns from the Iroquois with the French captives (JR 47:287).

– September 18. Recap of the events of 1661–1662: Iroquois are involved in many new wars, some 300–400 leagues away. A band of Onondaga is attacking the Ontdagannha 400 leagues to the west-southwest in retaliation for the loss of some Onondaga there eight to nine years ago. An expedition is beginning a two year war against the Sioux, and another is heading towards the Tobacco Nation near the Amikwa (JR 47:139).

– September 21. Thirty habitants leave to attack the Iroquois, but return on Nov. 1 having accomplished nothing (JR 47:291).

– September 30–October 6. Iroquois raids around Quebec (JR 47:289, 47:291).

– October 27. A shallop arrives with Mr. Boucher and a gentlemen sent by the king to command a hundred soldiers in advance of the aid for the coming year (JR 47:291).

**1663** – Beginning of April. Eight hundred Seneca, Cayuga and Onondaga leave on an expedition to sack the Susquehannock village, but find the place well-fortified. They attempt only some light skirmishes and try to take the place by trickery; twenty-five Iroquois who enter are immediately seized and burned in sight of their army. The Susquehannock threaten invasion, and the Iroquois disband. The Iroquois wish to draw the French into their homeland to help defend it, but a false rumor prevents an embassy from departing (JR 48:77).

– May. Seven Mohawks appear at Montreal and ask for a parley – they offer to leave four of their number as hostages and send 3 back to bring the remaining Frenchmen from captivity. The four are housed among the Hurons, but one midnight they awake and murder a man and two women, take three girls captive and flee (JR 48:85).

– May 12. Forty Iroquois, mostly Mohawks but some Oneida, capture two Frenchmen in the fields and split up (JR 48:93). Meanwhile, 42 Algonquins from Sillery under Gahronho ambush the returning Mohawks at Lake Champlain. Gahronho kills Garistatsia in single combat, and the Mohawks are routed: ten are dead, three captured, and the Frenchman rescued (JR 47:303, 48:99).

– June 8. Monsieur de Chevalier leaves on a war party with 35 soldiers and settlers in nine canoes (JR 47:305).

– Autumn. Mohawks raid on Richelieu Islands (JR 49:119).

– November. Fr. Nouvel finds 68 residents of Isle Verte, Papinachois, and others, shut up in a fortification, having discovered a large encampment of Iroquois on the banks of the St. Lawrence (JR 48:279).

- 1664** – February 26. the Marquis de Tracy sails from France with 4 Companies of infantry (JR 49:217).
- May. 100 Montagnais and Algonquins defeat 33 upper Iroquois under Garakontie (JR 48:235, 49:137). Six hundred Iroquois, mostly Mohawks, try to sack a Mahican town. A long and bloody counterattack by 100 Mahicans ends in the latter retreating into their village. The Iroquois press their advantage at daybreak and assault the town, but are not well covered and retreat with great losses (JR 49:137).
  - September 18. Some Cayuga, speaking for all the Iroquois except the Oneida, arrive at Quebec to negotiate peace, offering twenty presents to the French and ten to the Algonquins (JR 48:237, 49:137, 49:149). News that the Iroquois have been making “vigorous war” for some time with the Mahicans, Abenakis and Susquehannocks (JR 49:149).
  - A short time after the above embassy, Garakontie joins the Senecas in offering 100 belts to the French. Thirty Ambassadors set out but are routed by Algonquins at the Great Sault, threatening war (JR 49:137).
  - middle of winter. A hundred Iroquois, Mohawks and Onondaga go to war in three bands, including 30 to Mistassini. Another 30 toward Piagouagami kill six people there, but 45 of the Piagouagami take refuge in a fort. An inhabitant discovers the Iroquois and 14 of them counterattack: four are killed, three taken prisoner and seven return to the fort while the Iroquois hasten home with the four captives, torturing them along the way. One breaks free and rallies the Montagnais to give chase. They catch up to the Iroquois in a redoubt, which they charge at daybreak: 18 Iroquois are killed, two women are taken prisoners and the captives freed; two Montagnais are killed (JR 50:37).
- 1665** – From a temporary fort built on an islet in Lake Nemiscau, the Iroquois make sallies against the Cree. On one occasion they kill or take captive 80 people, forcing the Cree to abandon their settlement along the lake (JR 56:183).
- May 5. death of Governor de Mesy (JR 49:159).
  - May 7. A hundred and fifty warriors leave Three Rivers to go to war. News of massacres at Montreal (JR 49:159).
  - June 17 and 19. Four companies of the Carignan-Salieres regiment arrive at Quebec from France (JR 49:161, 50:81).
  - June 30. Four more companies arrive with Monsieur de Tracy (JR 49:161, 50:81).
  - July 1. More than 300 Ottawa and others from the Sault on the way to Quebec meet with 20–30 Iroquois in a temporary fort. The Ottawas “beseige” the fort but do not attack; lack of water and food forces the Iroquois to offer presents and the Ottawa depart after only a few skirmishes (JR 49:243).
  - July. At Cape Massacre some Iroquois fire on the canoes of the Ottawa delegation and kill several men before fleeing into the woods (JR 49:243).
  - July 16. A supply ship arrives at Quebec bearing horses (JR 50:81).
  - July 20. Ottawa delegation arrives in Quebec. News from their country that they are being attacked by the Iroquois on one side and Sioux on the other (JR 49:241); the Ottawa trade at Three Rivers and then leave for home (JR 49:243).
  - July 23. Four companies, bolstered by a company of volunteers under the Sieur de Repentigny, depart Quebec to build Fort Richelieu under Monsieur de Chamblay (JR 49:161, 49:227, 49:253). News from Three Rivers that the Iroquois had recently murdered some settlers and taken captives (JR 49:227).
  - August 19. Colonel de Salieres arrives at Quebec with four companies (JR 49:163, 50:81).

- 1665** – August 20. Four companies arrive with Captain Guillon (JR 49:163, 50:81).  
 – August. Monsieur Sorel and five companies of the Carignan-Salieres regiment begin the construction of Fort St. Louis (JR 49:253).  
 – September 12–14. Eight companies arrive at Quebec with Lieutenant-General de Courcelles, and Intendant Talon; 100 soldiers fall ill and are sent to the hospital to recuperate (JR 50:81).  
 – October 1. Four companies depart to wait for de Tracy at Three Rivers (JR 49:169).  
 – October 15. De Salieres finishes building Fort St. Therese (JR 49:253).  
 – October 28. News from Montreal that 20 Nipissings with their wives and children were defeated near the Petite Nation; one escaped, seven are killed, and twelve are taken alive (JR 49:173).  
 – November. Estimated military strength of the Iroquois: Mohawks have two or three villages and 300–400 fighting men; Oneida have 140 men “at most”; Onondaga have 300 men; Cayuga have 300 men; Seneca have two or three villages and 1200 men (JR 49:257).  
 – December 2. News that 25 Oneida on a hostile expedition are prevented from doing harm by six Onondagas (including apparently Garacontié) escorting Monsieur le Moine to Quebec (JR 49:177, 50:127).  
 – December 4. The six Onondagas offer de Tracy seven or eight presents for peace (JR 49:177, 50:127).
- 1666** – January 9. Governor de Courcelles leads 300 men of the Carignan-Salieres and 200 (100?) habitants to the Iroquois. By the third day, many are severely affected by frostbite and hypothermia (JR 50:127, 50:155, 50:181). Additional men are added at Three Rivers, but more severe cold forces many soldiers to be carried back: these are replaced. The army has an effective strength of 500 men, but through lack of a guide arrive in February near New Holland by mistake. Two Iroquois frontier cabins are seized, and it is learned that most of the Mohawks and Oneida are away fighting the “porcelain makers.” During skirmishes with French forces four Iroquois are killed, along with six French soldiers. The governor meets with the Dutch commandant and releases two prisoners to him then raise camp and march home all night and some of the next day, their provisions almost exhausted. They reach Fort St. Louis on March 8; over 60 men have starved (JR 50:127, 50:181).  
 – March 20. News from Montreal that 16 Cayugas had arrived there on an embassy (JR 50:181).  
 – May. Seneca peace ambassadors appear at Quebec, saying their nation has never violated the peace. They offer 34 presents to de Tracy, who first refuses but later accepts them. Soon, ambassadors from the remaining tribes including the Mohawk and Oneida sue for peace (JR 50:127).  
 – June 4. News of two murders by the Iroquois in the last three weeks, at Montreal and Fort Chambly (JR 50:189).  
 – July 20. News that Fort St. Anne is being built on an island in Lake Champlain, and the Mohawks have fallen upon some hunters there: Captain de Traversy and sieur de Chusy and another are killed, and four volunteers are captured, including Monsieur de Leroles. The Oneida embassy headed by Fr. Bechefer is recalled (JR 50:127, 50:193).  
 – July 24. Captain Sorel organizes an expedition of 200 French and 80–90 natives to march into Iroquoia but about 20 leagues from their villages he meets with an embassy returning the French captives from Fort St. Anne and offering satisfaction for the murders. Sorel therefore returns (JR 50:127).

- 1666** – July 28. Fr. Bechefer and the Oneida ambassadors return, and the latter are shut up in the fort (JR 50:193).
- August 31. A Council is held with all five Iroquois nations present; two nations (Seneca and Cayuga?) give 52 wampum belts as presents (JR 50:199).
  - September 6. De Tracy resolves to lead an army of 1,000–1,200 into Mohawk country. The impending mission of Frs. Fremin and Rafeix to Cayuga is halted. The Seneca Onnonkenritewi tries to halt the invasion, but they insist that the Mohawks must be punished and the Seneca are still welcome in Quebec. The Seneca and Cayuga leave “fairly satisfied” (JR 50:199).
  - September 14. De Tracy at the head of 600 soldiers from all the companies, 600 settlers, and 100 Huron and Algonquins depart for Iroquoia. A rendezvous is set for September 28 at Fort St. Anne, an island in Lake Champlain (JR 50:127, 50:201).
  - October 3. De Tracy leaves Fort St. Anne with the main body of troops (JR 50:127, 50:201).
  - October 7. The commanders of Forts St. Louis and l’Assomption start out after de Tracy with the rear guard. Numbering 1,300–1,400 men, the expedition arrives in Mohawk country to find four villages including Tionnontoguen abandoned except for some of the elderly. They set fire to the palisades and cabins and consume their food supply (JR 50:127, 51:201). News from the remaining old men that an army of Onondagas had recently been defeated by the Susquehannocks (JR 50:203).
  - November 5. De Tracy and his men return to Quebec; nine or ten men have drowned in Lake Champlain (JR 50:203).
  - November 8. Canaqueese with two Oneidas, including Captain Soenres, are sent back with a message that within four months these nations were to give satisfaction to the governor to his demands, and to bring some of their families (JR 50:203).
- 1667** – April 2. News from Montreal that the Five Nations are inclined to peace (JR 50:209).
- April 20. The Flemish bastard and two Oneida return without any Hurons or Algonquins, or the families that had been asked for (JR 50:209).
  - April 27. French council decides to keep the women here and to send all the men but two back to their own country, bearing a warning that if within two months they did not obey his demands, the French army would destroy them in their own country (JR 50:209).
  - July 5–10. A delegation of Mohawk and Oneida with Father Fremin give presents and ask for three Jesuits, which they are granted and so leave their families as hostage (JR 50:211, 51:81).
  - August 9. News that the Fremin delegation is detained at Fort St. Anne because 50–60 Mahican are waiting in ambush on Lake Champlain. They wait there a month for the enemy to disperse but it does not happen and they set out anyway (JR 50:215, 51:83, 51:179).
- 1667 or 1668** – Four Susquehannock women are burned at Oneida (JR 51:231).
- 1668** – January 21. Iroquois military estimated at 2,000 men bearing arms, and Ottawa are said to be more numerous (JR 51:139).
- August 20–27. Garakontie heads an Onondaga delegation to Quebec, thanking the French for not attacking the Upper Iroquois villages, and asking the governor to stop the Mahican from waging war on them. The French relay the Mahican claim that the Upper Iroquois were to blame for murders (JR 51:241).



- 1668** – October–November. Susquehannock captives are burned at Onondaga and Cayuga (JR 52:161, 52:167, 52:173).
- News from the Seneca that three detachments of warriors are prepared to set out against the Ottawa, but were detained by some of the leaders (JR 52:197).
- 1669** – Spring (?). Mahicans ambush and massacre a party of Mohawks 100 paces from their own village (JR 52:129, 53:243). During this time there are continual alarms at Oneida because of the Mahicans and Susquehannocks (JR 52:147).
- A band of twenty Iroquois is hunting near the Upper Algonquins (Ottawa?) and sack a town there, killing some inhabitants and taking about 100 women and children prisoner. The Upper Algonquins gather their neighbors and allies to form a large party which attacks and defeats the Iroquois. This threatens to open a new war, but Garakontie meets the Ottawa in council at Quebec. The Ottawa accuse the Seneca of defeating and taking their allies prisoner. Garakontie responds that the Seneca have only attacked the “Ontouagannha.” The Governor orders the Seneca to return the prisoners or be treated as enemies (JR 53:39).
  - August 14. News at Oneida from Montreal that Frenchmen have killed seven Oneidas and a leader of the Seneca while hunting, greatly angering the Iroquois (JR 53:141, 54:113). At the close of the council, there is news from the sole surviving Oneida of five Iroquois, returning from the Ontouagannha with four prisoners, were defeated by the Amikwa (JR 53:245, 54:115).
  - August 18. At dawn 300 Mahicans fire on the Mohawk town Caughnawaga, killing four and wounding two. Other Mohawks run to join the battle but find the enemy withdrawn, so they pursue and ambush them on the road at daybreak. The Mahicans retreat to their camp and the Iroquois attack them there, but the Mohawk cannot take the position and find it abandoned the next morning. Mohawk casualty estimates: 100 Mahicans, 13 Iroquois—though only 19 scalps were brought back. Mahican casualty estimates: 50 Mahican, 40 Iroquois (JR 53:137). To avenge the attack on Caughnawaga, 400 men of the four Lower Iroquois nations unsuccessfully try to take a “Loup” (Delaware?) fort near Manhattan: no Loup casualties, two Mohawks are wounded (JR 53:155).
  - August 20. A Mahican from a nation at peace with the Iroquois arrives at Oneida and offers peace presents (JR 53:243). News that most of the Onondaga warriors perished in the war against the Susquehannocks (JR 53:243, 54:111).
  - September 1. Onondaga youth begin to take the field, some 500 strong in several bands, all directed against the Ontouagannha (JR 54:117).
  - September 9. Eight Iroquois warriors set out for the Susquehannocks, joining five who left for there two weeks ago (JR 53:247).
  - September 20. A hundred and twenty warriors, mainly Oneida but including fifty Onondagas and ten Cayugas, depart for an unnamed location: probably the Susquehannock country. Oneida total military strength estimated at 160 warriors (JR 53:247).
  - Autumn. A Susquehannock ambassador arrives at Onondaga with three collars for peace. The warriors have left, so he awaits their return (JR 54:75).
- 1670** – January 27. News from Onondaga that their warriors have returned with nine Susquehannock captives: two are sent to the Cayugas, two are given to the Oneidas and there burned, and the other five remain at Onondaga, three of which are killed (JR 53:253, 54:21).
- February 5. Fourteen Oneidas (?) seek the Mahicans near Montreal. News that 600 Senecas and Cayugas are on the war-path in Ottawa country (JR 53:255).

- 1670** – March. The Susquehannock ambassador waiting in Onondaga is murdered along with his nephew (JR 54:75).
- March 4. Garakontie visits Oneida, assures them of solidarity with presents and promotes peace with the Ottawa (JR 53:255, 54:47).
  - March. 18 Senecas rout six Fox cabins at the foot of Lake Michigan while the men are hunting. The inhabitants at the time total six warriors and about 100 women and children: these are killed except 30 women taken as captives. Military strength of Fox estimated to be more than 400 warriors (JR 54:219).
  - April 26. The Fox elders invite the French to live with them and ask for the return of their wives; also to tell the Iroquois that it was the Fox's neighbors who took them prisoner, not themselves. Four Miamis present the Fox with scalps of the Iroquois in consolation for their loss (JR 54:225).
  - April 30. The Mascoutens plead that they are being "eaten" by the Iroquois (JR 54:229).
  - May 6. News that the Menominee are "almost exterminated" by the wars (JR 54:285).
  - Summer. Peace with the Iroquois allows Ottawa to move back to Ekaenton Island (JR 55:133, 57:207).
  - Garakontie and the five Nations are summoned to New Holland to discuss peace with the Mahicans (JR 55:59, 56:41).
  - Autumn (?). The Seneca take 25-30 captives from the Potawatomi. They are reprimanded by Governor de Courcelles and ordered to return them without any further harm. The Seneca therefore send an embassy headed by the Cayuga captain Saonchiogoua, bearing eight of the prisoners (JR 54:263).
  - Autumn. Funeral celebrations in honor of an Amikoué Ottawa Captain, who died three years before (1671?) and was widely renowned for victories against the Iroquois, most notably repelling 120 on Manitoulin Island leaving only a single survivor (JR 55:137).
- 1671** – For fear of the Iroquois, the Potawatomi, Sauk and Fork Nation of the Ottawa have been driven from their home country and are now living at St. Francis Xavier mission at the head of Green Bay (JR 55:183).
- September 2. Porcupine Nation of Montagnais at Lake St. John said to be "extremely reduced" by wars with the Iroquois (JR 56:155).
- 1672** – May 26. Twenty Senecas and forty Cayugas set out for war in two bands toward the Susquehannocks. The Senecas are routed and put to flight by 60 Susquehannock boys ages 15–16; one Seneca is killed and another captured. The victors hear that the Cayuga band is traveling by canoe and give chase in canoes, finally overtaking and routing them. Eight Cayugas are killed in their canoes, 15–16 return badly wounded. The Susquehannocks said to have lost 15–16 boys, and are estimated to have a total of 300 warriors (JR 56:55).
- The Petun return to Michilimackinac, having been driven from there formerly by the Iroquois (JR 56:115).
- 1672-3** – Iroquois are at peace with the Mahican and are trading at New Orange (JR 57:81).
- 1673** – May 29. News that the Senecas want peace with the Ottawas and the Susquehannocks are the only enemy the Iroquois have left (JR 57:23).
- July 6. Senecas number 800 warriors and have made peace with all the allies. They want to buy furs at Montreal rather than Orange, and for Frenchmen to live with them particularly blacksmiths and gunsmiths (JR 57:27).

- 1673/4.** Three Susquehannock captives are burned at Cayuga (JR 58:225).
- 1674** – March 5. News that an Iroquois attack took place at Lake Piecouagami, whose inhabitants are now fortifying themselves and preparing a retaliatory offensive in the Spring (JR 59:39).
- April (?). A delegation of Mistassini Montagnais travels to see Governor Frontenac to secure protection against the Iroquois (JR 59:45).
  - early July. Iroquois are said to be warring against and taking captives from the peaceable and numerous Shawnee along the Ohio (JR 59:145).
- 1675** – The Seneca have utterly defeated the Susquehannock and talk of renewing war with the French and their allies (JR 59:251).

## **APPENDIX B:**

### **TRIBAL SYNONYMY**

**Abenakis** – Abenakiois – Abnaquiois – Abnaquinois – Abnaki – Wapanachki – Wabenakies: An Algonquian-speaking tribe of New Brunswick and Maine (JR, 12:274, fn 22). Closely related to the Micmacs and perhaps the same as the Etchemins. Later allies of the French. Enemies of the Iroquois in 1647 (see JR, 31:195).

**Arosaguntacook** – Amirgankaniois – Eastern Abenaki tribe of the Androscoggin River

**Kennebec** – Akenebek – Narantsouat: Eastern Abenaki tribe of the Kennebec River

**Penacook** – Penagouc: Western Abenaki tribe of the Upper Merrimack River in southern New Hampshire.

**Sokokis** – Socokis – Socoquiois – Sokokinois – Sokouckiois – Sokoquiois – Sokoueki: A Western Abenaki tribe from the Saco River. Occasional enemies of the Mohawks and the Algonquins at Sillery (See JR, 24:311, fn 15).

**A'chawi, Nation of:** unknown nation

*Achirwachronnon*, see **Ojibwa: Achiligouan**

*Agniers/Agnierrhonons*, see **Iroquois: Mohawks**

*Agnongherronons*, see **Iroquois: Mohawks**

*Ahondihronons*, see **Neutrals: Aondinronons**

*Ahouenrochrhonons*, see **Wenros**

*Ahendarrhonons*, see **Hurons: Nation of the Rock**

*Akenebek*, see **Abenaki: Kennebec**

**Algonquins** – Algonquains – Algonkins: Both the name of a specific tribe and also used more generally for any tribe that spoke Algonquian languages. The Algonquins proper as they were known to the French were primarily made up of the following tribal groupings:

**Iroquet** – also written Hiroquet, Hirocay, Iroquay, and Yroquet – Onontchataronons (in Huron) – Ountchatarounongas – Ounountchatarounongak: the name of both the tribe and its chief (see JR, 5:289, fn 52).

**Outaoukotwemiweks** – Kotahoutouemi (JR, 18:258, fn 14).

**Keinouche** – *Kinonchepiiririk*: located south of Morrison's Island

**Island Nation** – Nation de l'Isle – Island Algonquins – Kichesipiirini (in Algonquian), Kichesipiiriniouek, Ehonkehronons (in Huron). Located around Allumettes Island in the Ottawa River (see JR, 5:291, fn 57).

**Matouweskairini** – Mataouchkairinik: located on the Madawaska River

**Petite Nation** – Ouescharini – Ouaoeuchkairiniouek: Originally located on the northern tributaries of the Ottawa River (see JR, 5:291, fn 56).

*Alimiwec*, see **Illinois**

*Amikouas* – see **Ojibwa: Amikwa**

*Amirgankaniois* – see **Abenaki: Arosaguntacook**

**Andarahi,ronnons**, tribe of unknown affiliations; perhaps a subtribe of the Huron (cf. Ataronchronons, Arendaronons) or Neutral (cf. Ahondihronons).

*Andaste/Andastoerrhonons*, see **Susquehannock**

*Andatahouats*, see **Ottawas**

*Aniers*, see **Iroquois: Mohawks**

*Anniengehronnons*, see **Iroquois: Mohawks**

*Aondironon*, see **Neutrals**

*Aoueatsiouaenrrhonons*, see **Winnebagoes**

*Arendarhonons*, see **Hurons: Nation of the Rock**

**Armouchiquois**: A catch-all name for the New England coastal tribes.

*Askicouaneronons*, see **Nipissings**

*Assistaeronnons*, see **Fire Nation**, and **Mascouten**

*Ataronchronnons*, see **Hurons: Nation of the Bog**

*Atchougek*, see **Ojibwa: Atchougek**

**Atiaonrek**, an unknown tribe or subtribe perhaps located near the Neutrals.

*Atignenongach*, see **Hurons: Nation of the Cord**

*Atiouandarons*, see **Neutrals**

*Atiraguenrek*, see **Neutrals**

*Atirhangenrets*, see **Neutrals**

*Atiwandarons*, see **Neutrals**

**Atontrata'ronnon**: A poorly-known tribe, perhaps a subdivision of the Algonquins

**Atra'kwae** – *Atra'kwae'ronnons* – *Trakwaehronnons*: An unknown tribe or subtribe perhaps located near the Neutrals or Susquehannock

*Attignaouantans*, see **Hurons: Nation of the Bear**

*Attigdeenongnahac*, see **Hurons: Nation of the Cord**

*Attiguenongha*, see **Hurons: Nation of the Cord**

*Attiniatoenten*, see **Hurons: Nation of the Cord**

**Attikameks** – *Attikamegues* – *Atikamegues* – *Attikamagues* – *Poissons Blancs* – Whitefish: An Algonquian-speaking tribe dwelling on the upper St. Maurice River. Closely related to the Montagnais and often at war with the Iroquois, by whom they were practically destroyed in 1661. (9:307, fn 20)

*Attiwandarons*, see **Neutrals**

*Aweatsiwaenrrhonons*, see **Winnebagoes**

*Awenrehronons*, see **Wenros**

*Beaver Nation*, see **Ojibwa: Amikwa**

*Bersiamites*, see **Montagnais**

*Bissiriniens*, see **Nipissings**

**Carantouans**: A poorly known tribe perhaps located between the Senecas and the Susquehannocks in northern Pennsylvania.

*Cat Nation*, see **Eries**.

*Cayugas*, see **Iroquois: Cayugas**

**Chaouanaquois**: a tribe of New England whose affiliations are unknown.

*Chaouanons*, see **Shawnee**

*Cheveux-Relevés*, see **Ottawas**

*Conestoga*, see **Susquehannocks**

**Conkhandeenrhonons**: A poorly known Iroquoian-speaking tribe perhaps living on the northern shore of Lake Ontario (see JR, 8:302, fn 34).

**Cree** – *Cri* – *Cristinaux* – *Kiristinon* – *Kilistinons*: An Algonquian speaking tribe from the interior of central Canada (JR, 18:259, fn 15).

**Abitibi** – *Outabitibek* – *Outabitibecs*: A West Main Cree tribe living around Lake Abitibi near Hudson Bay

**Delawares** – *Loup*: An Algonquian-speaking tribe inhabiting the Lower Hudson River, western Long Island and the entire Delaware River.

*Ehonkehronons*, see **Algonquins: Island Nation**

*Enskiaeronnons*, see **Ojibwa: Saulteaux**

*Entouhonoronons*, see **Iroquois: Seneca**

**Eries** – *Nation of the Cat* – *Rhiierhonons* – *Riguehronons* – *Riquehronnons* – *Eriehronons* – *Ehriehronnons* – *Errieronons* – *Erigas*: An Iroquoian-speaking

- tribe or confederacy originally located on the southeastern shore of Lake Erie. (see JR, 8:302, fn 34; see also JR, 21:191 & 313, fn 11).
- Gentaguetehronnons** – Gentagega: subdivision of the Eries
- Eriniouai*, see **Illinois**
- Eskiaeronnons*, see **Ojibwa: Saulteaux**
- Eskimaux*, see **Montagnais: Eskimaux**
- Etchemin** – Etechemins – Etheminqui: an Algonquian-speaking tribe, perhaps independent or a subdivision of the Abenaki or Maliseet-Passamaquoddy
- Etiennontatehronnons*, see **Petun**
- Fire Nation** – Assistaeronnons (in Huron) – Atsistagherronnons – A catch-all term originally referring to a group of related tribes on the Michigan Lower Peninsula, who were enemies of the Neutrals and the Ottawas (see JR, 5:279, fn 19; see also JR, 27:27). The term was later restricted to the Mascouten alone. See also **Mascouten**.
- Fox** – Outagami: An Algonquian-speaking tribe originally of the Michigan Lower Peninsula.
- Gandastogué*, see **Susquehannock**
- Gens Puants*, see **Winnebagoes**
- Gentagega*, see **Eries**
- Gentaguetehronnons*, see **Eries**
- Goyogouins*, see **Iroquois: Cayuga**
- Hirocay/Hiroquet*, see **Algonquin: Iroquet**
- Hiroquois*, see **Iroquois**
- Hurons** – Ochasteguis – A large, sedentary, Iroquoian-speaking confederacy located between Georgian Bay and Lake Simcoe in fifteen or more villages. Contact population approximately 30-40,000 (see JR, 16:225ff.). Destroyed and dispersed by the Iroquois in 1649–1650. See entry for **Wyandots**.
- Nation of the Bear** – Attignaouantans – The most important tribe of the Huron confederacy. Principle town was called Tequeunoikuaye (also named Queiwindohian, Ossossané, or La Rochelle (French) (see JR, 5:278, fn 17; see also JR, 5:292, fn 60).
- Nation of the Bog** – Ataronchonnons: A tribe of the Huron confederacy.
- Nation of the Cord** – Attiguenongha – Atigenongach – Attigeenongnahac – Attiniatoenten: A tribe of the Huron confederacy closely aligned with the Nation of the Bear (see JR, 8:294, fn 23).
- Nation of the Rock** – Nation de la Roche – Arendarhonons – Ahrendarrhonons – Arendae'ronnons – Arendageronon – Renarhonons: Easternmost tribe of Hurons (see JR, 8:294, fn 24; see also 20:305, fn 1).
- Nation of the Deer** – Tahontaenrat – Tohontahenrats: A Huron tribe whose principal town was called Scanonaenrat (see JR, 8:303, fn 38).
- Illinois** – Eriniouai – Irini – Ilinioues – Alimiwec: A collection of Algonquian-speaking tribes originally situated along the Illinois and Mississippi Rivers (see JR, 18:259, fn 17).
- Irini*, see **Illinois**
- Iroquay/Iroquets*, see **Algonquins**
- Iroquois** – Irocois – Iroquoys – Hiroquois – Hyroquois – Yroquois: The name for the confederacy of five sedentary tribes ranging across central New York. For original locations, see the contact map included with this volume.
- Mohawks** – Agnierrhonons – Agneehronons – Agneehronnons – Agnongherronnons – Anniengehronnons – Agniers – Aniers – Annieneronens – Anniehronnons – Annie'ronnons – Annieyer'onons – Moaghs – “the people of the flint” – Maquas (Dutch): Easternmost of the

Iroquois tribes. Commonly engaged in war with their French and Indian neighbors throughout the 17th century. Principle town was Ossernenon (also called Osserinon, Agnié, Oneougiouré, Asserua, and later Cahniaga or Caughnawaga) (see JR, 8:300, fn 34).

**Oneidas** – Oiotchronon – Onoiochronons – Oneiouchronons – Onneichronnons – Onneioutherronnons – Oneiotchronon – Oneoutchoueronon – Onneiohronnons – Oneiouts – Onneiouchronons – Onneyouts: One of the “younger brothers” of the Iroquois confederacy located near Oneida Lake in central New York. Chief village named Ononjoté (see JR, 8:300, fn 34; see also JR, 27:275ff. and JR, 27:315, fn 23).

**Onondagas** – Onontaerrhonons – Onnontaes – Onontaeronons – Onnontaerronnons – Onnondaetonnons – Onnontagués – Onondáhka (in their own tongue): One of the most influential of the Iroquois nations. Originally situated in central New York between the Oneidas and Cayugas. Principal town and Iroquois capital was called Onnontagué (see JR, 8:299, fn 34).

**Cayugas** – Onionenhronnons – Onioenhronnons – Ouioenrhonons – Oiogeronon – Ouiogweronnons – Oiogouanronnon – Oioگو – Oiogouins – Oiogouan – Goyogouins – Oioگوenheronnons – Wiogweronnons: One of the “younger brothers” of the Iroquois confederacy. Located west of the Onondagas near Cayuga Lake. (see JR, 8:298, fn 34).

**Senecas** – Sonontoerrhonons – Sonnontoehronnons – Santweronnons – Sontouaherronnons – Entouhonorons (Champlain) – Sonnontouans – Sonnontweronnons – Sonnontaehronnon – Sonontwenronnons – Tsontontouans – Sinnekens (Dutch): the westernmost and also the largest of the five Iroquois tribes. (see JR, 8:293, fn 21). Their major town was called Sonontoen (also called Sonnontouan, Tsontontouan, or Tegarnhies) (see JR, 8:302, fn 35).

*Island Nation/Island Algonquins*, see **Algonquins**

**Kah-kwahs**: A little-known Iroquoian speaking tribe possibly located between the Senecas and the Neutrals. May have been a subdivision of the Neutrals or the Eries (see JR, 8:302, fn 34).

*Kennebec*, see **Abenaki: Kennebec**

**Kepatawangachik**, unknown Algonquian (?) tribe, possibly the Kipawa Algonquin *Khionontaterrhonons*, see **Petun**

*Kichesipiirini*, see **Algonquins: Island Nation**

*Kichkagoneiak*, see **Ottawa: Kiskakon**

*Kilistinons*, see **Cree**

*Kinonchepiirini*, see **Algonquin: Keinouche**

*Kiskakons*, see **Ottawa: Kiskakon**

*Kotahoutouemi*, see **Algonquins**

*Loups*, see **Mahicans** or **Delawares**

*Machkoutench*, see **Mascouten**.

*Maganathicois*, see **Mahican**

**Mahicans** – Maganathicois – Mahiganouetch – Mahingan – Mahinganak – Mahinganiois – Loups – Nation of the Wolves: An Algonquian-speaking tribe or confederacy of tribes ranging from Western Massachusetts to the Hudson River. Early trading partners of the Dutch and sometime enemies of the Mohawks (see JR, 18:259, fn 18).

*Malouminek*, see **Menominee**

*Maquas*, see **Iroquois: Mohawks**

*Maroumine*, see **Menominee**

- Mascouten** – Mascoutins – Machkoutench – Assistaeronns (in Huron) – Atsistagherronnns – Assista Ectaeronns – Nation of Fire: An Algonquian-speaking tribe originally from the Lower Peninsula of Michigan.
- Maskasinik**, Algonquian-speaking tribe of unknown affiliation; possibly West Main Cree.
- Mataouchkairinik*, see **Algonquin: Matouweskaroni**
- Men of the Raised Hair*, see **Ottawa**
- Menominees** – Maroumine – Malouminek – Oumalouminek – An Algonquian speaking tribe originally situated near Green Bay (see JR, 18:259, fn 17).
- Miami** – Oumami: An Algonquian-speaking tribe located at the southern end of Lake Michigan.
- Micmacs** – Souriquois – Sourikois – Tarretines: An Algonquin-speaking group of tribes originally situated on the Gaspé peninsula, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick. Closely related to the Abenakis and often hostile to the Iroquois.
- Minquas*, see **Susquehannocks**
- Michesaking*, see **Ojibwa: Mississauga**
- Mississauga*, see **Ojibwa**
- Mistasiriniens*, see **Montagnais: Mistassini**
- Moaghs*, see **Iroquois: Mohawks**
- Mohawks*, see **Iroquois**
- Mohegans/Mohicans*, see **Pequots**
- Montagnais** – Montagnards: An Algonquian-speaking tribe mainly located in and around Tadoussac.
- Bersiamites** – Oumamiweks: A subtribe located on the northern tributaries of the St. Lawrence at the mouth of the Betsiamites River (see JR, 18:257, fn 13).
- Eskimaux**: A subtribe north of the Gulf of St. Lawrence at the mouth of the Romaine River
- Mistassini** – Mistasiriniens: A subtribe living around Lake Mistassini
- Papinachois**: A subtribe living on the upper Betsiamites River.
- Piécouagami** – A subtribe living near Lake St. John
- Porcupine Nation** – Kakouchac: A subtribe dwelling on the banks of Lake St. John (see JR, 14: 287, fn 13; see also JR, 31:251).
- Nadouessi/Nadouessioux*, see **Sioux**
- Nadwechiwec*, see **Sioux**
- Nahiganiouetch*, see **Mahicans**
- Naiz Percez*, see **Ojibwa: Amikwa**
- Naraganses*, see **Narragansetts**
- Narantsouat*, see **Abenaki: Kennebec**
- Narragansetts** – Naraganses: An Algonquian-speaking tribe west of Narragansett Bay.
- Nation de l'Isle*, see **Algonquins: Island Nation**
- Nation des Puans*, see **Winnebagoes**
- Nation of the Bear*, see **Hurons**
- Nation of the Bog*, see **Hurons**
- Nation of the Cat*, see **Eries**
- Nation of the Cord*, see **Hurons**
- Nation of the Rock/Nation de la Roche*, see **Hurons**
- Nation of the Sorcerers*, see **Nipissings**
- Nation of Stinkards*, see **Winnebagoes**
- Nation of Wolves*, see **Mahicans**
- Natwesix*, see **Sioux**



**Negaouchiriniouek**, an Algonquian (?) tribe neighboring the Potawatomi, possibly an Ottawa clan (see JR 73:175)

**Neutrals** – Atiwandaronks – Atiouandaronks – Attiwandaronks – Atiwendaronk: An Iroquoian-speaking confederacy of tribes originally located west of the Niagara River. Destroyed by the Iroquois during the 1650s (see JR, 8:297, fn 34; see also JR, 8:304, fn 41; JR, 21:189; and JR, 21:313, fn 11).

**Aondironons** – Ahondihronons – Ahondihronnons – Ondieronii: A tribe of the Neutrals located nearest the Hurons. Destroyed by the Senecas, 1648 (see JR, 18:259, fn 18).

**Atiraguenrek** – Atirhangenrets – A subtribe of the Neutrals located on the Bernou map of 1680 west of Lake Ontario.

**Onguiahronons** – Ongmarahronons – Niagagarega(?) – the Niagara portion of the Neutrals (JR, 18:259, fn 18).

*Nez Perces*, see **Ottawa: Amikwa**

*Nikikouek*, see **Ojibwa: Nikikouek**

**Nipissings** – Nation of the Sorcerers – Bissiriniens – Nipicirinién – Nipissiriniens – Askicouanerons (in Huron): Tribe originally located at the lake of the same name north of Georgian Bay. Attacked and displaced by the Iroquois in the early 1650s. (see JR, 5:279, fn 18; see also JR, 21:239ff.).

*Noquet*, see **Ojibwa**

*Noukek*, see **Ojibwa: Noquet**

**Noutchihout** – Tribe of uncertain identification located on the Lower Hudson; probably Minsi Delawares.

*Ochasteguis*, see **Hurons**

*Oiageronon*, see **Iroquois: Cayuga**

*Oiogouins*, see **Iroquois: Cayuga**

*Oiogouanronnon*, see **Iroquois: Cayuga**

*Oiotchronon*, see **Iroquois: Oneida**

**Ojibwa**

**Achiligouan** – Achirwachronnon (Huron): a subtribe between Lake Nipissing and Georgian Bay

**Amikwa** – Naiz Percez (Nez Perces) – Beaver tribe – Amikouas – Amiskou – Amikouek – Nation du Castor. situated on the north shore of Georgian Bay (see JR, 10:322, fn 6).

**Atchougek**: subtribe located west of Georgian Bay

**Mississauga** – Oumisagai – Michesaking – Missisaki – Aoechisaeronon (Huron) – Awechisae'ronnons: An Algonquian-speaking, southeastern Ojibwa tribe situated north of Lake Huron (see JR, 18:259, fn 16).

**Nikikouek**: subtribe located west of Lake Nipissing

**Noquet** – Noukek: subtribe located on the eastern end of Lake Superior

**Ouasouarini** – Ouasouanik: subtribe located on the southeastern end of Georgian Bay

**Saulteaux** – Sauteurs – “People of the Great Sault” – Pagouituk – Eskiaeronnons (Huron), Enskia'ronnons: a subtribe situated at Sault St. Marie.

*Ondassa, anens*, unknown tribe, possibly Susquehannock or Iroquois (see JR 73:195)

*Ondatonateni*, see **Potawatomi**

*Ondataouaouats/Ondatawawak*, see **Ottawa**

*Ondieronii*, see **Neutrals: Aondironons**

*Oneidas*, see **Iroquois**

*Oneiouts/Oneiouchronons*, see **Iroquois: Oneidas**

- Oneronons*, see **Wenros**  
*Ongmarahronons*, see **Neutrals**  
*Onguiahronons*, see **Neutrals**  
*Onionehronnons/Onioenhronnons*, see **Iroquois: Cayuga**  
*Onneyouts*, see **Iroquois: Oneidas**  
*Onnondaetonnons*, see **Iroquois: Onondagas**  
*Onnontaes*, see **Iroquois: Onondagas**  
*Onnontagués*, see **Iroquois: Onondagas**  
*Onoiochronons*, see **Iroquois: Oneidas**  
*Onontcharonons*, see **Algonquins: Iroquets**  
*Onondaga*, see **Iroquois**  
*Onondáhka*, see **Iroquois: Onondagas**  
*Onontaerrhonons*, see **Iroquois: Onondagas**  
**Ontôdagannha** – Ontwagannhas – Outouagannha – Touagenha – Touaghannha – Fire Nation: A catch-all name used by the Iroquois for the Algonquian-speakers to their west. See also **Fire Nation, Shawnee**  
**Ottawa** – Outaouak – Outawak – Outawats – Outaoux – Outaëk – Ouraouakmikoug – Men of the Raised Hair – Cheveux-Relevés – Andatahouats (in Huron) – Ondataouaouats – Ondatawawak: A tribe originally situated between Lake Huron and Georgian Bay, including Manitoulin Island. (see JR, 14:284, fn 9; see also JR, 33:273, fn 6). Also a catch-all term for the Upper Algonquian tribes north of Lake Huron (e.g. Nipissing, Ojibwa)  
**Kiskakon** - Kichkagoneiak – Kiskacoueiak – Kichkankoueiak: subtribe living at Green Bay after the Huron dispersal  
**Nation of the Fork** – Nassauakueton: subtribe of uncertain location  
**Ouakwiechiwek**: unknown Algonquian-speaking (?) tribe of the North.  
*Ouaouechkairiniouek*, see **Algonquin: Petite Nation**  
*Ousasouanik*, see **Ojibwa: Ousasouarini**  
*Ouendat*, see **Hurons**  
*Ouescharini*, see **Algonquins: Petite Nation**  
*Ouinipigou*, see **Winnebagoes**  
*Ouioenrhonons*, see **Iroquois: Cayuga**  
*Ouiogweronons*, see **Iroquois: Cayuga**  
**Oukiskimanitouk**: unknown Algonquian-speaking tribe, possibly the Kiskakon Ottawa.  
*Oumalouminek*, see **Menominee**  
*Oumamis*, see **Miami**  
*Oumamiweks*, see **Montagnais: Bersiamites**  
*Oumisagai*, see **Ojibwa: Mississauga**  
*Ounontcharounongak/Ountcharounoungas*, see **Algonquins: Iroquets**  
*Oupouteouatamik*, see **Potawatomi**  
*Ouraouakmikoug*, see **Ottawa**  
*Ousaki*, see **Sauk**  
*Outabitibek*, see **Cree: Abitibi**  
*Outaëk*, see **Ottawa**  
*Outagami*, see **Fox**  
*Outaouak*, see **Ottawa**  
*Outaoukotwemiweks*, see **Algonquins**  
*Outawak/Outawats*, see **Ottawa**  
*Ovenibigoutz*, see **Winnebagoes**  
*Pagouitik*, see **Ojibwa: Saulteaux**  
**Paisans**: a unknown group, probably Algonquian

*Papinachois*, see **Montagnais: Papinachois**

*Penagouc*, see **Abenaki: Penacook**

**Pequots** – Mohicans – Mohegans – Mohighens – Morchigander: an Algonquian-speaking tribe from the Connecticut area.

*Petite Nation*, see **Algonquins: Petite Nation**

**Petun** – Tobacco Nation – Khionontaterrhonons – Tionnontates –

Tionnontatehronnons – Etiennontatehronnons: An Iroquoian-speaking tribe originally situated to the west of the Hurons near Georgian Bay. Sometime allies and occasional enemies of the Hurons. Nearly annihilated by the Iroquois, 1649–1650 (see JR, 5:279, fn 18). See also **Wyandots**.

*Piécouagami*, see **Montagnais: Piécouagami**

**Pocumtuck** – Pagamptagwe: An Algonquian-speaking tribe of western Massachusetts.

*Porcupine Nation*, see **Montagnais**

**Potawatomis** – Pououtouatami – Oupouteouatamik – Pouteouatami – Poutewat – Ondatonateni: An Algonquian-speaking tribe originally from the Lower Peninsula of Michigan. (see JR, 18:259, fn 17; see also JR, 23:325, fn 7).

*Puants*, see **Winnebagoes**

*Renarhonons*, see **Hurons: Nation of the Rock**

*Rhierrhonons*, see **Eries**

*Riguehronons*, see **Eries**

*Santweronons*, see **Iroquois: Seneca**

**Sauk** – Ousaki: An Algonquian-speaking tribe originally of the Michigan Lower Peninsula.

*Saulteaux*, see **Ojibwa**

*Sauteurs*, see **Ojibwa**

*Seneca*, see **Iroquois**

**Shawnee** – Chaouanons: An Algonquian-speaking tribe of the Ohio River

*Sinneken*, see **Iroquois: Seneca**

**Sioux** – Nadouessi – Nadouessioux – Nadwesiou – Nadwesseronons – Nadwechiwec – Natwesix – Lakota: A catch-all term for plains tribes speaking Siouan languages.

*Sokokis*, see **Abenaki: Sokokis**

*Sonontoerrhonons*, see **Iroquois: Seneca**

*Sonnontouans*, see **Iroquois: Seneca**

*Sontouaheronnons*, see **Iroquois: Seneca**

*Sokokis*, see **Abenaki: Sokokis**

*Souriquois/Sourikois*, see **Micmacs**

**Susquehannocks** – Andaste – Andasto, e – Andastoeronnons – Andastaeronnons –

Andastogueronnons – Andastahoueronnons – Conestoga – Gandastogué – Minquas (Dutch): An Iroquoian-speaking tribe or confederation from central and southern Pennsylvania. Allies of the Hurons and long-standing enemies of the Iroquois. (see JR, 8:301, fn 34)

**Takoulguehronnons**: an unknown tribe or subtribe perhaps located near the Neutrals.

**Tangwaonronnons** – Tangouaen: an Algonquin subtribe or village, probably located just west of Georgian Bay and north of Huron country (see JR 36:247).

*Tarretines*, see **Micmacs**

*Tionnontates*, see **Petun**

*Tobacco Nation*, see **Petun**

*Tohontahenrats*, see **Hurons: Nation of the Deer**

*Touagenha/Touaghannha*, see **Ontoagannha**

*Trakwaehronnons*, see **Atrakwae**

*Tsonnontouans*, see **Iroquois: Seneca**

*Wabenakies*, see **Abenakis**

*Wapanachk*, see **Abenakis**

*Wendats*, see **Wyandots**

**Wenros** – Wenrôhronons – Oneronons – Ahouenrochrhonons – Awenrherhonons: A small Iroquoian-speaking tribe originally located at the eastern end of Lake Erie between the Neutrals and the Iroquois. Sometime ally of the Neutrals, later of the Hurons (JR, 8:302, fn 34).

*Wiogweronons*, see **Iroquois: Cayuga**

**Winnebagoes** – Gens Puants – Nation des Puans – Nation of Stinkards – Ouinipigou (in Algonquian) – Ouinipeg – Ouinipegouek – Ovenibigoutz – Aoeatsioaenronnons (Huron) – Aweatsiwaenrrhonons: A Siouan-speaking tribe inhabiting the Fox River valley and shores of Green Bay (see JR, 15:247, fn 7).

*Wolves, Nation of the*, see **Mahican**

**Wyandots** – Wendats: An amalgam tribe probably constituted of the remnants of the Petun and the Hurons after their dispersal by the Iroquois in 1649–1650.

*Yroquet*, see **Algonquin: Iroquet**

*Yroquois*, see **Iroquois**



## **APPENDIX C:**

### **SELECTED BIOGRAPHIES**

**Supplemented with entries from  
Arthur E. Jones' Catalogue (JR 71:120)**

- Ailleboust, Louis d'** (al. Aillebourts, Alibour, Aliboust, Alleboust, Alliboust, Allibout); Montreal proprietor and governor of New France; arrived in Canada in 1643; succeeded Montmagny as governor in August 1648; during his term, the missions in Huronia were destroyed and the Iroquois raided the St. Lawrence valley with increasing frequency; was replaced by Lauson in October 1651; retired to Montreal to farm; died 1660.
- Albanel, Fr. Charles**; Jesuit; Province of Toulouse. Born in Auvergne in 1616 (al. 1613); entered the Order, Sept. 16, 1633; arrived in Canada, Aug. 23, 1649; died at Sault-Ste-Marie, Jan. 11, 1696.
- Allouez, Fr. Claude Jean**; Jesuit; Province of Toulouse. Born at St-Didier-en-Forest, Haute Loire, in 1613 (al. 1620); entered the Order at Toulouse, Sept. 25, 1642 (al. 1639); arrived in Canada, July 11, 1658; died in the Ottawa missions, among the Miamis of St. Joseph's River (near Niles, Mich.), the night of Aug. 27-28, 1689.
- Argenson, Pierre de Voyer, vicomte d'** (al. Argençon); Governor of New France. Arrived in Canada on July 11, 1658; administered New France during a time of increasing Iroquois raiding and inadequate military resources from France; asked to be relieved and was replaced by Baron d'Avagour on September 19, 1661.
- Avagour, Pierre du Bois** (al. Avaugour), Baron d'; Governor of New France. Arrived in Canada on August 31, 1661; governed New France during a time of incessant raiding by the Iroquois; had a mixed relationship with the Jesuits and Bishop Laval which resulted in his recall to France in July 1663.
- Beschefer, Fr. Thierry** (al. Theodoric); Jesuit; Province of Champagne. Born at Châlons-sur-Marne, May (al. March) 25, 1630; entered the Order at Nancy, May 24, 1647; arrived at Quebec, June 19, 1665; returned to France in 1690 (al. 1689); died at Rheims, Feb. 4, 1711.
- Bressani, Fr. Francesco Gioseppe**; Jesuit; Province of France. Born at Rome, May 6, 1612; entered the Order at Rome, Aug. 15, 1626; arrived in Canada in 1642; returned to France, Nov. 2, 1650; died at Florence, Sept. 9, 1672.
- Bruyas, Fr. Jacques**; Jesuit; Province of Lyons. Born at Lyons, July 13, 1635 (al. 1637); entered the Order, Nov. 11, 1651; arrived in Canada, Aug. 3, 1666; died at Sault-St-Louis, Caughnawaga, June 15, 1712.

- Buteux, Fr. Jacques**; Jesuit; Province of France. Born at Abbeville, Apr. 11, 1600; entered the Order at Rouen, Oct. 20, (al. 2), 1620; arrived in Canada, June 24, 1634; killed by the Iroquois, on the St. Maurice River, north of Three Rivers, May 10, 1652.
- Canaqueese** (al. Flemish Bastard, Dutch Bastard, Jan Smits, John Smiths); Mohawk chief. Son of a Dutchman and a Mohawk woman; took a leading role in the many hostilities between the Mohawks and the French and their allies; did not favor peace with the French at first, but later came to Quebec to negotiate in 1666 when Mohawk country was threatened with a French invasion; settled near Montreal after 1670.
- Carheil, Fr. Étienne de**; Jesuit; Province of France. Born at the Château de la Guichardaye, Carentoir, Nov. 20, 1633 (al. Nov. 10, 1634); entered the Order, Aug. 30, 1652 (al. Oct. 3, 1653); arrived at Quebec, Aug. 6, 1666; died at Quebec, July 27, 1726.
- Chaumonot, Fr. Pierre-Joseph-Marie** (al. Chaumonnot, Calvonotti); Jesuit; Province of Rome. Born at Châtillon-sur-Seine, Côte-d'Or, March 9, 1611; entered the Order at Rome, May 18, 1632; arrived at Quebec, Aug. 1, 1639; died at Quebec, Feb. 21, 1693.
- Courcelles, Daniel de Remy de**; Governor of New France. Born 1626; arrived in Canada September 12, 1665; Led an expedition of 300 French and Indians against the Iroquois in January 1666 which lost its way and suffered casualties due to famine; returned to France in 1672; died 1698.
- Coûture, Guillaume** (al. Cousture); Native of Rouen; arrived in Canada probably in 1641; an interpreter and one-time Jesuit donné; captured in August 1642 by the Iroquois along with a party of Hurons and Fr. Jogues; endured torture and a captivity of two years among the Iroquois but was returned to Three Rivers; remained in New France and became a land owner, militia captain, ambassador, and judge; died 1702.
- Crépieul, Fr. François de** (al. Crespieul); Gallo-Belgian Jesuit; Province. Born at Arras, March 17 (al. 16), 1638 (al. 1639; al. May 7, 1638); entered the Order at Tournay, Oct. 29 (al. Sept. 27), 1658; arrived in Canada in 1670; died at Quebec in 1702, after Oct. 28.
- Dablon, Fr. Claude** (al. D'Ablon); Jesuit; Province of France. Born at Dieppe, June 21, 1619; entered the Order at Paris, Sept. 17, 1639; arrived in Canada in 1655; died at Quebec, May 3 (al. Sept. 20), 1697.
- Druilletes, Fr. Gabriel** (al. Druillettes); Jesuit; Province of Toulouse. Born at Gurat or Garat, Charante, diocese of Limoges, Sept. 29, 1610 (al. Beaulieu, Corrèze, in 1613), (al. 1593); entered the Order at Toulouse, July 27, 1629; arrived in Canada, Aug. 15, 1643; carried out an unsuccessful mission to Boston seeking aid from the New England colonies against the Iroquois; died at Quebec, Apr. 8, 1681.
- Du Peron, Fr. François**; Jesuit; Province of France. Born at Lyons, Jan. 26, 1610; entered the Order at Avignon, Feb. 23, 1627; arrived in Canada, June 30, 1638; died at Chambly, Nov. 10, 1665. His remains were transferred to the College chapel, Quebec, Nov. 16, 1665.

**Duplessis-Bochart, Guillaume Guillemot** (al. Duplessis-Querbodo); lieutenant of Emery de Caen and later admiral of the fleet under Champlain; involved in settling disputes between the Indians; helped found Three Rivers in 1634; appointed governor of Three Rivers in 1651; killed while attempting to repel an Iroquois attack at Three Rivers, August 19, 1652.

**Flemish Bastard**, see **Canaqueese**

**Fremin, Fr. Jacques** (al. Frémin); Jesuit; Province of France. Born at Rheims (al. Meaux), March 12, 1628; entered the Order at Paris, Nov. 21, 1646; arrived in Canada in 1655 (al. 1654); died at Quebec, July 20, 1691.

**Garakontié, Daniel** (al. Garaconké, Garacontié, Garagontié, Garakonké, Garakonkie, Gara'kontie, Harakontie); Onondaga chief, diplomat, and Christian convert; among the first Iroquois captains to push for peace with the French and their Indian allies; frequent savior of French, Huron, and Algonquin captives among the Iroquois and great friend of Fr. Simon le Moyne; baptized by Bishop Laval; died 1677 or 1678.

**Garnier, Fr. Julien**; Jesuit; Province of France. Born at Saint-Brieux, Brittany, Jan. 6, 1643; entered the Order at Paris, Sept. 25 (al. 26), 1660; arrived in Canada, Oct. 27, 1662; ordained at Quebec in 1668; died at Quebec, Jan. 31 (al. 13), 1730.

**Garreau, Fr. Léonard**; Jesuit; Province of Aquitaine. Born at Aredieux (Saint-Yrieux), diocese of Limoges, Oct. 11 (al. in Sept.), 1609 (al. 1610); entered the Order, Sept. 27, 1628; arrived in Canada, Aug. 15, 1643; died at Montreal, Sept. 2, 1656. He was shot through the spine, on Aug. 30, by the Iroquois, at a point of land on the north shore of the Lake of Two Mountains.

**Lalemant, Fr. Jérôme** (al. Hierosme), brother of Charles and uncle of Gabriel; Jesuit; Province of France. Born at Paris, Apr. 27, 1593; entered the Order at Paris, Oct. 20 (al. 2), 1610 (al. 1609); arrived in Canada, June 25, 1638; died at Quebec, Jan. 26, 1673.

**Lauson, Jean de**; governor of Canada. Born in 1582; appointed governor of New France in 1651 and he administered the colony through a difficult time of Iroquois raiding until 1656; died February 1666.

**Le Jeune, Fr. Paul**; Jesuit; Province of France. Born at Châlons-sur-Marne (al. Vitry, Marne) in July, 1591; entered the Order at Rouen, Sept. 22, 1613; arrived at Tadousac in March, at Quebec July 5, 1632; returned to France, Oct. 30, 1649; died at Paris, Aug. 7, 1664.

**Le Mercier, Fr. François**; Jesuit; Province of France. Born at Paris, Oct. 4, 1604; entered the Order at Paris, Oct. 19, 1620 (al. 1622, 1623); arrived in Canada, July 20, 1635; returned to France in 1673; died in the Island of Martinique, June 12, 1690 (al. Oct. 16, 1692).

**de Maisonneuve, Paul de Chomedey**; Founder of Ville-Marie on the Island of Montreal. Born in Champagne, France in the early 17th century; decided to come to New France after reading the Jesuit Relations; landed at Montreal May 17, 1642; successfully defends the colony against 200 Iroquois in 1644 with just 30 men; fortified Ville-Marie and encouraged



colonization during his long career which ended in 1665 when he returns to France; died in Paris, September 9, 1683.

**Marquette, Fr. Jacques;** Jesuit; Province of Champagne. Born at Laon, June 10, 1637; entered the Order at Nancy, Oct. 8, 1654; arrived at Quebec, Sept. 20, 1666; died near the present site of Ludington, Mich., May 18, 1675. His remains were transferred two years after, and (on Whittuesday, June 8, 1677) were buried in the mission Chapel, near Point St. Ignace, at the head of East Moran Bay. There they were discovered, Sept. 3, 1877, by V. R. Fr. E. Jacker. The little monument erected at the spot covers part of his remains; but the larger portion are preserved at Marquette College, Milwaukee.

**Ménard, Fr. Rene;** Jesuit; Province of France. Born at Paris, March 2 (al. Sept. 7), 1605 (al. 1604); entered the Order, Sept. 5 (al. 7, Nov. 7), 1642; arrived at Tadousac, June 30, at Quebec, July 8, 1640. Perished in the primitive wilderness of northeastern Wisconsin, in 1661, about Aug. 15.

**Milet, Fr. Pierre** (al. Millet); Jesuit; Province of France. Born at Bourges, Nov. 19 (al. 18), 1635 (al. 1631); entered the Order at Paris, Oct. 3, 1655; arrived in Canada, Aug. 5, 1667 (al. 1668); died at Quebec, March 22 (al. Dec. 31), 1709 (al. 1708).

**Le Moynes, Fr. Simon;** Jesuit; Province of France. Born in 1604; entered the Order at Paris in 1623; arrived in Canada, June 30, 1638; died at Cap-de-la-Madeleine, Three Rivers, Nov. 24, 1665.

**Negabamat, Noël** (al. Tekwerimat); long-lived chief of the Montagnais near Sillery. Converted to Christianity and was baptized ca. 1639; contracted smallpox in 1639, but survived; frequent combatant of the Iroquois and was also involved in peace negotiations; accompanied Fr. Druilletes on his unsuccessful mission to Boston in 1651; died 1666.

**Nouvel, Fr. Henri;** Jesuit; Province of Toulouse. Born at Pézenas, Hérault, in 1621 (al. March 1, 1624); entered the Order, Aug. 28, 1648; arrived at Quebec, Aug. 4, 1662; died in the Ottawa missions, near Green Bay, Wis., in 1702 (al. at Quebec, Oct. 7, 1674; al. at Aix-la-Chapelle, Jan. 3, 1696).

**Pierron, Fr. Jean;** Jesuit; Province of Champagne. Born at Dun-sur-Meuse, Sept. 28, 1631; entered the Order at Nancy, Nov. 21 (al. 25), 1650; arrived in Canada, June 27, 1667; returned to France in 1678; died at Pont-a-Mousson, Feb. 20 (al. 14), 1700 (al. 1701).

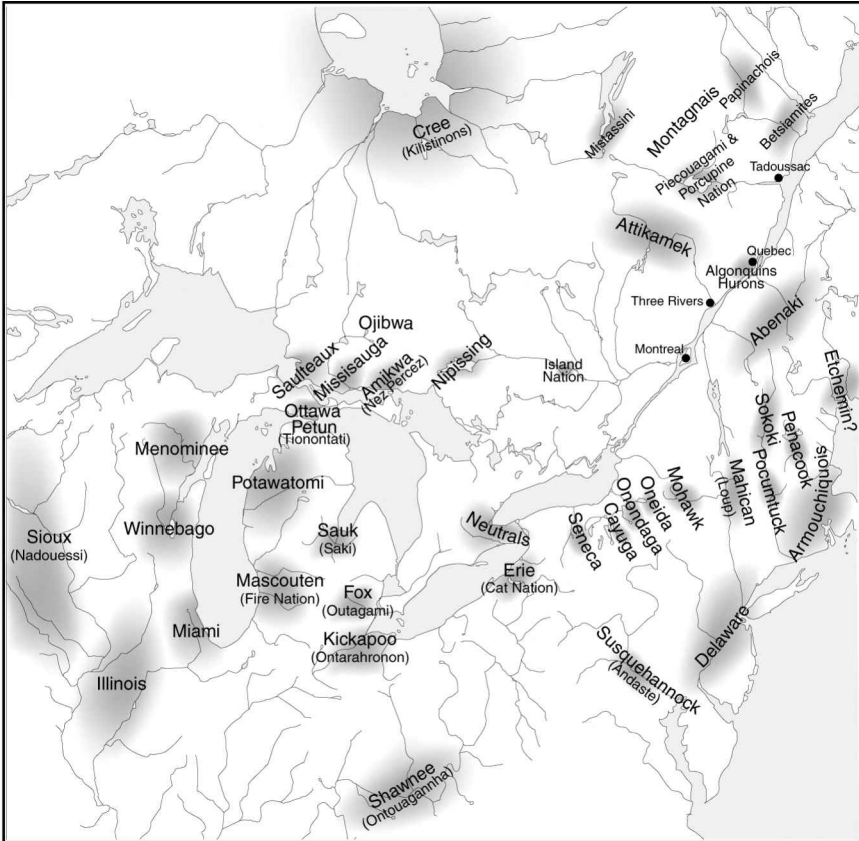
**Poncet de la Rivière, Fr. Joseph Antoine;** Jesuit; Province of France. Born at Paris, May 7, 1610; entered the Order at Paris, July 30, 1629 (al. 1630); arrived in Canada, Aug. 1, 1639; returned to France, Sept. 18, 1657; died in the Island of Martinique, June 11 (al. 18), 1675.

**Ragueneau, Fr. Paul;** Jesuit; Province of France. Born at Paris, March 18, 1608 (al. 1605, 1607); entered the Order at Paris, Aug. 21, 1626; arrived in Canada, June 28, 1636 (al. 1638); returned to France, Aug. 12, 1662; died at Paris, Sept. 3, 1680.

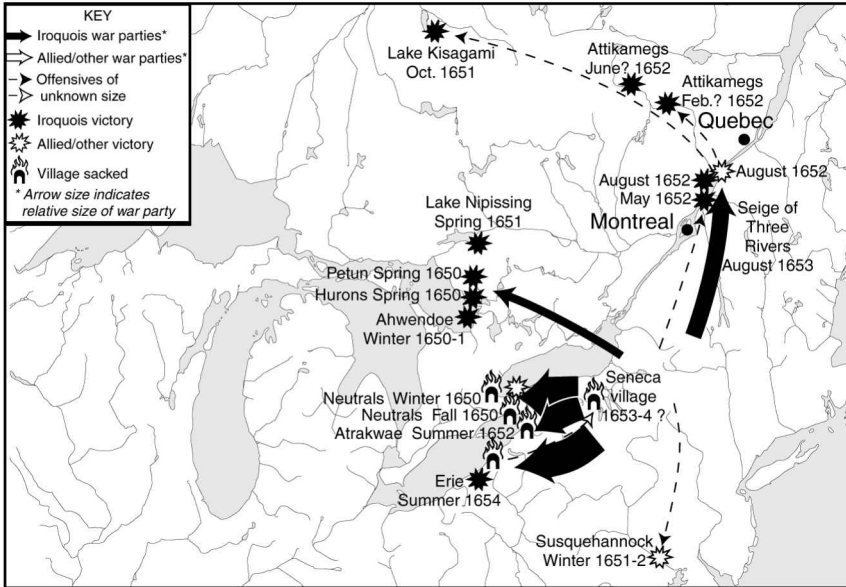
- Richard, Fr. André;** Jesuit; Province of France, Born in the diocese of Bourges, Nov. 23, 1600 (al. 1599); entered the Order at Paris, Sept. 25 (al. 26), 1621; arrived in Canada, May 17, 1634; died at Quebec, March 21, 1681.
- Sorel, Pierre de** (al. Saurel); Captain of the Carignan regiment. Led a force of 300 French, Hurons, and Algonquins into Mohawk country in July 1666 in retaliation for the death of two Frenchmen at Fort St. Anne; obtained the seigniorship of Sorel at the mouth of the Richelieu River in 1672; died 1682.
- Tracy, Alexandre de Prouville, marquis de Tracy;** Lieutenant-general of the French army and governor-general of all the French possessions in North America. Born in France, 1603; arrived at Quebec in 1665; led an invasion of Mohawk country the following year and burned four abandoned Mohawk villages, bringing peace to New France for nearly twenty years; returned to France in 1667; died in 1670.
- Vimont, Fr. Barthélemy;** Jesuit; Province of France. Born at Lisieux, Jan. 1 (al. 17), 1594; entered the Order at Rouen, Nov. 1 (al. 13, 15, 22), 1613 (al. Nov. 16, 1614); arrived at Ste-Anne, Cape Breton, Aug. 24, 1629; returned to France, Oct. 22, 1659; died at Vannes, July 13, 1667.



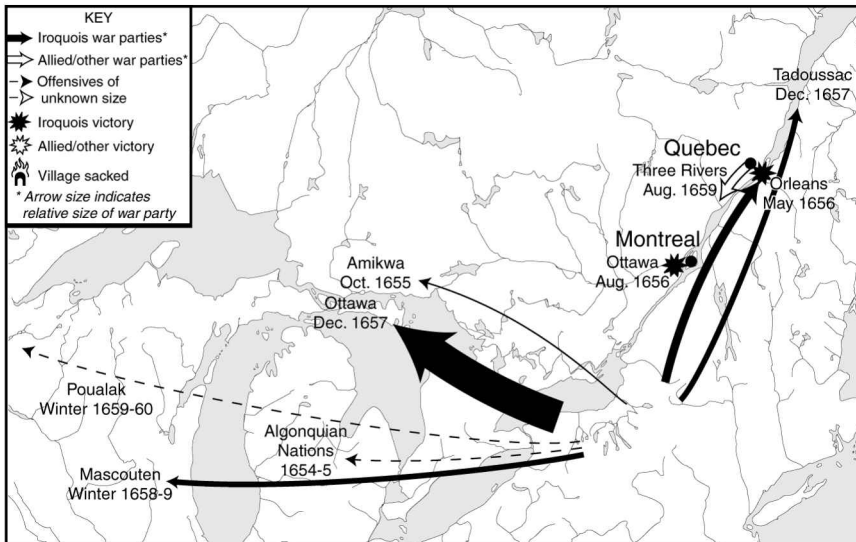
## MAPS



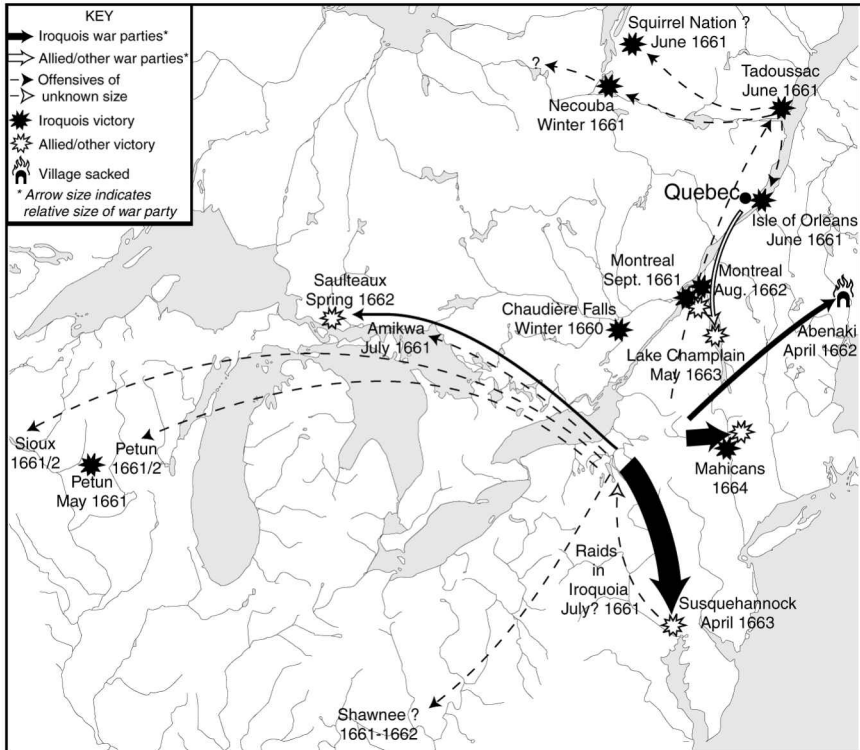
**Map 1:** The distribution of selected northeastern tribes in 1650.



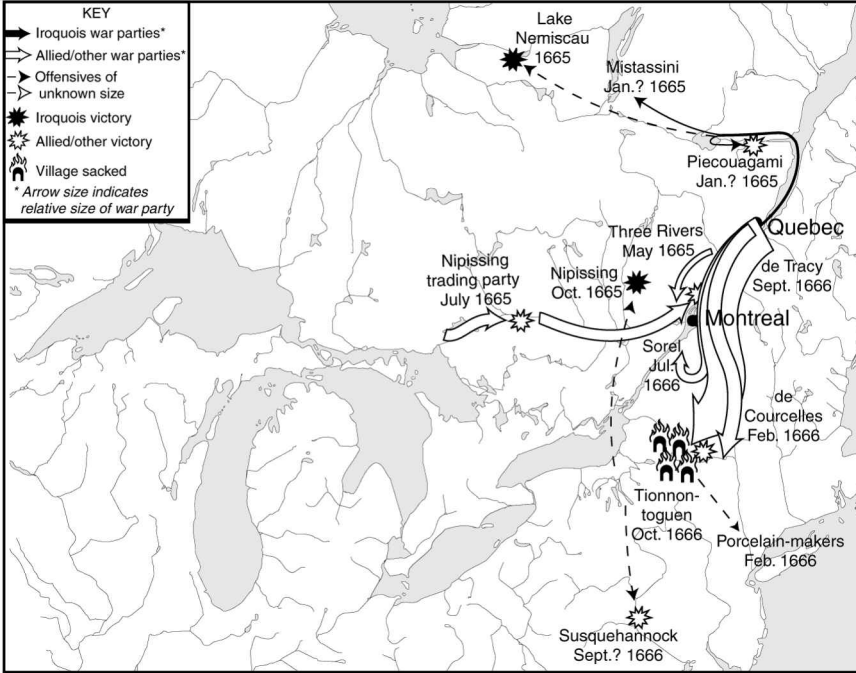
**Map 2.** Destruction of the western Iroquoians and attacks on the Attikamegs 1650–1654. The precise locations of the Neutral villages and the Huron, Petun and Attikameg battles shown here are unclear. The location of the Atrakwae is not known at all: they are shown here where they occur on the 1641 map of Bourdon, the only map on which their name appears (Pendergast 1991:55).



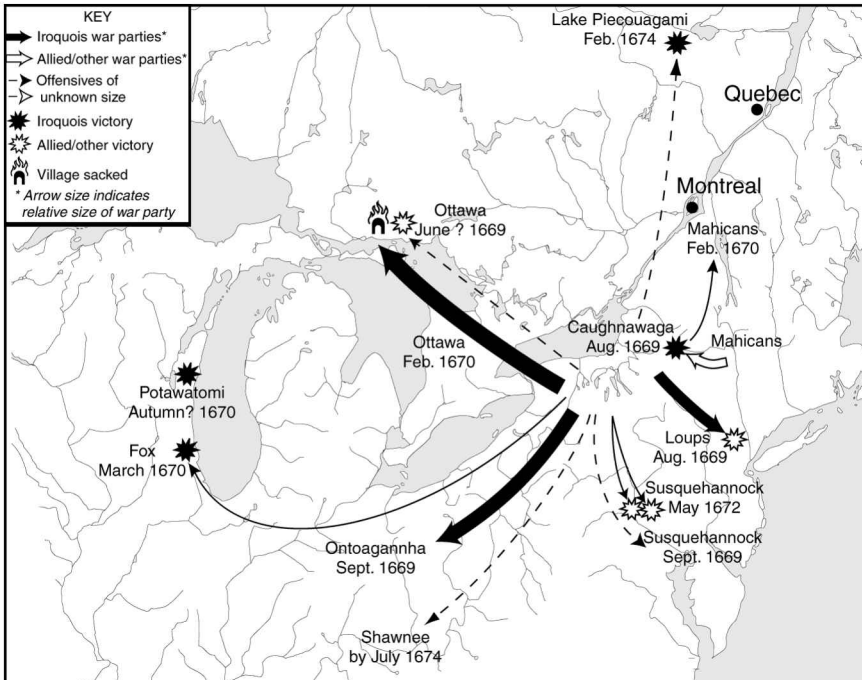
**Map 3.** Attacks on the Upper and Western Algonquians 1655–1659. The second location of the Mascouten, where they were attacked here, is approximate. They were said to be 6–7 days' journey from Méchingan or St. Michel (see Clifton 1978:730–731).



**Map 4.** Expansion of the Northern and Western Fronts 1660–1664. The location of the Squirrel Nation is uncertain; they were on the right of Druillettes and Dablon on their journey from Tadoussac to Necouba. The location of the Petun at this time is approximate (Tooker 1978a:399).



**Map 5.** The French Retaliation 1660–1664.



**Map 6.** The Mahican war and raids on the Ohio and Susquehanna, 1667–1675. The campaigns against the “Ontouagannha” and Shawnee may have been the same.

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